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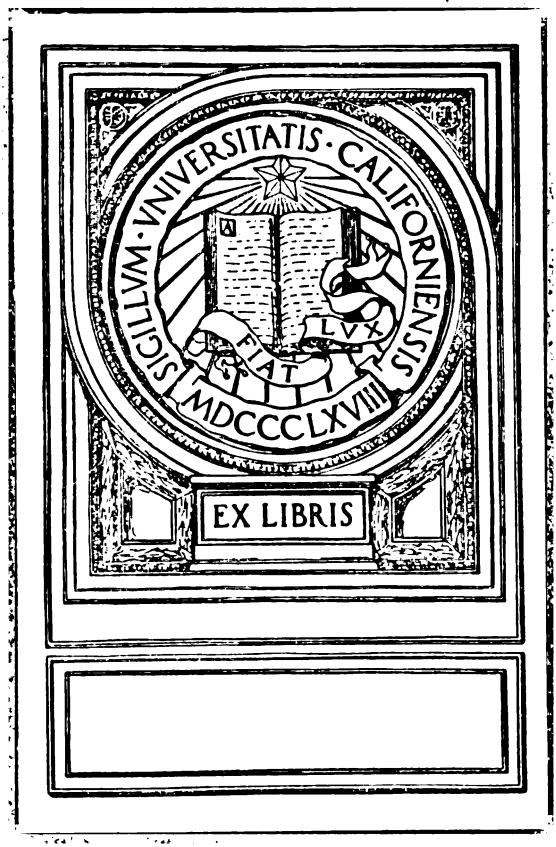
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THE WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND JOSEPH HALL, D.D.

BISHOP OF EXETER AND AFTERWARDS OF NORWICH.

A NEW EDITION,

REVISED AND CORRECTED, WITH SOME ADDITIONS,

BY

PHILIP WYNTER, D.D.

PRESIDENT OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

VOL. X.

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COLUMBA NOÆ,

OLIVAM ADFERENS

JACTATISSIMÆ CHRISTI ARCÆ.

CONCIO SYNODICA, AD CLERUM ANGLICANUM

(PROVINCIÆ PRÆSERTIM CANTUARIENSIS)

HABITA,

IN ÆDE PAULINA, LONDINENSI:

FEB. 20mo 1623.

A JOS. HALLO, S. T. D. DECANO WIGORNIENSI.

REVERENDISSIMO PATRI AC DOMINO,

D^o^ GEORGIO,

ARCHIEPISCOPO CANTUARIENSI,

TOTIUS ANGLIÆ PRIMATI AC METROPOLITÆ:

REVERENDIS DOMINIS

EPISCOPIS:

TOTIQUE FLORENTISSIMO CLERO ANGLICANO,

CANTUARIENSIS PRÆSERTIM PROVINCIÆ,

IN SYNODO LONDINENSI CONGREGATO:

QUIBUS HABITA EST QUALISCUNQUE CONCIUNCULA

J. H.

MINIMUS ECCLESIÆ SERVUS,

OPELLAM HANC SUAM, PERTENUEM QUIDEM ILLAM,

HUMILITER VOVAT DICTATQUE.

In *æde* Pauli, *deque* Pauli *oraculis,*
Pro concione prævia Synodo sacræ,
Varias ab uno Spiritu, Domino, Deo
Distinctiones esse donorum *probans,*
Ostendis, Halle, *quanta spiritualium,*
Quam multiformis dos tibi fluat affatim,
Charismatumque multiplex peculium.
Quæ nempe tractas, per tui specimen doces.
Theologe nate pulpitis, calami potens,
Cui suavitatis conscius semper stilus,
Cui pectus almi condus est sacrarii,
Et lingua promus pectoris, cujus latus
Loquentis ambit auribus rapax cohors,
Humerisque densa; non sat est semel tua
Hausisse vocis impetu fugacia.
Ni perlegendo te recognosci sinas
Auri invidebit oculus, et Templo Schola.
Nosti, Decane *flexanime, quam te recens*
Jam tunc ab ipso ambone redeuntem, manu
Prensum, rogator vellicavi fervidus,
Manare sineres hæc in absentum sinus
Reliquisque nostri fratribus Cleri dari.
Quid mirum? ubi ipsi postmodum cudi typis
Provinciales postulant Episcopi.
Audin,' Josephe? *Nolo jam: te nil peto.*
Non est, amicus quod roget. Domini regunt.
Parere justum est: parere te certum est: age.
Quam facilis isthic obstetricanti labor!
Post tam verenda jussa quid restat mihi,
Nisi ut adprecantis suppleam idiotæ locum,
Amen *sacrato succinens Patrum choro?*

LAMBETHÆ, Feb. 21, 1623,
sic approbavit THOMAS GOADUS, S. T. D.

(UNIVERSITY)

COLUMBA NOÆ.

Quod felix faustumque ac sàcræ huic Reipublicæ salutare sit, convenistis huc, Reverendissime Domine Archiepiscope, Episcopi Reverendi, Venerabiles Decani, Archidiaconi, Compresbyteri, jussu auspicatissimi Regis, Sanctam hodie Synodum, cum Deo, habituri.

Salutat vos ore meo B. ille Paulus, cujus titulo superbit hæc antiqua moles; quasique præsens, presentes compellat simul, et hortatur,

Prioris ad Corinthios duodecimo; versu quarto.

Διαιρέσεις δὲ χαρισμάτων, &c.

Sunt autem distinctiones donorum; sed idem Spiritus: distinctiones ministeriorum sunt; sed idem Dominus; distinctiones operationum; sed idem Deus.

Videte pulchram hanc rerum *ἀναλογίαν*. Convenistis in unum; et hic identitas est: convenistis frequentes ab ultimis dissitisque procul amplissimæ provinciæ oris; et hic multiplex diversitas: convenistis flos Cleri Anglicani, cultissima Capita; et hic dona sunt: convenistis ministrorum cum Plebe Principes; et hic ministeriorum diversitas: convenistis ad sacra Ecclesiæ negotia peragenda; et hic operationes sunt: convenistis spiritu, quod spero ac precor, uno; et hic idem Spiritus est: convenistis, denique Domino Deo vos, vestraque dona, ministeria, operationes dicaturi; hic Dominus, hic Deus est.

Idem vero ille Deus, idem Dominus Jesus Christus, idem Spiritus Sanctus, præsto nobis esse velit hodie; sacroque huic cœtui, divinis afflatibus, præsit præsideatque; consiliaque nostra ac studia universa dirigat ducatque feliciter ad æterni nominis sui gloriam, animarum nostrarum salutem, certam denique Ecclesiæ suæ ædificationem, per Jesum Christum, &c.!

En vobis, Honorandi Præsules vosque Symmistæ Venerandi,

fibulam utriusque mundi; mundi, inquam, utriusque Theologici: macrocosmi, Dei; microcosmi, Hominis. Ecquid est, quod æque nostra scire interest, æque speculari?

Vultis Deum contemplari? Unus ille est; ὁ αὐτός: Trinus est; Deus Pater, Dominus, Spiritus: Trinunus est; Spiritus, Dominus, Deus ὁ αὐτός.

Vultis Hominem intueri? Non unum hunc conspicietis, sed vix finita diversitate discriminatum; non nudum, sed donis instructum; non superfluum, sed destinatum ministerio; non otiosum, sed operationibus occupatissimum: neque istæ operationes, ministeria, dona, uniformia sunt; sed multipliciter distincta ac variegata.

Unde vero huic tam multijuges gratiæ, munera tam diversa, nisi ab uno eodemque Deo; Patre, Domino, Spiritu? Quorsum denique ista; nisi ut hæc opera, ministeria, dona, ab uno Deo, Domino, Spiritu profecta, in unum, in unitatem dirigantur?

O miram planeque inexplicabilem rerum divinarum humanarumque συζυγίαν! συγκοινωνίαν cœli ac terræ! qua Deus sibi per ὁμοούσιαν, Deus homini per munificentiam, homo Deo per gratitudinem, homines sibi invicem per charitatem, dona ministeriis, ministeria operationibus sive intime uniri sive consociari perhibentur.

Nolo jam, neque vero expedit, hodierno die in tam verenda Theologorum corona, Catecheticis, de Sacro-sanctæ Trinunitatis mysterio, disquisitionibus immorari: quanquam dignus vobis alibi labor iste, Fratres; quemque, si me audietis, exantlabitis domi strenue. Nimium profecto, obsolevit familiare illud docendi genus τῆς ἀρχῆς λόγος. Ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φερόμεθα, ambitiosi oratores, spreta populari hac opera. Cernitis ut altissime volare norint ardeæ, quæ tamen ima, plerumque, valle victitare solent; nidos in abiete, in palude pastum quæritant: ita et vos facite, Cooperarii mei; non tam soliciti vosmet probare doctos, quam præstare vestros.

Illud modo obiter. Qualis est Deus, talem se nobis exhibet; qualemque se nobis exhibet, tales nos sibi efformat: uti sol, nubem rite dispositam intuens, imaginem sui aliquam imprimit humido illi speculo; ita et Deus Ecclesiæ. Sublunaris, ergo, quædam Trinitas, ab illa Cœlesti deduci istic cernitur; Donorum, Ministeriorum, Operationum: a Spiritu, Dona; a Filio, Ministeria; Operationes, a Patre, fluunt affatim ac dimanant: *Distinctiones sunt Donorum, sed idem Spiritus, &c.*

Apage Pythagoricos calculatores. Pariter se mihi habent nu-

meri omnes, nisi quos præiverit Deus; præivit autem hic apertissime. Verbo dicam, Monade ac Triade absolvitur aurea hæc clausula. In Monade, Trias est; in Triade, Monas: Trias perfecta, id est, Trina est; est Trias Distinctionum, est Trias Munerum, est Trias Largitorum; tot sunt διαιρέσεις quot munera, tot munera quot largitores. Munera tria; Dona, Ministeria Operationes: tres Largitores; Pater, Filius, Spiritus, qui tamen una Monade, τῷ αὐτῷ, concluduntur. Sed et in illa Monade sua διαίρεσις est, dum Spiritui, Dona; Filio, Ministeria; Patri, Operationes, quasi singulatim ascribuntur.

Ne spinosior paulo videatur oratio, nos, Apostolum secuti, distinctiones muneribus, munera largitoribus, Triada Monadi, quanta possumus cum facilitate, applicabimus; et, dein, brevi perorabimus.

Triplex Διαίρεσις multiplicitatem innuit.

Quid sibi tres Charites somniant Veteres? Mille istic χάριτες sunt; χαρίσματα infinita. Intuere omnes, quotquot uspiam fuerunt, Adæ nepotes: inter tot millenas mille capitum myriadas, aliquam in vultu varietatem facile observabis. Immane quantum a se differt diversiformis pulchritudo. Nec ipsi quidem Menœchmi non aliqua sibi tenus dissimiles. Non est tanta, mihi credite, facierum, quanta animorum diversitas: ut vultui formæ, animis charismata: singulis aliqua, omnibus plurima, nemini omnia contigerunt: Ecce διαιρέσεις χαρισμάτων.

Gratias gratis datas intelligit, Cajetanum secutus, Salmeron; et vere quidem istud: sed ampliandi favores; et quæ gratum faciunt, gratissima omnium charismata censentur meritissime. Non male Hugo tria numerat Dei in homine dona; naturæ, gratiæ, gloriæ: per prima naturæ dona, homines sumus; per dona gratiæ, justi; per dona gloriæ, erimus beati. Dona naturæ, memoria, ratio, voluntas; quibus præstamus brutiis: dona gratiæ, fides, spes, charitas; quibus dæmones superamus: dona gloriæ, æterna et vera felicitas, felix et æterna veritas, vera et felix æternitas; quibus angelis æquamur. In donis naturæ et gratiæ, quædam comperit idem author minima; quædam, media; quædam, magna: ac minimis quidem, corporis pulchritudinem ac sanitatem; mediis, facultates animæ; magnis, virtutes accenset: Ecce nunc διαιρέσεις χαρισμάτων.

Regenerationis sunt quædam dona; sunt dona Vocationis: illis, renascimur, ut nobis bene sit; his, instruimur, ut prodesse possimus aliis: hæc hominibus singulis singula; illa Sanctis omnibus

omnia communi quadam proprietate, tributa. Ut, enim, in sapientissima hac universi dispositione, optima quæque ac vitæ sustentandæ necessaria, veluti aer, lux, ignis, aqua, cessere omnibus abunde; quæ vero ornatui voluptatique inserviunt, ut aurum, teretes gemmæ, lapidesque pretiosi, parcius quibusdam indulgentur: ita, gratiæ quæque salutares Sanctis omnibus suppetunt ubertim, ab illa larga Dei manu; linguæ vero, prophetia, potestas miraculorum, sed et eloquentia, scientia, honoris apices, et ejusdem classis reliqua, paucioribus adservari solent. Quanta autem istorum diversitas! Differunt illa scilicet, ratione sui; natura quippe alia atque alia: differunt, ratione subjecti; aliis atque aliis concessa; *οὐ γὰρ πάντα θεοὶ πᾶσιν*, cæcus vates verissime: differunt, ratione gradus; magis minusve indulta: Vere *διαιρέσεις χαρισμάτων*.

Naturæ illa e trivio vox est, Idem, manens idem, aptum non esse facere nisi idem; sed, ubi de Naturæ Deo sermo est, verius Bonaventura, *Ab unissimo Deo manant multiforma; ab æterno, temporalia. In te variatur, qui in se non mutatur*, pulchre Hugo. Creasset unum modo divina potestas, dignum Deo fuisset solitarium illud opus; quodque a sola potuisset omnipotentia proficisci: atqui creavit multa; creavit innumera. Creasset Deus multa hæc omnimodo uniformia, soloque numero distincta, majus fuisset hoc longeque adhuc mirabilius, quam unius cujuscunque opificium: sed jam, ubi multa hæc, hæc innumera, æque etiam varia effinxerit, formarumque discrimen cum numero concertet, *ὦ βάθος σοφίας*! O stupendum artificium omnipotentiæ! Neque tamen est, ubi æque se exerat divina virtus et providentia, atque in unius hominis variformi *οἰκονομία*. Fallor, nisi in hoc minore mundo, mundus occurrat *διαιρέσεων*. Miramini vosmetipsos, mei Fratres; et obstupescite. Sive oris formam intueamur, sive partium *συμμετρίαν*, sive colorem cutis, sive corporis staturam, sive dotes animæ, facultatum gradus, indolem naturæ, mensuram gratiarum, stationum opportunitates, externam denique vitæ conditionem; Deus bone, quam nusquam in oculum incurrat idem, quaqua versum spectemus! Ecce *διαιρέσεις χαρισμάτων*.

Exesto nunc procul istinc omne sive elationis supercilium, sive murmur invidentiæ. Nimirum illa duo pericula imminent vel justissimæ inæqualitati: invidet nudus; ornatus superbit. "Negligor ego scilicet misellus; beantur alii: cocco nitent alii ac murice; ego sordidis squaleo laciniis: alii affluunt divitiis, luxu diffluunt; ego inedia contabesco: altis alii soliis insident conspicui; ego imis

scabellis conculcor: eloquio pollent alii; balbus ego sum: præcellunt alii artium linguarumque scientia; rudis ego et ἀναλφάβητος: Quin ego?" Fatue, dona sunt ista, χαρισμάτα, gratis ergo donata quibus placet Largitori. Quid tibi debet, qui dedit ista aliis? Sed, et διαιρέσεις sunt donorum: negavit tibi Deus metallorum cumulos; indulsit robur corporis: quanto emerint istud magni rerum domini! Negavit eloquentiam; aciem dedit ingenii: negavit honoris titulos; blandam quietem ac securitatem concessit: dignitatem negavit; non negavit valetudinem. I nunc, et invide potenti cuique debilem stomachum, insomnes noctes, curarum equuleos, lubricitatem Aulæ, plurimorum invidiam. Et illi defit aliquid, quod suppetit tibi; et quod illi suppetit, pernegatur tibi: mallet ille tua; tu, illius: utrique sua, neutri utriusque bona obveniunt: διαιρέσεις sunt χαρισμάτων.

Quin, et nos, udæ vesiculæ, quam facile quovis donorum spiritu inflamur! "Non sum ego sicut cæteri. Quam mihi sordet vulgus hominum! Ego purpuratus sedeo; alii atrati vilesque homuli lambunt subselliorum pulverem: ditavit me tota scientiarum ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία; *turba hæc, quæ non novit Legem, maledicti:* ego linguas calleo; apage idiotas: stupentem ego coronam auribus duco quo volo, disertus rhetor; languent alii in cathedris frigentque." Audi, Superbe: tua non sunt ista, quæ jactitas: *Quid habes, quod non accepisti?* Dona sunt hæc omnia: tune vero solus felix? Nescis, Gloriosule, nescis alios; teipsum nescis: Sunt διαιρέσεις, quas tu ignoras, χαρισμάτων. Sede sublimis, genibusque te clientum flexis solare; sunt te multo forte beatiores, qui latent ultro, litantque tutæ obscuritati: doctior tu sis aliis; est te alius prudentior: facundia tu superes alium; te alius judicio: lingua tibi ditior est; mens alteri.

Magni illud Lutheri privato lari inscriptum dicitur, *Res et verba, Philippus; Res sine verbis, Lutherus; Verba sine re, Erasmus.* Sua cuique dos est: nec tu donis omnibus instructus es; nec ille alter nullis: ne tibi ille invideat; ne tu illum habeas despicatui: adjicite animum potius uterque, ut symbolum studiose conferatis publicæ rei. Quorsum enim depluere e cœlo jussit varia hæc donorum genera Benignissimum Numen; nisi ut humani generis utilitati communique saluti consuleret? Quorsum cæco pedes, claudo oculi; nisi ut commodet ille oculos, commodet ille pedes? Tuamne unius in gratiam, ut te donis cumularit Deus? Vah turpem philautiam. Canaliculum te fecit, ilicet, qui fecit, non cisternam. Induit vos Deus, quod non nescitis, Amplissimi Præsules,

sacra hac purpura; ut aliis præfulgeatis, conspicui duces viæ arduæ; utque, honoribus vestris, ecclesiam cohonestetis, sitisque servi plurimorum.

Cernitis, opinor, quam nos insperato a Donis ad ministeria prolapsi. Ducit nos, Paulina manu, donorum ille Author, Spiritus: qui, donis illico, ministeria subjunxit; ministeriis, operationes.

Scilicet munificentissimum illud τὸ πνεῦμα, (ut cum Sto. Athanasio vim notemus articuli) plerosque vestrum Patres Fratresque, donis instruxit cumulatissime. Quibus dotibus animi, quam singulari eruditione, quam potenti eloquentia, quanta sapientia, quanta gravitate, quanta dignitatum amplitudine! Magnum est, quod dicturus sum; dicam tamen, procul omni fastu et assentatione; ringantur, rumpantur invidi; Stupor mundi Clerus Britannicus. Tot doctos theologos, tot disertos concionatores, frustra uspiam alibi hodie sub cœlo quæsieris. Quid memorem magna illa Ecclesiæ lumina, jam nuper occidua; Juellos, Humfredos, Foxios, Whitgiftos, Fulcones, Whitakeros, Rainoldos, Bilsonios, Greenamios, Babingtonios, Eedios, Hollandos, Playferos, Abbotios, Perkinsios, Fieldios, Hookeros, Overalios, Willettos, Whitos, Massonios? Sub his tectis nunc estis, meque auditis hodie, quorum laudibus, non horam modo, sed et vitam profecto terere non pigeret; mutua mihi modestia os obstruit. Quanti quanti estis, vestri non estis. Dona hæc omnia desinunt in ministeria. Velitis uberem hanc gratiam ἀναζωπυρεῖν: et dona hæc universa exornando ministerio vestro fidelissime collocare. In vitæ praxi, ut et in orationis nostræ curriculo, διαιρέσεις χαρισμάτων excipiant διαιρέσεις διακονιῶν.

Sunt ergo, uti donorum, ita et Ministeriorum distinctiones. Quæ vero illæ? officiis nimirum variæ, ac gradibus. Fuerunt Apostoli, Prophetæ, Evangelistæ: sunt, fuerunt, erunt Episcopi, Presbyteri, Diaconi: διαιρέσεις sunt istic, non unus ordo, ministrorum. Aeriana fuit exsibilata quondam hæresis, quæ sustulit hosce τρεῖς βαθμοὺς κλήρου, ut cum Synodo loquamur Carthaginensi. Sed et est, ubi vapulet hoc nomine Hieronymus; quasi qui Aerium non minus forsan oleat, quam Ciceronem: immerito quidem. Sed non vacat avias persequi vindicias. Neminem, spero, vestrum ita insanire posse, ut hæc Ministeriorum discrimina in discrimen adducat. Legeruntne illi historias, qui istic hæsitent? Profecto, ne viderunt quidem. Evolve temporum omnium monumenta, quaqua patuit Christianismus, nihil istis ubilibet apertius. Nolo contrahere æta-

tum omnium regionumque Annales. Vide mihi modo Concilia; magnum illud, imprimis, meritoque Oecumenικων primum, Nicenum. Cernes ibi trecentos octodecim Episcopos: quot scilicet Abrahamo de regibus victoriam reportanti milites, ut scite allusit Ambrosius. At qui novi hi forte jam tum erant, recensque nati: minime vero gentium: τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη agnoscunt illi Patres, "ut," interprete Ruffino, "Alexandrinus Episcopus Egypto, Libyæ, Pentapoli præesset, sicut Romanus Ecclesiis Suburbicariis." Audi modo Polycratem, Episcopum Ephesinum, senem jam plusquam sexagenarium, sancte profitentem, se avis, abavis, atavis, septena serie, in eadem Cathedra successisse. Audi Irenæum, Tertullianum, Clementem, Dorotheum, Eusebium, Antiochenæ, Alexandrinæ, Hierosolymitanæ, Romanæ sedis Episcopos sibi indubio ordine succedaneos, non numerorum modo notis, sed et nominibus designantes. Nullus profecto ab Apostolorum ævo illuxit dies, in quo Paranymphis hisce caruit Sponsa Christi, Sed quid ego ista? Sol in cœlo est, lucetque. Etiam ipse ille presbyter Hieronymus, strenuus assertor sui gradus, discrimen hoc a primi schismatis natalibus et apostolica traditione, decretoque communi deducit. Sed et scribente hæc ad suos Corinthios Paulo, sonuerat vox illa discors, *Ego Pauli sum; ego Apollo; ego Cephæ:* etiam tum tamen fuerant hæ διαιρέσεις.

"Ordine fortasse," inquies, "non gradu:" Quin et gradu, mi homo, et potestate. Ilicet sunt B. Paulo προεστῶτες καὶ ἡγούμενοι; Ignatio, κρατοῦντες; Dionysio, ἱεράρχοι; præpositi, Cypriano: quibus ἐπιδιόρθωσιν attribuit Paulus; γνώμην, Canones Apostolici; ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐξουσίαν, Ignatius; θρόνον ἐπισκοπῆς, ex Egesippo Eusebius; *Vigorem auctoritatemque cathedræ,* Cyprianus; *totius Ecclesiæ apicem,* Origenes; *exortem et super omnes eminentem potestatem,* Hieronymus; ἀψῖδα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, Concilium Sardicenum; πατέρων γεννήτικην τᾶξιν, Epiphanius. Quid ego, post tantorum messem hæc spicilegia?

Oh, quoties, quamque non sine imis suspiriis, suo sanguine emptum, optaverit florentissima ac felicissima Ecclesiarum Anglicana, a charissimis sororibus suis retentum, hunc antiquissimum optimumque regiminis morem: qui utique obtinuisset forsitan, si, quæ nobis, Dei beneficio, eadem et ipsis reformatio monarchica obtigisset. Jam, "provisionaliter tantum," si Frigevillio, consultissimo Gallo, credimus, ab illis hæc, quæ modo incumbit, pro tempore, necessaria, suscepta est administratio. Deus, Deus ipsis Reginas nutrices, nutricios Reges indulgeat; ut liceat illis aliquando no-

biscum tanto hoc frui τῆς τῶν βαθμῶν ἀκολουθίας, ut Nazianzeni verbo utar, beneficio. Ego, interim, cum Ignatio, ἀντίψυχος τῶν φυλαττόντων ταυτὴν τὴν εὐταξίαν: quæ, si regioni ulli aut Ecclesiæ parum commode unquam cesserit, personæ profecto vitio fit, non institutionis; quæ non alia censeri potest, quam salutaris, sancta, divina.

Sed memineritis, interim, obsecro, Patres, *ministeria* hæc esse, διακονίας: ab ipso pulvere petita vox est, ne non sat humilitatis innuat. Honoribus auxistis pia regum munificentia: sed Dominus noster, Jesus Christus, uti nostis, honores vestros metiri solet servitiis. Patres estis Cleri, sed Filii Thalami; proceres Reipublicæ, sed Ecclesiæ servi; duces hujusce militiæ, sed cum B. Paulo συστρατιῶται; principes domus Dei, sed et συνδούλοι. Clerum vestrum compellate comiter; excipite familiariter: ut qui vos noveritis dignitate, patres; fratres, ministerio. Agnoscitis consilium Ambrosianum: Instar membrorum sint vobis, quibus præestis, Clerici: stellas vos angelosque salutavit Deus; imitamini stellas, quæ, quo altiores sunt, eo minores apparere solent; imitamini angelos, qui, cum sint cœli magnates, πνεύματα se tamen præstant λειτούργικα: odiosissimum spectaculum fastidiosus Præsul.

Sed et audite, Sæculares. Nolite contemnere sacra hæc munia. *Ministeria* sunt ista; sed splendida, sed honorifica. Imperare est scilicet, servire Deo: quin si et vobis? Cœlestes illi spiritus, potestates principatusque, nobis idem faciunt affatim, quos tamen nihilo viliores reddidere amor et obsequium. *Rogamus vos, Fratres, ut agnoscatis eos qui laborant inter vos, et præsunt vobis in Domino, et admonent vos; et quam maxime charos ducatis, propter opus ipsorum.*

Exegimus *Distinctiones Ministeriorum:* sequatur τῶν ἐνεργημάτων.

Non otiosa sibi sacravit ministeria Deus, sed operosissima. Regit ille: hic docet: docet alius regitque; duplici honore dignus προεστῶς, κοπιῶν τε. Sed et qui regit, est ubi virga feriat; est ubi, gladio: est ubi, blande alliciat; est ubi, coerceat severius: labantes sustineat; retineat anxios; vagos reducat. Et, docenti, non una incumbit διδασκαλία; est ubi ἔλεγχος, est ubi ἐπανόρθωσις, est ubi παιδεία: idem, nunc, dirigit consiliis; nunc, promissis erigit; nunc, dejicit minis: sanos vulnerat; sanat ægros; nunquam non operatur.

Nempe καλὸν ἔργον ἐπισκοπή. Si quis ludat in cathedra, lugebit in gehenna. Pulchre Bernardus, in celebri illa ad Henricum Senonensen Epistola: "Multi non tanta fiducia et alacritate curre-

rent ad honores, si esse sentirent et onera: gravari profecto metuerent; nec cum tanto labore et periculo quarumlibet affectarent infulas dignitatum."

Sed placetne audire insuper, quod satis salse exprobavit suo ævo pius ille censor: "Sola attenditur," inquit, "gloria, et non pœna: curritur in Clero passim ab omni ætate et ordine, a doctis pariter et indoctis, ad ecclesiasticas Curas, tanquam sine curis quisque victurus sit, cum ad Curas pervenerit." Satin' attenditis hoc ab Oraculo Clarevallensi vaticinium? Utinam hic non esset idem etiam nostro sæculo morbus! Ambiunt delicatuli opima sacerdotia, ut genio deinceps indulgeant; torpeantque otio: Sunt quæ, pravæ consuetudinis ergo, unam fuliginem Indicam redolent jugiter ora Deo sacra; maluntque fumosam nubem edere, quam Legis fulmina: sunt qui cutem suam curant, non gregis animas, desidiosi pastorculi. Nuda nude loquor, ut fidus ille olim monitor.

At at sinite vos, Fratres, vel tantilla hac oratione commoveri. Etiam culicum stimulis leones solent dormitantes excitari. Hæccine sunt illa *ἐνεργήματα*, quorum *διαιρέσεις* Deum salutant Patrem? Deum certe; sed Deum ventrem; turpissimum numen: horresco, cætera prolocuturus, dicenda tamen; *quorum gloria in confusionem, finis interitus.* An modo tempus est feriandi, exercendæque amœnitatis? Ecce duo nobis imminent hostes atrocissimi, Impietas et Superstitio: et nos, vel, complicatis manibus, considemus; vel surgentes, nostra incuria, portas hosti irruenti reseramus? Magnus ille noster Herus, Mundi Paterfamilias, peregre profecturus, imo æternam sibi nobisque patriam repetiturus, unicuique nostrum talentum saltem unum commisit; jussitque *Negotiamini dum venio.* Negotiari jussit, scilicet, non nepotari. Hoccine vero negotiari est demum, nostra quærere, quieti indulgere, studere silentio? Immunda sunt hæc sudariola, quibus elocanda potius trapezitis talenta, segniter reposuimus. Exiget a nobis aliquando rationem redux ille Cœli ac Terræ Judex; quam, si pro otioso verbo reddituri sumus, quippini et pro otioso silentio; scite Ambrosius? Quid nos tunc miseri regeremus? Ubi comparebimus? Horrenda vox est, *Serve nequam;* horribilior adhuc, *Adducite, interficite.* Per vestras ipsorum animas, per viscera, per vulnera Jesu Christi, per tremendum illud cui sistemur olim Tribunal, liceat vos orem, liceat adjurem, Fratres, ministeria vestra sanctis operationibus ornare sedulo velitis ac perficere. *Prædicate; instate, tempestive, intempestive; arguite, redarguite, exhortamini, cum omni lenitate et doctrina.* Studeat quisque probare se Deo, *operarium*

qui non erubescat, quique *recte sermonem secet veritatis.* O vocem suavissimam; et præ qua discors est ipsa cœlestis harmonia; *Euge, serve bone; fidelis fuisti in minimo, intra in gaudium Domini tui!* Ambiamus hanc, mei Fratres, ambiamus importune. Operemur nos, quæ jussit; coronabit Deus, quæ operamur.

Sed, et vos, Honorandi Patres, qui hodierno die de arduis Ecclesiæ ac Reipublicæ negotiis consulturi confluxistis, operamini modo: Sicubi unquam hactenus operati estis, siquando unquam deinceps operaturi estis, modo operamini. *Ostium nobis apertum est magnum et efficax, et adversarii multi.* Cernitis quam nos invaserit pridem audax ἐθελοθρησκεία; quam superbe cristas tulerit Fides Tridentina, inque oculos ferociter involarit sacrosancto Dei Evangelio. Expatant palam, neque classicum modo canere ausi velites Pontificii, sed (quod rideat quis magis an indignetur?) triumphum. Erigunt sibi istic suam vestræ æmulam Hierarchiam; etiam vobis vivis vegetisque, hæredes designant. Hoccine ut quis ferri patiatur cordatus spectator? Hoccine prætereundum silentio? Exsuscitate vos, Sancti Patres, si quis ardor pietatis, et Tyberinum hoc monstrum, (Papismum intelligo) spiritu oris vestri debellate: quaque estis apud pientissimum Regem, proceres, plebem, gratia et authoritate, vestris precibus ac consiliis curate, quantum potestis, ad suos inferos relegetur omnis idolomania; expugnatisque erroribus vincat, valeat, vigeat, regnet Veritas.

Operationes, Ministeria, Dona, horumque omnium διαιρέσεις cito, uti videtis, pede pertransivimus. Unum illud modo nobis restat pensiculandum; Omnia hæc *Ministeria, Dona, Operationes* ab uno eodemque Spiritu, Domino, Deo, Triada hanc a Monade, proficisci. Deprehenditis vero facile, non tam in Authore, quam in *Identitate,* τῷ αὐτῷ, emphasin. Nolo ergo vel πολυποίκιλον σοφίαν, absolutissimamque perfectionem, vel amplissimam Dei munificentiam oratione persequi: expendite modo Largitoris Benignissimi Unitatem.

Nos unum aliquod alicui elargimur, homines munifici: Deus unus omnia universis, sua singulis, impertiit: neque alium cogitare fas est, sive fontem, sive oceanum boni. Quare vero adeo sollicite ingeminat Apostolus; non tam quod beneficus dederit, quam quod unus? Nimirum recte Salmeron, ut schismatum radices evelleret: nam, si diversi essent donatores, justa subesse posset sectarum causa, ut quisque pro sui doni ministeriique authore æmularetur; jam, cum Spiritus unus idemque diversa

hæc cuique dona, unus idemque Dominus diversa ministeria, unus Deus Pater operationes diversas distribuerit, quin omnia hæc dona, ministeria, operationes ad unius Datoris gloriam unanimiter colliment collineentque?

Certe, omnia hæc unitatem sonant. Corpus est Ecclesia, uti hic postmodum Apostolus: nos membra. Hic oculus est; auris, ille; hic, lingua: ille, palatum; manus, hic; pes, ille: hic, pollex; ille, digitellus; vel, si quis adhuc humilior, digituli articulus est. Omnes ad unius corporis constitutionem salutemque conjunctis oportet operis conspiremus: secus qui fecerit, ille profecto, non modo violatæ incolumitatis publicæ, sed et Divinæ Unitatis læsæ, reus merito judicatur.

Sentio me, Patres, in locum amplissimum, et, in quo tabernaculum mihi, cum Petro, figi mavelim, incidisse. Utinam vacaret vobis tantillum per amœna hæc unitatis, communisque studii vireta, mecum expatiari! Neque vero tam laudandæ, (quorsum enim perditio hæc?) quam vindicandæ, quod curæ pretium fuerit, unitati, opellam hanc reliquam locaturus sum.

Grave profecto crimen, flagitium, si quod aliud, atrox est, cujus non insimulant Pontificii, a Catholica Ecclesia dissiliisse; tunicam Christi inconsutilem discidisse, immo fregisse ossa, corpus lacerasse: cujus si nos merito rei peragimur, indigni sane fuerimus vitali hac aura; sed et imo barathro dignissimi! Atqui nos terram cœlumque palam testamur, falsissime nobis impingi istoc, quicquid est, calumniæ; sed et, in ipsos authores meritissime recidere tanti criminis invidiam, coram Deo ac hominibus, sanctissime profitemur.

Audite brevem Apologum. Hospes quidam invitarat ad se convivam unum aut alterum, tractaveratque laute ac benigniter. Consederunt illi suaviter; comederuntque; et blande se mutuo exceperunt aliquandiu. In secundis, uti fit, mensis hospes propinat poculum; pomum apponit. Exederat pomum vermiculus, inciditque forte in poculum aranea: videt conviva, abstinetque: hospes urget; "Quin tu edis," inquit, "bibisque?" "Atqui parum tutum est," regerit alter; "vides hanc in poculo bestiolam, in pomo illam?" "Quantula sunt hæc!" inquit hospes: "Ego apposui; ego miscui: in meam saltem gratiam, exhauri, manduca." "At, sine me," conviva inquit, "eximere prius hanc araneolam, exsecare vermiculum: placet vinum, pomum placet: "aranea, vermis, non placent." "Apage te," inquit hospes, "plus æquo curiosum ac delicatum: Abi in dierectum, ingrate,

qui nostram flocci pendis amicitiam, apparatum contemnis!" simulque, patinas paterasque convivæ in os furibundus intorquet; sauciumque foras ejicit.

Dicite mihi, Auditores; uter horum violet hospitii leges? Applicuistis jam vos ista sine me, sat scio, facillime. Consedimus nos, aliquando, cum Romanis familiariter, opsonati opipare. Aranea in poculo, in pomo vermis, quid aliud sunt, nisi in cultu Superstitio, in fide male-sana Traditio? Placet, sine illis, Religio: obtrudunt nobis hæc hospites importunius: nos recusavimus: conspuimur, vapulamus, ejicimur. Dedissent modo nobis veniam eruendi hanc araneam, hunc vermem, edissemus utique bibissemusque lubentissime: renuerunt illi præfracte, suamque pertinaciam nostræ saluti prætulerunt; conviciis nos impetunt, feriunt fulmine anathematum, damnant vivicomburiis. Quid nos interea faceremus? Audite, Cœlum, et Terra! tuque, Conditor idem, et Arbiter utriusque, Omnipotens Deus, sine te tuosque spiritus cœlestes vocari in testimonium nostræ innocentiæ. Coacti, abacti discedimus a communione Romana. Vim nobis fecerant, qui discesserant a se prius.

Lubentes quidem discessimus a communione errorum; a communione Ecclesiæ non discessimus. Abdicentur errores; Ecclesiam amplexamur: abjiciant illi suas animicidas Traditiones, falsosque novitiæ fidei appendices; ejusdem Ecclesiæ jure una communicabimus, una permanebimus æternum.

Atqui, proh dolor! necesse hic habeo, non sine summa ægritudine animi, palam quiritari, dici non posse Veritatine an Charitati Christianæ, infensiores sint, qui se Catholicos gloriantur: Veritati quidem, quod ἑτερόδοξα procudere pridem, Ecclesiæque obtrudere; Charitati vero, quod aliter sentientes damnare illico, nigroque hæreseos stigmate inurere non dubitarint.

Dicam, si lubet, apertius. Triplici nomine, contra Charitatem gravissime peccatur istic a Pontificiis: primo; quod nihil quicquam remittere unquam voluerint, vel convictissimæ opinionis, vel praxis vitiosissimæ; ne quidem pacis ergo: dein vero; quod, pro Christianæ Fidei Articulis, venditare soleant dogmata quædam sua; falsa, dubia, incerta; peculium Scholæ; quæ basin religionis nullatenus attingunt: denique; quod, monitores quosque sanos, vel tantillum nuperis hisce Articulis obnitentes, e gremio Ecclesiæ crudeliter ejecerint, inque Tartarum præcipitarint: "Tollite schismaticos, hæreticos, atheos."

Ilicet nulla est Protestantibus Ecclesia, nulla fides, salus nulla.

Bone Deus! quis furor, quæ rabies agitat Christianorum pectora; ita ut in sese impotenter sæviant, qui se ejusdem pretiosissimi sanguinis λύτρῳ redemptos profitentur! Tandem, tandem, sapite, Christiani; et agnoscite quos Miserationum Pater Deus et ulnis et visceribus suis dignos æstimat.

Quicquid debacchetur insanus error, Christiani sumus, Catholici sumus; Unius, Sanctæ, Catholicæ, Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ membra sumus indivisa. Antestemur, si placet. Præbete auriculam, quibus licet. Quid est, quod Ecclesiam facit? Quid, quod Sanctam, Catholicam, Apostolicam, Unam? Annon Una, Sancta, Catholica, Apostolica, Fides? Quæ vero illa? Annon quæ a Christo et Apostolis tradita orbi universo; per omnem temporum seriem, ad nostra usque sæcula, traducta semper et ubique obtinuit? Quorsum Scripturæ, quorsum Symbola, quorsum Concilia primitiva, nisi ut certa quædam patesceret ratio, qua Catholici ab Hæreticis indubio secernerentur? Agnoscitis Epilogum Athanasianum; "Hæc Fides est Catholica." Sed et hoc uno Symboli gladio, hæreses detruncantur omnes, si Leoni credere fas est: quanto magis ancipiti illo Scripturarum; Patrumque, divini eloquii interpretum! Quid vero? Qui tunc Catholici erant, Hæreticari, ut cum Gersone loquar, ullo ut ævo possint? Nugæ: Sibi semper constat Fides; et superstructa fidei Ecclesia. Ecquem vero nos Priscæ Theologiæ articulum clausulamve negavimus unquam, ecquem in dubium vocitavimus? Aut ergo Christus, Apostoli, Concilia, Patres a Catholica veritate abhorruerunt; aut nos usque Catholici permanemus.

Reliqua quotquot uspiam occurrunt de religione dogmata, fidem neque constituunt neque vero diruunt violantve. Cedo falsa; cedo vitiosa; stipula fœnumque sunt, illa scilicet quæ nihil ad basin æterni hujus ædificii. Sanior profecto corruptiorve est pro istorum ratione Ecclesia: magis minusve Ecclesia non est. In istis constat Ecclesiæ sive deformitas sive pulchritudo: non constat vita, salus non constat. Profecto, qui Verbo Dei æternis Literarum monumentis consignato, qui Symbolis quibusque primoribus, qui Conciliis quatuor Generalibus, qui communi Patrum per sexcentos a Christo annos judicio lubens subscripserit, quod nos facere religiose profitemur Reformati; si errare in minimis poterit, Hæreticus esse non poterit. Peccare facile potest particularis aliqua Ecclesia hæresin affingendo sententiæ immerenti, sive versæ: forsan illi, sive leviter erroneæ; graviter certe errare non potest anima vel Ecclesia, quæ universalis veterisque vestigiis sollicite insistit. Pontificius ergo ut

quis mori necesse habeat, qui Catholicus obire velit? Lepidum illud est, tribusque Anticyris dignum.

Date veniam, patres: Interpellant orationem meam beatissimi manes sanctissimi illius nuperrimique Sedis hujusce Episcopi[f]; jubentque ne sinam cineres suos tam turpiter violari. Neque silere possum præ indignatione, neque præ animi commotione loqui. Non modo percrebuit fama, sed et per orbem volitarunt passim libelli, de optimi illius integerrimique Præsulis, spiritum reddituri, palinodia; moribundum nempe rediisse Romæ in gratiam; hæresibus Ecclesiæ scilicet Anglicanæ suspirabundum renuntiasse; tandemque, a sacrificulo Pontificio absolutum, in fide Romana suaviter obdormiisse. Neque defunctæ animæ defuerunt, alicubi, hoc nomine, uti fertur, Missificantium suffragia et oblationes. Deum Immortalem! quæ hæc blasphemia est! Potestne ipsa quidem impudentia ita frontem omnem exuere, ut hæc calumniosissima mendacia, tam audacter, confingat, contra tot testium fidem, contra illius ipsius Sacerdotis Pontificii solennem detestationem, contra familiarium intimorumque omnium religiosissimas dejerationes, contra doctissimi tantoque patre digni filii Concionem scriptionemque publicam? Alia quidem mendacia colorem sibi aliquem vulgo quærunt quo concilient fidem: huic, præter audaciam, nullus est. Quot nostrum adsedimus fidelissimo nostro, ægre jam tum spiritum trahenti Pastori; accepimusque a languentis ore, voces constantissimæ pietatis! Sed et aliqui vestrum, Patres, viaticum una cum ipso sacrum, panem omnium quos gustavit postremum, panem Domini, devote sumpsistis; emigraturæque animæ, cœlumque anhelantis motus ultimos persensistis. Noster vixit; noster mortuus est; noster in cœlis coronatur. Pergite modo, *κακοζήλωται*; pergite mentiri strenue: hærebit aliquid. At veritas non est, quæ mendaciorum fulcris indiget. Tantillum hoc *παρεκβατικῶς*.

Prodeat nunc quivis e Schola Pontificia vel audacissimus sophista, suscipiatque sibi, si per frontem licuerit, defendendum, notissima

[f] The prelate here referred to was Dr. John King, dean of Christ Church in 1605, and bishop of London in 1611. King James used to style him "the King of Preachers;" and Lord Chief Justice Coke often declared, that "he was the best speaker in the Star-Chamber in his time." He was so constant in preaching, after he became a bishop, that he never failed on Sundays, while his health permitted, to preach in some pulpit in or near London. He died March 30th, 1621: and, soon after, the papists reported that he died a member of their Church: but the falsehood of this story was fully exposed by his son Henry, in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, to which Bp. Hall refers above; by Bp. Godwin, in the appendix to his "Commentarius de Præsulibus Angliæ;" and by Mr. John Gee, in a book entitled, "The Foot out of the Snare." See the General Dictionary. Folio, vol. vi. pp. 527, 528.—Pratt.

quæque Fidei Tridentinæ assumenta, (quæ nos sola rejicimus,) toti fuisse Ecclesiæ, omni ævo, pro necessariis religionis capitibus receptissima; aut nos in Unius Sanctæ Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Fideique communione constanter perstitisse fateatur necesse est. Novitatem ille suam facile prodet; hæresin ullam nostram nullus unquam evincet.

Vere aureum est illud Cardinalis Contareni: Auscultate, si qui ingenue favetis Romæ: "Non opus est," inquit, "Concilio, non syllogismis, ad sedandas hasce Lutheranorum turbas; charitate opus est, humilitate, mente bona denique: ut, immunes ab omni hac perniciosa philautia, animum inducamus ea in quibus manifesto peccatur corrigere ac reformare." Hæc ille. Tu demum sapis, Contarene. Utinam æque et tui!

At nos matris Ecclesiæ filii sumus immorigeri rebellesque; cujus dum jussa capessere, decreta recipere ac venerari detrectamus, turpi schismate involvimur, dirisque infensæ parentis merito percellimur. Odiosam vero contumeliam. Matrem non agnovimus; agnovimus sororem. At, cedo filios fuisse; mancipia profecto non fuimus. Novam Fidem procudere sibi pro libito, suisque imperiose obtrudere, non parentis est, sed tyranni. Hanc nos licentiam, fatemur enim, neutiquam sane ferre potuimus; parumque ferentes cædimur palam et non uno perstringimur anathemate. Neque secus nobiscum egere Romani, quam imprudens ille vicinus apud Gersonem, qui, cum muscam a fronte proximi abigere satageret, hominem excerebravit.

Plangite vero mecum, Fratres, vices illius Ecclesiæ, quæ tempori didicit accommodare Fidem; remediorumque suorum solet esse quam malorum impatientior. Dum nos illi acerrime persequuntur, nos illorum pie misereamur. Exoptemusque ipsis, quam nobis ipsi necquicquam invident ac pernegant, Salutem: *Pater, dimitte iis, nesciunt enim quæ faciunt.*

Preces, lacrymæque nostræ non desint: non desint monita. Revertimini ad vos aliquando, Animæ Christianæ; revertimini, unde sensim declinastis. Ambite τὴν πρώτην ἀγάπην, τὰ ἔργα πρῶτα. Nolite sinere diutius fucum vobis factum glorioso Ecclesiæ titulo. Componite vos ad sanctam, quam tantopere aspernati estis, Unitatem: quod O si fiat, apud nos quidem, uti Lege Duodecim Tabularum olim sancitum, sanatibus idem juris erit quod fortibus. Ecce nos, quod pacificus noster Rex Jacobus pie susceperat, obviam reducibus ire paratissimos.

Quod, si illi Unitatis spem omnem obfirmate usque refugiant;

pacisque odio flagrantes, uno Sacræ quam appellant Tubæ clangore delectentur; quin nos, mei Fratres, unitatem inter nos, religiosissime intimeque, colimus universi. Alloquor omnes correctioris Ecclesiæ filios, quaqua sparsos.

Reformatam nos Dei gratia Ecclesiam profitemur: reformatam, nempe; non, quod invidiosissime calumniantur æmuli, novam. Ego vero (ut cum Xenophonte loquar, *κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύομαι ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης*, ubi illud audio tritissimum e plaustro convicium, "Ubi vestra fuit ante Lutheri ævum Religio? Ubi Ecclesia?" Audite, Scioli; audite, Invidi: reformari nos veterem religionem discupivimus, non formari novam. Reformata est scilicet, non recens edita Ecclesia. Eadem ergo est, quæ prius fuit; nisi quod ab errorum quorundam superfluis perniciosisque adjectamentis repurgata est. Novane facies est, quæ lota est nuperrime? nova vestis, quæ resarcitur? nova, quæ reparatur, domus? Erubescite, si quis pudor, qui ista nobis tam petulanter insipienterque oggeritis.

Agite jam, Fratres; nos Divina virtute reformati sumus: ne committamus, ut, mutuis interim dissidiis, deformemur. Illud illud est, quod nos plane mutilat et enervat, quodque hostium nos exponit insulturis triumphisque.

Quanquam, ne nimium cessisse videamur probrosæ, maledicentiæ, non tanta sunt litigia nostra, quanta vel cupiunt adversarii vel vociferantur.

Certe, quicquid est quod nos hucusque cruciat discordiarum, non aliis, quam iis ipsis, qui nobis ista exprobrant, germanis hostibus, acceptum referri debet: nam, si illi dextram opportune porrexissent; communemque operam reformandæ, quod tum factum oportuit, Ecclesiæ contulissent; placide cessissent omnia: nullæ hic lites fuissent, nullæ simultates, nulla partium studia: Detrectarunt illi obstinate; effeceruntque, sua et supinitate et pervicacia, ut hoc, quantum est, pensi in paucos quosdam imbelles, pusillosque, ac tantæ provinciæ impares, conjiceretur. Fieri igitur aliter non potuit, quin ut singularium hominum, parum sibi collatæ, sententiæ, in tanto negotio, aliquantulum a se discreparent. Gratias vero tibi, Summe Deus, Pacis Author, qui Spiritu tuo humanam intemperiem compescere dignatus es, ne in atrociora jurgia litesque graviores motæ, discordium mentes ebullirent.

Quantula vero sunt hæc demum dissidia, et creperi certamina belli, quæ tantopere clamitant adversarii?

Nempe, fingunt illi sibi sectarum nomina, ne non satis sit: et, ubi tantillam in autorculi cujuspiam chartis opinionis discrepantiam

animadvertunt, Novum illico Schisma reboant, Sectam Novam. Quis hic livor! Quæ serendi odii lubido! Si sic olim factum fuisset, non tam exiguis pellibus arctata fuissent Augustini, Epiphanii, Philastrii volumnia: tot certe fuissent schismata, quot unquam a nato Evangelio Ecclesiæ doctores extiterunt.

Mittamus numerum, de pondere videamus. Obstrepant quantum volunt Malevoli, inter hos, non de solidis Christianæ Fidei membris, sed de cute, lis est: inter illos, non de cute quidem, sed de veste; at neque de veste ipsa, sed de fimbriis. Dogmata sunt quædam scholastica, classis medioxumæ, Corollaria Theologica, de quibus dissentimus, aut Ritus forte Externi: Fidei Christianæ Principia non sunt.

Sed et ejusmodi sunt hæ controversiæ, quæ, ubi semel deferbuerit, sive zeli sive iracundiæ, æstus, seque mutuo probe intellexit pars utraque, facile possunt reconciliationem admittere.

Neque minus profecto ab ipsis inter se Pontificiis dimicatum est. Magis tegunt illi suas inimicitias; non exercent minus. Magis sapiunt; non magis concordant. Nec quod est, ausim dicere, religionis caput, in quo una et nobis dissonent, et consonent omnes sibi.

Neque denique, gravius istic inter nos disconvenit, quam olim, inter sanctissimos Ecclesiæ Patres; quorum, tamen, lites non tanto posterorum clamore excipi ubique solent. Mitto privata tantorum virorum *ἀντιλοιδορήματα*, plena insuavis cujusdam, et pene dixissem indecoræ, acrimoniæ. Malo ponere vobis ante oculos, boni ominis causa, publicas illas Patrum Ecclesiarumque *ἀντιρρήσεις*, quæ in gratam deinceps concordiam desierunt. In Synodo Ephesina quantæ lites exortæ, inter Cyrillum Alexandrinum et Joannem Antiochenum! Utrique pastorum subjectæ Ecclesiæ non verentur anathematis sibi mutuo *ἀντιβροντᾷν*. Exinde in messem Joannis falcem suam parum feliciter immisit Theodoretus: in quem, Eutyche instigante, graviter invehitur Cyrillus. Apollinarismi incusat Cyrillum Theodoretus: Theodoretus Cyrillum Nestorianismi: exarsit subinde hic furor, Orbemque fere Christianum traxit in partes; ita ut, postmodo, Chalcedonensem Synodum ingredi volenti Theodoreto, reclamarint Egyptii aliique Reverendi Episcopi, "Cyrillum ejicimus, si Theodoretum acceperimus: Canones istum ejiciunt: hunc Deus aversatus est." Idemque demum Actione octava factitatum; Episcopis palam vociferantibus "Hæreticus est, Nestorianus est: Hæreticum mitte foras." Re tamen plene cognita, compertoque denique ipsum et Symbolis Orthodoxis et Leonis Epistolis

libenter subscripsisse, unanimiter acclamatum a Synodo, "Theodoretus dignus est Sede Ecclesiæ: Orthodoxum Ecclesia Pastorem recipiat."

Immortalitate dignum est illud, quod de sanctissimo Athanasio memoravit Gregorius Nazianzenus. Romani Orientalibus Sabellii errorem sequi visi sunt, negando tres Hypostases: Orientales Romanis Arium sapere visi sunt, negando tres Personas: fervet lis: accedit magnus ille animarum dispensator; et, utraque parte leniter benigneque accita, ita negotium transigit, ut, nominum usum concedens, rebus eos constringeret; lumenque præfert, quo se mutuo contuerentur: nec mora: conscii suæ demum orthodoxias, ruunt illico in mutuos amplexus. Neque aliter profecto, uti pie crediderim, cederet nobis fratribus, si quis e cœlo dextras jungeret Athanasius.

O, si clausis semel belli intestini ac nefandi portis: Reformatarum Ecclesiarum Nutricii Principes, auctoritate sua, Synodum indici juberent, quantum fieri potest, Generalem; in qua, libere modesteque, sententiam suam dicerent pars utraque litigantium, statuerenturque communes quidam termini, in quibus utraque tuto posset absque omni sui præjudicio acquiescere! Quam facile, feliciterque, sopirentur hæ tam funestæ lites! Precemur nos hæc, mei Fratres; precemur devotissime.

Animosque, interea, ad pacem unitatemque placide flectamus. Sit inter nos, quod Augustino Hieronymus, pura germanitas. neque sinamus nos, leviculis quibusque opinionum minutiis, distrahi ac divelli. Obliviscamur fuisse unquam in rerum natura, quantum ad sectæ quidem ullius denotationem, Lutherum, Philippum, Zuinglium, Calvinum, Arminium, aut si quod mortale nomen; quid enim nobis cum homine negotii est? Unum spiremus unum ardeamus, Jesum Christum.

Pleiades sumus Theologi, ut ingenuose Gregorius: una micemus omnes, etsi non sine aliquo loci intervallo. Malo Punico grana plurima sunt sub uno cortice: nostis mysterium: nos Mala Punica jungamus tintinnabulis: sonori simus, sed et concordes. Opera, ministeria, dona nostra universa uni Deo Patri, Filio, Spiritui Sancto; uni Capiti, Christo; uni Corpori, Ecclesiæ, corde uno æternum voveamus: ut, uno tincti Baptismate, uno empti Pretio, unam Fidem professi, Unitatem Spiritus retinentes in Vinculo Pacis, uno eodemque Cœlo tandem felicissime perfruamur, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum: Cui, cum Patre, ac Spiritu, sit omnis honor et gloria, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

NOAH'S DOVE,

BRINGING AN OLIVE OF PEACE

TO THE TOSSED ARK OF CHRIST'S CHURCH.

A SERMON PREACHED IN LATIN,

IN THE CONVOCATION HELD IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH,

TO THE CLERGY OF ENGLAND,

AND ESPECIALLY THAT OF THE PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY:

BY JOS. HALL, D. D. AND DEAN OF WORCESTER.

DONE INTO ENGLISH BY R. H.

TO THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

GEORGE,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND AND METROPOLITAN:

TO THE REVEREND LORDS

THE BISHOPS:

AND TO THE WHOLE FLOURISHING CLERGY OF ENGLAND,

ESPECIALLY THAT OF THE PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY,

GATHERED TOGETHER IN THE CONVOCATION AT LONDON:

BEFORE WHOM THIS MEAN SERMON WAS DELIVERED;

J. H.

THE LEAST OF ALL THE SERVANTS OF THE CHURCH,

HUMBLY DEDICATES

THIS HIS POOR AND UNWORTHY LABOUR.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD,

EDWARD, LORD DENNY,

BARON OF WALTHAM, ALL HEALTH AND HAPPINESS.

RIGHT HONOURABLE:

I MIGHT well perceive by the Author that this Sermon was never intended to be published in any other language than that wherein it was first spoken; being, in respect of the matter, in a sort appropriate to that auditory wherein it was delivered. But, besides the common desire of many, finding the translation attempted by divers, and performed by some in such a manner as did not altogether satisfy; it pleased my father herein to improve my leisure: wherein, howsoever I may have somewhat failed of the first elegancy, yet I have not been far short of the sense. I have presumed to dedicate the same to your Lordship, in respect of your many favours and my obligations; for which, besides this officious though unequal requital, I shall still vow my prayers for your Lordship, and remain

Your Lordship's

Most humbly devoted,

ROBERT HALL.

NOAH'S DOVE.

[Translation.]

Ye are here met, which I humbly wish may prove every way prosperous and happy to the Church of God, Most Reverend Father in God, Reverend Bishops, Venerable Deans, Archdeacons, Brethren of the Clergy, by the Providence of our good God, and the command of our gracious Sovereign, to hold an Holy Convocation this day.

Blessed Paul, in whose name this ancient pile doth not a little pride itself, salutes you by my unworthy tongue; and, as if he were present, addresses himself to you, and exhorts you,

In his former Epistle to the Corinthians, the xiith chapter, verse 4.

There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; there are diversities of ministries, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but the same God, &c.

Sir, I beseech you, the meet *correspondence* of all things. Ye are met in one; and here is unity: ye are many of you met from the utmost parts of this large province; and here is manifold diversity: ye are met, the flower of our English clergy, learned and exquisite divines; and here are diversities of gifts: ye are met, the lords and commons of our sacred function; and here are diversities of ministries: ye are met, for the holy affairs of the Church; and here are operations: ye are met, as I verily hope and wish, in unity of spirit; and here is one Spirit: ye are, lastly, met, to consecrate yourselves, your gifts, ministries, operations, to the service of our Lord God; and here is that Lord, that God, whom we profess to serve.

Now that same God, that same Lord Jesus Christ, that same Holy Spirit, be present with us all this day; and, by his blessed influences, guide and govern this sacred meeting; and happily direct all our counsels and endeavours to the glory of his own great name, the salvation of our souls, and the assured edification of his Church, through Jesus Christ!

See here then, honoured prelates and beloved brethren, the loop or combination of both worlds; both the worlds of our divinity: the greater world, God; the lesser world, man. What is there that can so much concern us to know, to behold?

Will ye look up to God? He is one in essence, ὁ αὐτός: Three

in person; the Father, Lord, Spirit: he is Three in One, and One in Three; the Father, Lord, Spirit, *one and the same* God.

Will ye cast your eye to man? ye shall see him not single, but branched into infinite diversity; not bare and naked, but furnished with gifts; not superfluous, but destined to due services; not idle, but busy in meet operations: neither are these operations, services, gifts, all of one kind; but diversely distinguished and varied.

And whence are these so manifold graces, so diverse employments, but from one God; the Father, Lord, Spirit? And wherefore are all these; but that these operations, ministries, gifts, proceeding from one God, Lord, Spirit, may be directed to one, and may end, as they began, in a perfect unity?

O marvellous *conjunction* of divine and human things! O unutterable *communion* of heaven and earth! wherein is laid forth unto us the entire respects and union of God to himself by *consubstantiality*, of God to man by munificence, of man to God by the bond of thankfulness, of men to each other by the bond of charity, of gifts to ministries, of ministries to operations, of all to all.

I shall not now need, neither indeed would it befit me, in so awful an assembly of divines, to dwell upon catechetical points concerning the mystery of the sacred Trinity: although this labour is well worthy of you elsewhere, my brethren; and such as, if I may persuade you, you shall carefully bestow at home. This familiar kind of teaching *the word of the beginnings of Christ* is grown out of fashion. Like ambitious orators, we overlook this popular strain, and *are carried to an affectation of perfection*. You see how the heron can soar high, yet lives, for the most part, in the lowest valley; builds in the tallest trees, yet feeds in the humble marshes: so do ye, my dear fellow labourers; not so much caring to show yourselves learned, as to make your people so.

This by the way. Such as God is, such he expresses himself to us; and such as he expresses himself to us, such he forms us to himself: as the sun, looking upon a cloud fitly disposed for that purpose, imprints in that moist glass a certain bright image of himself, so doth God to his Church. From that celestial and divine Trinity, therefore, is here apparently deduced another Trinity, sublunary and human; of gifts, ministries, operations: from the Spirit are derived gifts; ministries, from the Son; operations, from the Father: *There are diversities of gifts, but the*

same Spirit; of ministries, but the same Lord; of operation, but the same God.

Away with all niceties of Pythagorean calculations. All numbers are alike to me, save those which God himself hath chalked out unto us, as here he hath manifestly done. In one word, an Unity and a Trinity make up this golden sentence. There is a Trinity in this Unity; there is an Unity in this Trinity: first, here is a perfect, that is, a triple Trinity; a Trinity of diversities, a Trinity of faculties, a Trinity of givers; for there are so many *diversities* as faculties, and so many faculties as givers. The faculties are three; gifts, ministries, operations: the Givers three; the Father, the Son, the Spirit; which all are included in one Unity, *τῷ αὐτῷ, the same God.* And yet even that Unity hath his *distinction*, while gifts are, as it were, by a specialty ascribed to the Spirit; ministries, to the Son; to the Father, operations.

That our discourse may not seem too perplexed, we will follow the footsteps of the apostle; and with all possible perspicuity will apply the diversities to the faculties; the faculties to the givers; these Trinities to their Unity; and, this done, draw to a brief conclusion.

A threefold diversity argues multiplicity.

What meant the ancients to dream but of three graces? There are a thousand graces; gifts infinite. Look upon all the grandchildren of Adam that ever were: amongst so many thousand millions of faces, ye shall easily observe some variety of favours. It is a wonder to see what diversity of forms there is in that which we call *beauty.* No twins are so like as not to bewray some dissimilitude. Certainly, there is not so great variety of faces as of minds: as features are to the countenance, so are gifts to the mind: each one hath some, all have many, none have all: *There are diversities of gifts.*

Salmeron, with Cajetan, understands here those gifts which we call *gratias gratis datas,* "graces freely given;" wherein he says true, but not enough: for, as the old word is, "favours must be enlarged;" and those gifts which make us gracious are best worthy of this name. It is not amiss that Hugo reckons up three sorts of God's gifts to man; gifts of nature, of grace, of glory: by the gifts of nature, we are men; by the gifts of grace, we are holy; by the gifts of glory, we shall be blessed. The gifts of nature are memory, reason, will; wherein we excel the brute creatures: the gifts of grace are faith, hope, charity;

wherein we go beyond the devils: the gifts of glory, eternal and true blessedness, blessed and eternal truth, true and blessed eternity; wherein we are equal to the angels. Amongst the gifts of nature, the same author reckons some to be of the lowest rank; some, of the mean; some, of the highest: in the lowest, he accounts beauty and health of body; in the mean, he accounts the faculties of the mind; in the highest, the virtues of the soul: thus *there are diversities of gifts.*

There are some gifts of regeneration; there are some gifts of our calling: by the former, we are born again, for our own good; with the latter, we are furnished, for the good of others: these latter are peculiarly bestowed upon several men; the former are, by a certain common propriety, bestowed upon all the saints of God. For, as in the most wise disposition of this universe, the best things, and those which are necessary for the sustentation of life, as air, light, fire, water, are abundantly given to all; but those things which serve only for ornament and pleasure, as gold, pearl, precious-stones, are more sparingly bestowed upon some few: so every saving grace is abundantly dispensed to all saints by the liberal hand of God; whereas tongues, prophecy, power of miracles, as also eloquence, skill, honour, and the rest of this kind, are reserved only for some few receivers. And in all these what strange diversity there is! They differ, in respect of themselves; being in nature diverse from each other: they differ, in respect of the subject; as being diversely given to one and other; for as the blind bard saw truly, *God doth not give all to all:* they differ, in respect of degree; as they are more given to one than to other. Thus every way *there are diversities of gifts.*

It is the common voice of nature, that the same remaining the same cannot produce but the same; but when we speak of the God of nature, that word of Bonaventure is more true, *ab unissimo Deo manant multiformia; ab æterno, temporalia:* "from that most one God flows multiformity of effects; and from that eternal God, temporal effects." Hugo said well, *In te variatur, qui in se non mutatur;* "He is varied in thee who is not changed in himself." If the divine power had made only one creature, that alonely work of his had been worthy of a God, and such as could proceed from no less than an omnipotent hand; but now he hath created many things, yea, innumerable. If God had made these many creatures altogether uniform, and like

themselves, only distinguished in number not in form, the work had been more excellent and admirable than the frame of any one creature alone: but now, that he hath made these many, these innumerable creatures, no less different from themselves, and so as that the difference of their form strives with the praise of their number, *O the depth of divine wisdom!* O the stupendous workmanship of omnipotency! And yet there is no subject wherein the power and providence of the Almighty doth so much magnify itself as in the diverse *economy* of man. Insomuch as in this little world, there is a world of *diversities*. Marvel at yourselves, brethren; and be astonished at your own prospects. Whether we look at the fashion of the face, or the *proportion* of parts, or the colour of the skin, or the stature of the body, or the endowments of the mind, the degrees of faculties, the disposition of nature, the measure of graces, the opportunities of stations, or, lastly, the outward condition of our life; O good God, what wondrous diversity is here! how impossible is it for the eye to meet twice with the like object, whithersoever it roveth! Thus *there are diversities of gifts.*

Away now from hence with all haughtiness of pride, all mutinies of envy. These two dangers will be sure to haunt the most just inequality: the needy is envious; the rich is proud. "Poor I am contemned; others are set up: others shine in scarlet and purple; while I am patching of nasty rags: others wallow in their wealth and excess; I famish for hunger: others lord it in lofty seats; I am trod under their footstools: others are eloquent; I am a stammerer: others excel in the skill of arts and tongues; I am a silly *ignorant:* and why should not I?" O fool, these that thou talkest of are *gifts;* and therefore freely bestowed where it pleases the Giver. What doth he owe to thee that hath given these things to others? Withal, know, there are *diversities* of gifts: God hath perhaps denied thee heaps of red and white earth; but he hath given thee strength of body: at how high a rate would the great ones of the world buy that blessing of thine! He hath denied thee eloquence; he hath yet given thee sharpness of wit: he hath denied thee honour; but he hath given thee sweet rest, quiet security: he hath denied thee preferment, he hath not denied thee health. Go then, and envy the great man's weak stomach, sleepless nights, racks of cares: envy to him, if thou canst, the slippery stairs of the court, and the common envy of the most. He wants something which thou

enjoyest; and something he hath, which is denied thee: he had rather make choice of thy condition; thou, of his: each of you hath his own; neither of you shall have all; neither shall have both: *there are diversities of gifts.*

Yea, and we, new blown bladders, how easily are we puft up with every blast of gifts! "I am not like other men. How base are the vulgar of men! I sit gloriously impurpled; other fellows may be glad to lick the dust of my footstool: I am enriched with all liberal sciences; *this people, which know not the law, are accursed:* I have skill of tongues; others are rude idiots: I lead the amazed hearers by the ears whither I list, through the power of my oratory; others freeze and languish in their pulpits." Hear, O thou proud man: these things, whereof thou braggest, are not thine own: *What hast thou that thou hast not received?* All these are gifts. And art thou thus happy alone? Vain boaster, thou knowest not others; thou knowest not thyself: *there are diversities of gifts*, which thy thoughts reach not unto. Sit thou aloft, and cheer thyself with the bowed knees of thy suppliants; they are happier men than thyself, that are glad to lie close, and affect a quiet and safe obscurity: be thou more learned than another; that other perhaps is wiser than thou: be thou more eloquent than another man; that other is perhaps more judicious: if thy tongue be richer than another's, his mind is richer than thine.

It is reported, that in the house of worthy M. Luther was found written, *Res et verba, Philippus; Res sine verbis, Lutherus; Verba sine re, Erasmus:* "Melancthon was words and matter; Luther, matter without words; Erasmus, words without matter." Every one hath his own share: neither art thou furnished with all gifts; nor that other with none: let not him envy thee; neither do thou contemn him: rather both apply yourselves to cast in the shot of your contributions to the public good. For to what end hath our bountiful God showered down these divers kinds of gifts from heaven upon man, but that he might hereby provide for the common profit and welfare of mankind? Why hath the blind man legs, and the lame man eyes, but that the one may exchange with the other, for the benefit of both? Thinkest thou, that God meant to heap his gifts upon thee, for thine own sake only? Fie on this shameful self-love. Surely, he that made thee, made thee for a conduit-pipe, to convey, not a cistern to hold, the water of his graces. God hath clothed you,

as ye well know, reverend prelates, with this sacred purple; that you should shine before others, as conspicuous guides of that strait and hard way of life; and that, by your well-bestowed honours, you should credit his Church, and be the servants of many.

Ye perceive now, I imagine, how unexpectedly my speech is glided from gifts to ministries. The author of these gifts, the Spirit of God, leads me by St. Paul's hand: who presently, upon the mention of gifts, subjoins ministries; and upon the mention of ministries, adds operations.

This most munificent *Spirit*, τὸ Πνεῦμα, (that with Athanasius we may note the force of the article,) hath enabled the most of you, fathers and brethren, with an eminent measure of gifts. With what powers of the mind, what singular learning, what powerful eloquence, with how great wisdom, with what gravity, with what titles of honour, with what large dignities! It is a great word that I shall speak; and yet I must and will say it, without all, either arrogance or flattery, *Stupor mundi clerus Britannicus*, "The wonder of the world is the clergy of Britain." So many learned divines, so many eloquent preachers, shall in vain be sought elsewhere this day, in whatever region under the cope of heaven. What should I reckon up those great lights of our Church, not long since set; Jewels, Humfreys, Foxes, Whitgifts, Fulkes, Whitakers, Raynolds, Bilsons, Greenams, Babingtons, Eedeses, Hollands, Playfers, Abbotses, Perkinses, Fields, Hookers, Overalls, Willets, Whites, Masons? There are now of you, under this very roof, that hear me this day, in whose just praises I could be content to spend, not an hour, but a life; were it not that mutual modesty enjoins me silence. How great soever ye are, ye are not your own. All these gifts end in services. O let it please you *to stir up* this grace of God in you; and faithfully to employ all these your gifts to the happy advancement of your ministries. In the practice of your life, as in the course of my speech, let the *diversities of gifts* be taken up with the *diversities of ministries*.

There are then, as differences of gifts, so of ministries. And which be they? differences in offices and in degrees. There were apostles, prophets, evangelists: there are, were, shall be, bishops, presbyters, deacons: these are more than one rank of ministers. It was part of the exploded heresy of Aërius, that took away these *three steps of the clergy*, as the synod of Carthage calls them.

Yea, and somewhere Jerome himself smarts with the lash of this censure; as if perhaps he did more savour of Aërius than of Tully: not without open wrong in both. But I may not now stay upon needless apologies. There is none of you, I hope, can be so witless as to question these diversities of ministries. Did they ever read histories that doubt of this point? Sure, they have never so much as seen them. Turn over all the monuments of times and places, so far as ever Christendom hath spread itself, you shall find nothing more evident. I will not here stand to abridge the annals of all ages and regions. Look upon the councils; and, first of all, the first and chief of those which are styled *general*, the great Council of Nice. You shall there see three hundred and eighteen bishops: so many as Abraham had soldiers in the victory over the kings, as Ambrose wittily alludeth. But perhaps they were then but newly instituted, newly received in the Church: no such matter: those Fathers profess it to be τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη, *the ancient guise*, "that the bishop of Alexandria should be over Egypt, Libya, Pentapolis, as the bishop of Rome was over his suburbicary churches:" do but hear Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, an old man of above threescore, solemnly protesting that he succeeded his grandfathers and great-grandfathers, for seven successive generations, in the same episcopal chair. Hear but Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement, Dorotheus, Eusebius, describing and recording the bishops of Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Rome, in the undoubted order of their successions, not only by their numbers, but by their names also. Certainly, never day looked forth since the age of the apostles, wherein the Spouse of Christ wanted the attendance of these bridemen. But what do I urge this? The sun is in heaven, and shines there. Even Jerome himself, though but a presbyter, and a stout champion of his own order, yet deduceth this difference of degrees from the cradle of the first schism, from the common decree of the first church, from tradition apostolical. Yea, when St. Paul wrote this to his Corinthians, that jarring word had sounded in the Church, *I am Paul's, I am Apollos's, I am Cephas's;* and therefore even then had these *differences* been.

"Differences perhaps in order," you will say, "not in degree:" yes, both in order and in power too. There were those whom St. Paul calls *presidents and rulers;* whom Ignatius calls *governors;* Dionysius, *hierarchs;* Cyprian, *overseers:* to whom St. Paul attributes *power of reformation and correction;* to whom the canons of the apostles give the *power of sentence or constitu-*

tion; Ignatius, *chiefty and authority;* Eusebius, out of Egesippus, *the throne of episcopality;* Cyprian, *the vigour and authority of the chair;* Origen, *the highest pitch of the Church;* Jerome, *a peerless and eminent power;* the Council of Sardis, *the height of government;* and, lastly, Epiphanius, *an order generative of fathers.* But what do I, gleaning after the harvest of so great authors as have discussed this point?

O, how oft, and with what deep sighs, hath this most flourishing and happy Church of England wished that she might, with some of her own blood, have purchased unto her dearest sisters abroad the retention of this most ancient and every way best form of government; which might happily also have taken place, if they had met with such a monarchical reformation, as, through the blessing of God, was designed unto us. Now they are fain to undergo that administration, "provisionally only," if we may believe wise and learned Fregevil, which the necessity of their condition doth for the time cast upon them. The God of heaven raise them up queens for their nurses, and kings for their nursing-fathers, that they may once enjoy with us this happy blessing *of the sequence and subordination of degrees!*[a] In the meantime, I dare, with Ignatius, profess *to put my soul ἀντίψυχος,* &c., *in pawn for the safe observation of this excellent order:* which, if it have ever not happily succeeded to any region or church, it is the fault of the person, not of the institution itself; which cannot justly be deemed other than wholesome, holy, divine.

But remember, I beseech you, in the meanwhile, reverend fathers, that these are *διακονίαι, ministries;* a word raked out of the very dust, lest it should not imply humility enough. Ye are graced with honours by the pious munificence of princes: but our Lord Jesus Christ, ye know, uses to measure your honours by your services. Ye are fathers of the Church, but sons of the Bridechamber; peers of the State, but servants of the Church; generals of this warfare, but, with St. Paul, *fellow soldiers;* rulers in God's house, but withal *fellow-servants.* Intreat your clergy kindly, use them familiarly; as knowing yourselves to be fathers in dignity, brethren in service. Ye know the counsel of Saint Ambrose: let those of the clergy, within your charge, be as limbs of your own body: God hath called you *stars* and *angels,* imitate ye the stars, which, the higher they are, the lesser they are wont to appear; imitate ye the angels, who, though peers of

[a] "To use the words of Nazianzen," the original adds here.—PRATT.

heaven, yet are wont to approve themselves *ministering spirits* for the poorest of God's saints: no spectacle can be more odious than a proud prelate.

But hear me also, O ye laics. Take heed of contemning this sacred function. These are *ministries* indeed, but glorious and honourable. To serve God is to rule and command; and what is it, even to serve you? Surely those heavenly spirits, those principalities and powers, do the very same to us continually; whom yet their love and service hath never drawn into contempt. *We beseech you, brethren, that you know them which labour amongst you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; and hold them dear for their work's sake.*

We have despatched the *diversities of ministries:* now follows that of *operations.*

God hath not ordained to himself idle services, but busy and painful. One governs: another teaches: a third doth both teach and govern; worthy therefore of double honour, *for his rule, for his labour.* And he that governs, sometimes must strike with the rod; sometimes, with the sword: one while, he must kindly allure; another while, he must sharply punish: he must uphold the falling, retain the wavering, reduce the wandering. And, for him that teaches, it is not only the charge of *doctrine* that lies upon him, but of *reproof,* of *correction,* of *instruction in righteousness:* one while, he directs with counsels; then, he erects with promises; then again, he dejects with threatenings: he wounds the whole, salves the wounded, works always.

The office of a bishop is καλὸν ἔργον, *a worthy work.* Whosoever plays in this holy chair shall once wail in hell. Saint Bernard said well, in that famous epistle of his to Henricus Senonensis: "Many would not so eagerly run to honours if they could think them burdens: certainly they would fear to be crushed with this weight, neither would with so much pain and peril gape for every promotion." Thus he.

But will it please you withal to hear what that pious censor casts in the teeth of his own times: *Sola attenditur gloria, et non pœna: curritur in Clero passim, &c.* "The dignity only is cared for, not the duty: men of all ages and ranks in the clergy, learned and unlearned, run to spiritual cures, as if they might live for ever, *sine curis,* when once they have gotten cures of souls." Do you mark well this prophecy, for such it might seem, of the oracle of Clarevall? Would to God this were not the very

disease of our times! There be some delicate pieces that thrust themselves into fat benefices only that they may make much of one, and give themselves over to their pleasure and ease: even of those mouths, which are sacred to God, there want not some, which, out of a wanton custom, savour of nothing but Indian soot; and take more pleasure to put forth a cloud of smoke than the thunderings and lightnings of the law: some negligent pastorlings there are, which have more heed to their own hides than to the souls of their people. I speak plain truth in a plain fashion, *nuda nudè*, as that faithful monitor professes.

Howsoever, I beseech you, brethren, suffer yourselves to be stirred with this poor speech of mine. Even sleeping lions are wont to be awakened with the sting of a gnat. Are these the *operations*, the *diversities* whereof call God their Father? God indeed, but *Deum ventrem;* that beastly deity, the belly: I tremble to add the rest, but I must; *whose glory is their shame, whose end is damnation.* Is it now time for us to play and keep holiday? Behold two cruel enemies are upon us—impiety and superstition: and do we either sit still with our hands folded, or rise, and in a wilful carelessness open the gates to our enemy? That Sovereign Master of ours, the great Householder of the World, when he was to go forth into a far country, yea rather, when he was to return to his own everlasting country and ours, committed to every one of us one talent at the least, to some, more; and bade us, *negotiamini dum venio, traffick till I come.* Lo, he bade us *negotiari*, not *nepotari;* "to trade," not "to trifle;" to labour, not to debauch. And is this the traffick which he requires, to seek our own, to take our ease, to say nothing, to do worse? No, these are those unclean napkins rather, wherein we have slothfully hid the talents which we should have improved to the gain of our Master, by putting them into the hands of the exchangers. That awful Judge of heaven and earth will be sure, upon his return, to call us to an account; which if we must give for our idle words, why not also for our idle silence, as Ambrose wittily. What shall we wretched creatures then answer for ourselves? where shall we appear? It is a fearful word, *O evil servant,* but more fearful that which follows, *Bring him hither, and kill him before me.* O then, let me entreat you, let me adjure you, brethren, by the dear respect to your own souls, by the bowels, yea by the wounds and precious blood of Jesus Christ, by that dreadful tribunal before which we must all one day stand, that you carefully endeavour to set forth

and accomplish your ministries with all holy operations. *Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, exhort, with all longsuffering and doctrine.* Let every of us study to approve himself unto God, *a labourer that shall not be ashamed,* and *a right divider of the word of truth.* O sweet word, and such as in comparison whereof the very harmony of heaven sounds harshly—*Well done, good servant; thou hast been faithful in a little, enter into thy Master's joy!* O let it be our only ambition, dear brethren, that we may once hear this word. Let us work that which God hath commanded, and God shall be sure to crown that which we have wrought.

Yea, and ye, honoured fathers, who are this day met to consult of the weighty affairs both of Church and Commonwealth, work now; if ever ye have wrought heretofore, if ever ye will work hereafter, now work. *A large door and effectual is opened unto you, and many adversaries.* Ye see how audacious *will-worship* hath of late set upon us; how proudly the Tridentine faith hath advanced her crest, and hath dared to fly fiercely in the very face of the Gospel. The Romish forces put themselves openly into array, and have dared to sound, not an alarm only, but (which no wise man knows whether he should more stamp at or scorn) a victory. They presume to erect here amongst us an hierarchy emulous to yours, and, in the time of your life and health and vigour, appoint what heirs shall succeed in your sees. What wise spectator can think this indignity to be endured? Is this to be smothered in silence? Is this to be any longer winked at? Rouse up yourselves, O ye holy fathers, if there be any ardour of piety in your breasts, and destroy this Tyberine monster (popery I mean) with the breath of your mouths: and whatever grace and authority ye have with our gracious king, with the peers, and commons of this realm, improve it all with your best prayers and counsels, to the utter extermination of idolatry, to the happy victory and advancement of the sincere truth of God.

And thus ye see with how swift a pace I have run over these *operations, ministries, gifts,* and the *diversities* of them all. One thing only remains to be duly considered of us, and that is, that all these *ministries, gifts, operations,* do flow from one and the same Spirit, Lord, and God; this Trinity from an Unity. Wherein ye easily discover the emphasis to lie, not so much in the author as in the *identity,* τῷ αὐτῷ. I shall not therefore in the remainder of my discourse prosecute either *the wonderful*

wisdom, or absolute perfection, or the bountiful liberality of God; but rather drive my speech to the consideration of the Unity of this gracious Giver of all these.

We, silly men, in the height of our bounty, bestow some one favour upon some one subject: but this one God hath bestowed all upon all, and upon every one some: neither may we conceive of any other, whether fountain or ocean of good. And why hath our apostle so carefully beaten upon this point; urging, not so much the beneficence, as the unity of the Giver? Surely, as Salmeron guesses well, *ut schismatum radices evelleret*, "that he might pull up the roots of schisms:" for if there were diverse givers, there might be some reason for every sect to stand for the author of his own gift, of his own ministry; but now, that one and the same Spirit hath given to every one these diverse gifts, that one and the same Lord hath appointed to every one these diverse ministries, that one and the same God hath distributed to every one these diverse operations, why should not all these gifts, ministries, operations, unanimously conspire to the glory of that one Giver and Founder of them all?

Certainly, every thing here sounds of unity. The Church is an entire body, as our apostle speaks soon after: we are members of it. One man is an eye; another, an ear; a third is a tongue: one is a palate; another, an hand; another, a foot; yea, one is a thumb; another, a little finger; or, if lower yet, a joint of that small limb. We must all concur in our desires and endeavours to the constitution and maintenance of this one body: whosoever he be that doth otherwise, he is justly found guilty, not only of the violation of the public weal, but of divine unity.

And now, O ye reverend fathers, I find myself entered into a pleasing and ample commonplace, and such a one as wherein I could wish, with Peter, to fix the tabernacle of my abode. Would to God your leisure could allow you to walk along with me a while through these sweet and flowery meads of unity and happy conspiration of thoughts! And yet I shall not so much bend the residue of my speech to the praise of unity (to what purpose were that waste?) as to the necessary vindication of it from the unjust challenges of the enemies of peace.

It is an heavy crime, and, of all other, the most heinous, wherewith we are charged by the Romanists, that we are fallen off from the catholic Church; that we have rent the seamless coat of Christ, yea broken his bones, and torn his very body in

pieces: whereof if we were indeed guilty, how unworthy were we to breathe in this air; how most worthy of the lowest hell! But we call heaven and earth to record how unjustly this calumny is cast upon us; yea, we protest, before God and men, that the envy of this so foul a crimination lights most justly upon the heads of the accusers.

May it please you to hear a short apologue. A certain man invited to a feast one or two of his friends, and entertained them bountifully. They sat together lovingly; they ate together; and were merry one with another. In the second course, as the custom is, the master offereth them wine; sets before them an apple. Now a worm had somewhat eaten the apple, and a spider by chance had fallen into the cup: the guest sees, and baulks it: the master urgeth him; "Why do you not eat?" quoth he, "why drink you not?" "I dare not," saith the other; "it is not safe to do either; seest thou not this vermin in the cup, and that in the apple?" "Tush," saith the master, "what so great matter is this? It was I that set this before thee; it was I that began to thee in the other[b]: drink it, eat it, at least for my sake." "But suffer me first," replies the guest, "to take out this spider, to cut out this worm: the wine, the apple, likes me well enough; the spider, the worm, I cannot away with." "Away with such overnice and curious companions," quoth he again: "Fie upon thee, thou ungrateful fellow, that dost so little regard my friendship, so contemn my cheer!" and with that, in a rage, throws the platters and pots in the very face of his guest; and thrusts him out of doors, all wounded.

Tell me now, I beseech you, worthy auditors, whether of these violates the laws of hospitality? I dare say you have easily applied it before me. There was a time when we sat together in a familiar manner with these Romanists, and fared well. The spider in the cup, the worm in the apple, what else be they but superstition in their worship, rotten and unwholesome traditions in their faith? Without these, the religion pleaseth us well: but they will needs importunately thrust these upon us; and we, refusing, are therefore scorned, spit upon, beaten, and cast out Had they but given us leave to take out this spider, this worm, we had still

[b] "It was I that began to thee in the other," is a singular interpretation of the words, "Ego miscui," in the original. The obvious meaning, "It was I that prepared it," or, "I prepared it," suits best with the context.—PRATT.

eaten and drank together most gladly: they obstinately resisted, and preferred their own headstrong will to our good and safety; nay, they repel us with reproaches, strike us with their thundering anathemas, condemn us to the stakes. What should we do in this case? Hear, O heavens, and hearken, O earth! and Thou, Almighty God, the Maker and Governor of them both, suffer thyself and thy glorious spirits to be called to the testimony of our innocency. We are compelled, we are driven away from the communion of the Church of Rome. They forced us to go from them, who departed first from themselves.

We have willingly departed from the communion of their errors; from the communion of the Church we have not departed. Let them renounce their erroneous doctrine; we embrace their Church: let them but cast away their soul-slaying traditions; we will communicate with them in the right of one and the same Church, and remain so for ever.

But, alas! I must be forced to complain, and that not without extreme grief of heart, how that it cannot be determined, whether those that boast themselves for catholics be greater enemies to truth or to charity: to truth, in that they have of late forged *new errors*, and forced them upon the Church; to charity, in that they have not stuck to condemn the adverse part, and to brand them with the black mark of heresy.

I will speak, if you please, more plainly. Three manner of ways do these Romanists offend against charity: first, that they will not remit any thing, either of their most convicted opinion or vicious practice; no, not for peace' sake: secondly, that for articles of Christian faith, they put upon the Church certain opinions of their own; false, doubtful, and uncertain, peculiar only to the schools, which do no whit touch the foundation of religion: and, lastly, that if they meet with any faithful and sound monitors, which do never so little gainsay these new articles, they cruelly cast them out of the bosom of the Church, and throw them headlong into hell: "Away with these schismatics, heretics, atheists!"

I wis the protestants have no Church, no faith, no salvation. Good Lord! what fury, what frenzy distempers Christians; that they should be so impotently malicious against those who profess themselves to be redeemed by the ransom of the same most precious blood! At length, at length, O ye Christians, be wise; and

acknowledge those whom the God and Father of mercies holds worthy of his arms, yea of his bowels.

Let frantic error bawl what it list, we are Christians, we are catholics; the undivided members of one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church. Let us meet at this bar, if you please. Let who will maintain the plea. What is it which maketh a Church? What is it which maketh that Church one, holy, catholic, apostolic?. Is it not one, holy, catholic, apostolic faith? But which is that? Is it not the same which was delivered by Christ and the apostles to the whole world, and was always and every where approved through all ages, even unto our times? Wherefore are the scriptures, wherefore the creeds, wherefore were the primitive councils, but that there might be certain marks whereby catholics might be undoubtedly discerned from heretics? You know the epilogue of the Athanasian Creed—"This is the Catholic Faith." If we may believe Leo, the heads of all heresies are quite cut off with this one sword of the Creed: how much more then, with that two-edged sword of the scriptures, and of the fathers, their interpreters! What then? Those that then were catholics, can they in any age be condemned for heretics? No: faith is always constant to itself: and so is the Church, that is built upon that faith. Did we ever deny, or make doubt of any article or clause of that ancient divinity? Either then Christ himself, the apostles, councils, fathers, erred from the catholic truth, or we yet remain catholics.

Whatever other opinions we meet withal concerning religion, neither make nor mar it. Say they be false; say they be vicious; they are but hay and stubble, which nothing appertain to the foundation of this everlasting frame. The Church may be either more sound or more corrupt for them; it cannot be more or less a Church. The beauty or deformity of a Church may consist in them; the strength, the welfare of it doth not. Surely, whosoever willingly subscribes to the Word of God, signed in the everlasting monuments of Scripture, to the ancient Creeds, to the four General Councils, to the common consent of the Fathers for six hundred years after Christ, which we of the Reformed Church religiously profess to do; if he may err in small points, yet he cannot be an heretic. Some particular Church may easily offend by imputing heresy to an undeserved opinion, whether perhaps true or lightly erroneous; but neither soul nor Church can

greatly err, while it treads in the steps of the most ancient and universal. Must he therefore of necessity die a Romanist that would die a catholic? This is an idle fancy, and worthy of no less than Bedlam.

Give me leave, ye reverend fathers; the blessed ghost of the most holy and latest bishop[c] of this see interrupts my speech, and charges me not to suffer his ashes so shamefully to be wronged. I can neither be silent for indignation, nor speak for anger. It was not only rumoured, but books were cast abroad over the world, concerning the revolt of this worthy and excellent prelate; reporting, that at his death he reconciled himself to the Church of Rome, and with many sighs renounced the heresies of the Church of England; and at last, being absolved by a popish priest, sweetly slept in the faith of the Church of Rome. Neither did his departed soul want, somewhere, as is reported, suffrages and oblations of massmongers in this behalf. O Immortal God! what blasphemy is here! Can impudency itself so cast off all shame, as to raise so slanderous a lie, thus boldly, against the credit of so many witnesses, against the solemn detestation of their own priest, against the religious oaths of his nearest friends and domestic servants, against the sermon and public writings of his learned son, a son well worthy of such a father? Other lies have some colour to plead for their credit; this, besides boldness, hath none at all. How many of us sat by that faithful pastor of ours, then breathing towards his last, and received from his dying lips words of most constant piety! And some of you, reverend fathers, devoutly received with him that sacred *viaticum*, the last bread that ever he tasted, even the bread of the Lord; and were witnesses of the last motions of his soul, then ready to depart, and breathing towards his heaven. Ours he lived; ours he died; and now, as ours, is crowned in heaven. Go on now, ye miszealous spirits: go on to lie stoutly: somewhat will always stick fast to the accusers[d]; but in the mean time, it cannot be truth that needs the props of lies. Only this *by the way*.

Let the boldest sophister of the Romish school come forth now, and if he can for shame, let him undertake to prove, that those most noted additions of the Tridentine faith (which only we reject) were received of all the Church, in all ages, for necessary

[c] [See note, page 18.]

[d] "To the accusers," is added by the translator, but I suspect that it is an error of the press for "to the accused," which the sense requires.—PRATT.

heads of religion; or let him confess, as he needs must, that we have still constantly persisted in the communion of one, holy, catholic Church and Faith. He shall easily bewray his own novelty, but never shall evince any heresy of ours.

It is a golden saying of Cardinal Contarenus; hearken, I beseech you, if any ingenuous spirit of you all be a friend to Rome: *Non opus est concilio, non syllogismis, ad sedandas hasce Lutheranorum turbas, &c.* "There needs no council," saith he, "no syllogisms, to allay these broils of the Lutherans; but only charity, humility, and a sincere mind: that, being void of all self-love, we may be persuaded to correct and reform those things wherein we have manifestly transgressed." Thus he. Thou art wise indeed, O Contarenus. Would to God thy fellows were so also!

But we, forsooth, are the disobedient and rebellious children of our mother the Church; whose commands while we disdain to receive, and obey and reverence her decrees, we are enwrapped in a shameful schism, and stricken with the curses of an angry mother. Surely this were an odious contumely. But for us, we have not acknowledged her a mother; a sister, we have. But, grant we were sons; yet we are no slaves. To forge a new faith, and imperiously thrust it upon her own, is not the part of an indulgent parent, but of a tyrant. This lawless liberty, we confess, we could never endure; and therefore are we openly thunderstricken with more than one anathema. Neither have they otherwise dealt with us than that foolish fellow in Gerson, who, being very busy to drive away a fly from his neighbour's forehead, brained the man.

But lament ye with me, my brethren, the woful case of that church that hath learned to fit her faith to the times, and is more impatient of a remedy than of the disease. Whilst they so eagerly persecute us, let us heartily pity them. And let us still wish to them that which they envy and deny to us—salvation: *Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.*

Our prayers, our tears, our admonitions, must not be wanting. Return to yourselves now at last, O ye Christian souls; return from whence you have sensibly declined. Recover your *first love*, your *first works*. Suffer not yourselves any longer to be mocked with the glorious title of a Church. Frame yourselves to that holy unity which hitherto you have so stiffly resisted: which if once we might live to see effected, you should well find, as it runs in the Law of the Twelve Tables, that the recovered should with

us have the same privileges with the healthful. Behold, we are ready, as our gracious and peaceable king James piously undertook, to meet you half way.

But if they shall still obstinately cast off all hope of unity; and, being set on fire with the hatred of peace, shall go on to delight themselves only in the alarum of their sacred trumpet, as they call it; why should not we, religiously and entirely, keep peace among ourselves? I speak to all the sons of the purer Church, wheresoever dispersed.

We profess this Church of ours by God's grace reformed: reformed, I say; not new made, as some emulous spirits spitefully slander us. For me, *I am ready to sink to the very ground,* when I hear that hedge-row reproach, "Where was your religion before Luther? Where was your Church?" Hear, O ye ignorant; hear, O ye envious cavillers: we desired the reformation of an old religion, not the formation of a new. The Church accordingly was reformed, not new wrought. It remains therefore the same Church it was before, but only purged from some superfluous and pernicious additaments of error. Is it a new face that was lately washed? a new garment that is but mended? a new house that is repaired? Blush, if ye have any shame, who thus ignorantly and maliciously cast this in our teeth.

Go to now, my brethren, we are by God's grace reformed; let us take heed lest we be deformed again by mutual dissensions. This is that which weakens and lames us, and which lays us open to the insulting triumphs of our adversaries.

Yet, lest we should seem to give too much way to a spiteful slander, these jars of ours are not so great as our enemies either desire or clamour.

Certainly, what discords soever hitherto have troubled us, we are beholding to none other for them, but to these our kind enemies who upbraid us with them: for if they had but reached forth unto us an helping hand in due time, and jointly conferred their endeavours, which then behoved them, for the reforming of the Church, all had run squarely on; there had been no jars, no grudgings, no parts' taking: but they stiffly refused; and, by their frowardness and pertinacy, caused this, so weighty a task, to be cast upon some few; and those both weak, unable, and altogether unfit for such a charge. It could not therefore be otherwise, but that the opinions of some single men, not conferred together in such a business, must needs somewhat differ. But,

thanks be to thee, O blessed God, the Author of peace, that hast vouchsafed by thy Spirit so to bridle the distemperate affections of men, that their busy spirits being stirred up have not boiled forth into more fearful divisions.

But what are these so great dissensions and blows of bloody war which our adversaries so cry out upon?

Forsooth, rather than want, they can feign names of sects to themselves: and where they can find the least difference in the paper of any obscure author of ours, presently they cry out, New schisms, New sects. What malice is this! What eager desire of multiplying quarrels! If it had been so of old, so small hides had not served to contain the volumes of Augustine, Epiphanius, Philastrius: there had not been fewer sects than teachers since the publishing of the Gospel.

But let us pass over the number, and come to the weight. Let the malicious prattle what they will, with some of ours, the controversy is not about any solid limbs of Christian faith, but only of the very skin: with some others, not about the skin, but the garment rather; nor about the garment itself neither, but of the very hem. There are certain scholastical opinions of a middle rank, mere theological corollaries, or perhaps some outward ceremonies, wherein we dissent; principles of Christian religion there are not.

And, withal, these controversies are but such, as that, when the heat, whether of zeal or anger, shall abate, and either part shall well understand each other, they will easily admit of a reconciliation.

Neither have these very Romanists lesser quarrels amongst themselves. They can more hide their enmities, not exercise them less. If they be more wise, they are not more accordant. Neither is there, I dare say, any head of religion wherein they do at once differ from us and agree all with one another.

Finally, our differences are no greater than were those of old among the holy fathers of the Church, whose quarrels notwithstanding are not so odiously blazoned by posterity. I let pass the *private scoldings* of the ancients, not without some unpleasing, I had almost said misbeseeming, tartness. I had rather set before your eyes, for good luck's sake, those *public altercations* of the Churches and Fathers, which afterward shut up in a blessed concord. What quarrels arose at the Council of Ephesus, between Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch! The Churches under both stuck not to *counterthunder* anathemas one against another.

Thereupon Theodoret thrust in his sickle into this harvest: against whom Cyrillus, by Euoptius' instigation, makes a strong opposition. Theodoret accuseth Cyril of Apollinarism: Cyril accuses Theodoret of Nestorianism: the flame of their rage brake out more and more, and almost drew the Christian world to parties; so that afterwards, when Theodoret would have entered the Council of Chalcedon, the Egyptian and other reverend bishops cried out, "We must cast out Cyril if we take in Theodoret: the very canons cast him forth: God abhors him." The like was done afterwards in the eighth action, the bishops openly proclaiming, "He is an heretic, a Nestorian; away with the heretic!" But when the matter was well scanned, and it was found that he willingly subscribed to the orthodox creeds and the epistle of Leo, the whole synod with one accord cried out, "Theodoret is well worthy of a see in the Church: let the Church receive her orthodox pastor."

It is worthy of immortality, that which Gregory Nazianzen recordeth of holy Athanasius. The Romans seemed to the Eastern churches to follow the heresies of Sabellius, in denying three hypostases: the Eastern likewise seemed to the Romans to favour too much of Arius, in denying three persons: the quarrel grew hot: then came that great dispenser of souls, and having meekly and mildly called forth both sides before him, he so handled the business, that granting them the free use of their terms, he tied them close to the matter, and showed them a light whereby they might behold one another: upon this, without more ado, finding themselves both in the right, they fall to mutual embracements. Neither would it speed otherwise with us, brethren, as I do verily believe, if some Athanasius from heaven would but join our hands together.

O, if once the gates of intestine and horrid wars were shut up; and the religious princes, which are the nursing fathers of the reformed churches, would command, by virtue of their authority, a synod to be assembled, as general as it might; wherein both parts freely and modestly might lay forth their opinions, and such common terms might be agreed upon, as wherein both parts might freely rest without prejudice to either! how easily then, how happily, might these grievous stirs be quietly pacified! Let us pray for this, my brethren, let us pray devoutly.

In the mean while, let us all sweetly incline our hearts to peace and unity. Let there be amongst us, as St. Augustine to Jerome,

pure brotherhood. Neither let us suffer ourselves, upon every slight quirk of opinion, to be distracted or torn asunder. Let us forget that there were ever any such, in respect of the devotion of a sect, as Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Zuinglius, Arminius, or if any other mortal name; for what have we to do with man? Let us breathe nothing, let us affect nothing, but Jesus Christ.

We divines are Pleiades, as Gregory saith wittily: let us therefore shine still together, though not without some difference of place. In a pomegranate are many grains under one rind: you know the mystery: let us join these pomegranates to our bells; let us be loud, but consorted. Let us devote for ever, with one heart, all our operations, ministries, gifts, to one God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; to one Head, Christ; one body, the Church: that, being washed with one baptism, ransomed with one price, professing one faith, and holding the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, we may at last happily enjoy one and the same heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord: to whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be ascribed all honour and glory, for evermore. Amen.

JOSEPHI HALLI
EXONIENSIS EPISCOPI,

Αὐτοσχεδίασματα:

VEL

MEDITATIUNCULÆ SUBITANEÆ,

èque re natâ subortæ.

INCLYTO HEROI:

Dº. JACOBO, COMITI CARLEOLENSI[a];

REGIÆ MAᵀᴵ. AB INTIMIORE ET CONSILIO, ET CUBICULO:

FAUSTA QUÆQUE

Quæ Anglice pridem edita, sub auspiciis nobilissimi Doncastrii tui lucem salutarunt, quin modo Latina tuum, Illustris Heros, ambire ament patrocinium? Juris illa publici fecerat, me parum refragante, filius: ista non erubesco me patrem vocent. Nimirum, hoc ætatis, ubi plerique senum non immerito, veterum studiorum, desuetæque diu linguæ, oblivionem causari solemus, nemo mihi vitio verterit rejuvenescere quodammodo jam sero animum, Romæque ac Athenarum etiamnum velle recens meminisse.

Illud vero cum primis mihi cordi est, linguas exteras, mea qualiacunque in suos traduxisse idiotismos: nempe, quo meis fruuntur plures, eo me ditiorem felicioremque sentio. Siquid mihi exciderit boni, omnium esto. Gratulor idcirco mihi, D. Jacomoti[b], aliorumque fidorum interpretum, calamos benevolos. Fas tamen sit dicere, et Latine et Gallice ab aliis aliquibus versa quædam mea, non nimium mihi placuisse: qui nativo quidem villo mea prodire mavelim incuriosius; quam serico alterius haud bene interim concinnato, male induta.

Ne forte queri posset hoc idem ista senii mei propages, eo magis chara quo sera magis, ipsa Latio donare volui familiares hasce non inutilium cogitationum minutias; jussique tuo nomine, exteris quibusque jam diu celeberrimo, superbire. Tu, pro ea, qua omnes exuperare soles, mira comitate suavitateque morum, serenus excipies hanc officii mei observantiæque strenam qualemcunque.

Quidni vero hoc mihi ausim fidenter polliceri? Diu est, ex quo novit orbis hic noster, quam ego me totum tibi soceroque tuo præclarissimo, Heroum corculo, Comiti Norvicensi, ab ineunte juventute, debuerim voverimque.

Idem utrique vestrum splendidissimæque utriusque familiæ, quamlibet loco disitissimus, et affectu intimus, et officiis quibusque devinctissimus usque permansero.

JOS. EXON.

E Palatio nostro Exoniensi;
Novemb. 29, 1634.

[a] [James Hay, Earl of Carlisle. He had married the daughter of — Denny, Earl of Norwich, and was the father of Viscount Doncaster, both alluded to in this dedication.]

[b] [J. J. Jacomot, of Bar-le-Duc in Lorraine, author of some Latin Poems.]

PROLOQUIUM AD LECTOREM.

Occurrerunt mihi ultro meditatiunculæ istæ: ego illas non solicitavi importunius; imo, ne accersivi quidem: sponte oblatas admisi non illibenter, nec morosius repuli; admissas excepi familiariter; exceptas, denique, permisi prodire in vulgus, non cura et studio comptas, non ornatas elegantius, sed nativa simplicitate indutas, procul et sordibus et fastu.

Mille mihi, fateor, hujusmodi cogitationes, quæ mea fuit incuria, neglectæ exciderunt evanueruntque: istas ego chartulæ meæ servandas dedi, ne itidem perirent. Meo prius idiomate editas donavi Latinitate, ut pluribus prodesse possint, quæ meis placuissent. Quarum forte exemplum, re fuerit ipsa utilius.

Agilis quippe est hæc anima humana; neque minus possibile est ut non cogitet, quam ut nihil quicquam videat oculus apertus. Si curæ nobis foret notiones quasque salutares adservare studiosius, nimis profecto ditesceret genus humanum. Nobis certe si probe consultum voluerimus, nullum quamlibet exile subitumve objectum prætervolaverit, absque suo et usu et beneficio. Quicquid uspiam videmus prælegit nobis nova et prudentiæ documenta et pietatis. Turpe est homini, ut, sub tot præceptoribus, parum sapiat.

Quod ad me, nollem equidem superesse diutius, quam me oculi mei aliquid doceant: jam vero curæ pretium duxi, exemplo præire aliis, ut infirmiores, si qui sint, animi, inde discant cogitationibus quibusque obviis meliorescere. Lectorem igitur meum, quisquis fuerit, exoratum volo, ut, hac ratione, et me et seipsum beare velit; perdiscatque, ex hoc meo libellulo, magnum Dei volumen (mundum intelligo) utiliter perlegere.

MEDITATIUNCULÆ SUBITANEÆ.

I. *Conspecto cœli motu.*

Nihil quicquam præter terram quiescere video: cætera quæque motu perpetuo agitantur. Etiam et aqua illa, quæ unum cum terra globum constituit, continuo fluxu et refluxu reciprocatur: nubes, supra caput volitantes; supra nubes, cœlum ac sidera; sic aguntur perpetim: hæc, uti præ cæteris eminent conspicua, ita nobis exempla præferunt perpetuæ activitatis.

Quid tandem æmulemur nos æque, ac speciosam hanc mundi machinam? O Deus, quoties precamur supplices, ut fiat voluntas tua in terris sicut in cœlo, tametsi præcipue intelligamus loci illius incolas beatissimos; non tamen excludimus locum ipsum cælitum illorum receptaculum, quo minus exemplo nobis sit veræ perfectæque obedientiæ. Circumvolutio cœli tui perpetua est et perennis; itidem faxis, o Deus, ut nunquam non in aliquid ferar voluntati tuæ consentaneum: motus cœli tui regularis est, nunquam a constitutis sibi terminis, vel minimum divaricans; ita faxis, in via præceptionum tuarum, absque omni diversione aberrationeve a linea Legis tuæ, constanter usque obambulem. In hoc cœlestium motu, quamvis stellæ quædam peculiares sibi quosdam et contrarios motus sortiantur; singulæ tamen rapidæ circumgyrationi primi motoris se ultro subjiciunt: itidem et ego, tametsi voluntatem habeo propriam liberamque; faxis tamen, ut in omnibus vitæ viis, me totum dedam a Spiritu tuo dirigendum gubernandumque. Homo microcosmus est: anima cœlum; corpus terra est: si hæc terra mea fixa maneat inersque; faxis tamen, o Deus, ut cœlum hoc meum, sicut et tuum, jugiter atque ordinate moveatur, Spirituique tuo, velut primo motori, intelligentiæve sapientissimæ potentissimæque, perpetuo subjiciatur.

II. *Ad conspectum horarii scioterici.*

Si sol radiis suis non illustraret horarium istud, nemo illud profecto intueretur: nubilum ubi cœlum est, negligitur hoc plane, statque velut inutilis aridusque truncus; ubi, vero, radii illi paulo clarius emicuerint, accurrit viator omnis, oculosque illo conjicit intentius.

O Deus, quando tu vultum a me tuum absconderis, creaturæ tuæ omnes, ut mihi quidem videtur, prætereundo me lubenter negligunt. Certe vero, quid sum ego sine te? Si tu lineolas in me quasdam duxeris, insculpserisque mihi quædam non contemnendarum facultatum specimina; si, tamen, efficaci gratia tua, ista parum in actum redigantur, omnia hæc, quoad usum utilitatemque, vix, quid, sane nihilo meliora sunt: ubi, vero, lumen benignissimi vultus tui mihi tandem reddere dignatus fueris, certam felicemque conditionis meæ vicissitudinem illico persentisco: omnia me nunc ita alacriter officioseque contuentur, quasi propositum iis foret adserere verbum illud tuum, *Honorantes me honorabo:* nunc, linea omnis ac figura, quam mihi inscribere volueris, utili alicui salutarique directioni inservit. O Domine, gloria tibi redundat tota. Da tu mihi lumen: ego aliis documentum subministrabo: utrique tibi laudem tribuemus.

III. *Visa eclipsi solis.*

Lux quidem ordinarium est ac familiare beneficium; ita, tamen, nobis charum, ut illius, vel pro unius horulæ spatio, interceptio mundum totum attonitum peneque exanimem reddere soleat. Duo magna cœli luminaria, uti lumen nobis ambo impertiunt, ita et idem sibi mutuo subtrahunt: lunam obscurat sol, terræ umbram in oppositam ejus faciem projiciendo: vicem hanc rursum soli rependit luna, opaco corpore suo, inter oculos nostros et gloriosos ipsius radios, trajecto: utroque non parum afficitur terra.

O Deus, si nos ita affligimur obfuscatione tantilla partis alicujus creatorum a te luminarium, vel brevi horulæ unius alteriusve momento; quæ tandem oborietur confusio, ubi tu, qui horum luminarium Deus es, et præ quo meræ sunt ista tenebræ, faciem tum a creatura tua æternum subduxeris! O tu, qui Sol es Justitiæ, si peccatorum meorum unumquodque faciem tuam obnubilaverit; noli, tamen, sinere ut vel gravissimum delictorum meorum luminis tui deliquium mihi unquam inducat. Tu splendes semper, cum te nullus videam; noli permittere sic ut obscurent vultum tuum peccata mea, ut te videre omnino non possim.

IV. *Conspecta stella cadente.*

Quam facile decipitur visus noster! sed et quam facile nos decipit visus! Nihil nos vidimus discriminis inter stellam hanc et reliquas: par utriusque lumen visum est; stantis, cadentisque.

Nunc vero, novimus hanc nihil fuisse aliud, nisi vile quoddam limosumque meteorum, solaribus radiis parumper deauratum: jam igitur pes noster calcat, quod miratus est pridem oculus. Si stella fuisset, etiamnum et usque micuisset: nunc, vel casus iste satis arguit falsum et elementare spectamentum.

Ita et charitas nostra decipere nos et solet et forte etiam debet, in spiritualibus rerum alienarum judiciis. Si quem videmus Christiana professione elevatum eminentius, in suprema Ecclesiæ regione fixum, specie quadam gratiæ clare splendentem; non alium fas est hunc judicare, quam stellam veram in sublunari istoc firmamento conspicuam: quod, si iste demum a statione sancta penitus exciderit, præsens seculum amplexus, sive quoad judicium sive praxin veritati renuntiaverit, virtutemque pietatis omnem abnegaverit; nunc, fidenter dicere possumus, veram hunc in se lucem parum habuisse, nihilque fuisse aliud nisi gloriosulum quiddam ex hypocrisi et superbia conflatum.

O Deus, si charitas me mea aliorum deceptioni exposuerit, faxis ne ego me fallam ipse. Fortassis istarum apostaticarum stellarum aliquæ se veras arbitratæ sunt aliquando: cautum ac solicitum me reddat horum casus: internum gratiæ tuæ lumen veracitatem meam magis evincat mihi ipsi, quam externa quævis professio me aliis gloriosum repræsentare poterit.

V. *Viso luculento quodam prospectu.*

Quam jucunda se hic exhibet varietas oppidorum, fluminum, montium, vallium, nemorum, pascuorum; quorum singula ornare sese mutuo, omnia vero oculum delectare contendunt! Ita ut istoc spectaculum non aliud quidem videatur, quam vera ac nativa pictura chorographica, in hac terræ tabula, oblectando spectatoris oculo a dædala omnipotentis manu concinnata. Nulla creaturarum omnium, præter hominem solum, capax est pulchritudinis hujusce discernendæ: injurius plane ero illi, qui me huc adduxerit; nisi et oculos mihi una pascam, et laudem Conditorem. Vicissitudo quædam est, sed et mistura objectorum quæ voluptate hac tanta sive sensum sive animum afficit.

Est tamen spectaculum quoddam, quod tibi, o mea anima, absque omni varietate, solidiorem plenioremque delectationem offert; cœlum hoc intelligo, quod supra te cernitur. Prospectus alii omnes tui in hoc desinunt. Splendidissimus hujus ambitus continet, definit, illuminat quicquid oculus tuus poterit contemplari: sursumne spectes, deorsumve, aut circumcirca, determinatur illo

visus; sed et inibi cogitationes tuæ fixæ acquiescant. Lucidissimi hujus firmamenti vel palmus unus plus in se venustatis habet quam tota terræ facies: et tamen, hoc totum nihil aliud est quam pulcherrimæ illius fabricæ pavimentum imum; nitidissimi tabernaculi velum extimum. Possesne (o si posses!) intra velum illud prospicere, quali te illico beatifica visione illa raptum ecstasi sentires! In illa luce incomprehensibili, videres eum, quem nemo non beatus videre unquam potest: multas purissimorum potentissimorumque angelorum, sanctarumque et glorificatarum animarum myriadas aspiceres: ibique, inter innumeras Paternæ domus tuæ mansiones, tuam tibi feliciter designatam cerneres. O vel optimam terræ partem, vilem modoet despicabilem! Noli! o, noli descendere deinceps, animula mea, ubi semel cœlestem hanc gloriam perlustraveris; aut, si caro ista descendere te vel invitam coegerit, iniquieta esto, dum soluta fueris ut libere fruaris immortalitate

VI. *De globi fabrica casu confracta.*

Dici certe vix potest, majorne sit hominis ars an impotentia. Qui ne minimum quidem graminis folliculum, aut arenæ granulum facere potest, mundos tamen integros audacter fabricare aggreditur; qui nihil quicquam facit, omnia interim imitatur. Ecce mundi hujus magni machinam, artificio opificis, in parvum volumen contractam; casu vero, multo contractiorem. Vidisset hoc modo, qui, Platonis Rempublicam muribus corrosam[a] cernens fatalem illius politiæ cladem exinde hariolatus est, casum hunc proculdubio velut pessimi ominis plenum interpretatus fuisset.

Quicquid demum de materiali hoc mundo fiat, cujus ad interitum declinatio non minus videtur posse cum Divina Providentia consistere quam microcosmi istius humani, nimis certe constat mundi hujus moralis fabricam ultimis temporibus misere luxatum iri. A malo ad pejus declinat passim genus humanum. Qui solus temporum omnium faber est, clare prædixit pessimos fore periculosissimosque novissimos mundi dies. O illum vere felicem, qui, declinante quamlibet mundo, stare rectus potest; communemque universi ruinam, constanti quadam virtute ac bonitate, reparare contendit.

VII. *Ad conspectum nubis.*

Fueritne nubes mere naturalis, qua Servator noster in cœlum ascendens a discipulorum suorum oculis, in Monte Oliveti interceptus fuit, non anxie disquiro: hoc certo scio, modo fuisse tem-

[a] [Cic. de Div. lib. ii. § 27.]

pus in quo nubes solem ipsum gloria exuperarit. O quam invidebant felici illi meteoro intentissimi intuentium oculi; et, quandoquidem gloriosum illud corpus cernere ultra non licuerit, figebant se firmissimis radiis in curru illo cœlesti, quo subvectum fuerat, ægre divellendi! Angeli, quo tam avidos prospicientium oculos ab hoc tam stupendo simul ac grato spectaculo amoverent, discipulos graviter monuerunt, ita plane reversurum Jesum hunc ac illi discedentem conspicati fuissent. In nube ascendit; in nubibus cœli, mundum judicaturus, demum revertetur.

Non possum, o benignissime Servator, oculos sursum tollere, quin necesse mihi fuerit clarissima tui monumenta et ascendentis et redeuntis intueri. Faxis, oro, ne qua nubes sive sæcularium cogitationum sive infidelitatis animum mihi intercipiat, quo minus vel sequi te ascendentem, vel reducem expectare possim.

VIII. *Ad conspectum sepulchri effossi.*

Terra, uti magnus rerum heluo, ita et fidissimus earundem custos et conservator merito audit: in cujus visceribus liquores, sed et carnes quædam, diu a putredine vindicantur; inibique reconditorum spiritus magis exaltari solent et educi fortiores: præcipue vero, quam tuto servat corpora hæc nostra in illum Resurrectionis diem! Custodiendi, nempe, nos istic reponimur. Balsami, cerata lintea, capsulæ plumbeæ non ita fideliter hoc præstant, ac communis iste Matris sinus: ubi omnia hæc in suum pulverem reciderint, quippe quæ non possunt semet a sui dissolutione liberare, illa recipit restituitque cara hæc pignora. Neque magis potero ipse corpusculum hoc meum a terra detinere, quam terra illud detinere potest a manu Creatoris.

O Deus, hæc arcula tua est scriniumve sacrum, in quo preciosas Sanctorum tuorum reliquias, usque ad ultimum Gloriæ Jubilæum, servari voluisti: quam me fidenter commendare ausim tutissimæ huic repositioni, qui certo norim, et verbum tuum esse justum, et potentiam infinitam!

IX. *Ad conspectum auri liquati.*

Aurum hoc uti pulcherrimum est metallorum omnium ita et solidissimum; quod tamen facillime omnium igne liquefieri solet: alia, ut viliora, sic tenaciora, quasique morosiora sunt, et quæ dissolutioni cedant ægrius.

Ita, purum probeque dispositum pectus, sensu judiciorum Divinorum, tanto citius in pium dolorem timoremque resolvitur; ubi,

carnalis animus obstinate firmus est, salutarisque pœnitentiæ haud parum incapax. Quid nisi terra est quodcunque demum metallum; est tamen aliud alio nobilius: cor omne caro est; hoc tamen illo, virtute inoperantis gratiæ, impressionis spiritualis capacius.

O Deus, tales nos sumus, quales tu facere voluisti. Da mihi cor, obsecro, quoad veritatem gratiæ sincerum solidumque, terroribus vero Legis tuæ haud difficulter fusile; ita, obryzi metalli instar aptus ero, et sanctuario tuo in terris, et gazophylacio in cœlis.

X. *Ad conspectum amphoræ circumgestatæ.*

Qui loco potentes sunt, parum valentes judicio, facile hac illac, ab adulatoribus et parasitis, hoc plane modo, auribus gestari solent: ita, ignari simplicesque auditores, a falsis et male-zelosis doctoribus misere circumvehuntur. At sane, utraque aure, quam una portari tutius est. Vacuam plane ollam arguit, una ferri aure. Ejusmodi sunt præproperi illi judices, qui, parte una audita, sententiam, sive absolutionis sive damnationis, temere ferre non dubitant. In omni veritatis abstrusæ disquisitione, vir sapiens duci auribus, non gestari sustinet; nimirum hoc violentum quendam passionis impetum arguit, quo recta ratio a sua sede disturbatur: in rebus, vero, civilibus ac communi fama, uti auribus licet, certe fidere auribus parum expedit.

XI. *Ad conspectum arboris nimium efflorescentis.*

Ecce istic arborem flosculis nimio quam onustam. Fieri non potest, ut flores hi omnes adolescant, et spem fructus edant: unus alterum et humore spoliat et incremento.

Non equidem nimis mihi gestit animus videre infantiam plus æquo feracem: in præcocibus hisce initiis, una facultas detrahit alteri; tandemque, animum succi expertem sterilemque prorsus relinquit. Ut, ergo, in more nobis est quosdam ex superfluis hisce ac nimium numerosis floribus avellere, ut eo magis crescant reliqui; ita, non minimæ prudentiæ est, moderari primos hosce præmaturæ pueritiæ excessus.

Neque aliter profecto se habet in re professionis Christianæ. Subita ac prodiga gratiæ ostentatio facile implere potest et oculos vana admiratione, et os futili elogio; vix unquam sero fructu gremium, tandem, impletura. Quod ad me; stet mihi, neque nimium promittere, neque majorem quam par est de me expectationem aliorum ciere. Malo de me conquerantur homines quod minus pollicear, quam quod parum præstem.

XII. *De quodam subita morte, in actu peccati, abrepto.*

Non possum non Dei justitiam summa laude prosequi; ita, tamen, ut non minus interea laudem ejus misericordiam. Miserrime nobis cederet, si Deus omnem de nobis vindictæ ansam arriperet. Væ mihi! quis nostrum non æque commisit peccata, præsentanea ultione dignissima? Si in malorum illorum actuum flagrantia subito nos surripuisset vindex Deus, ubi fuissemus?

O Deus, plus est quam nobis misellis debes, quod pœnitentiam nostram usque expectasti: non minus est quam nobis debes, quod peccata nostra graviter ulcisceris. *Stipendium peccati mors est;* stipendium vero merenti rependere, justitiæ est. Benedicta sit semper justitia tua, qui mihi feceris alios justæ severitatis exempla: benedicta sit misericordia tua, qui me aliis exemplum propinare gratiosissime distuleris.

XIII. *Ad conspectum cœli et terræ.*

O stupendam contrarietatem! Perpetuo movetur cœlum; et tamen, solus est quieti locus: terra e contra semper quiescit; et tamen, nihil ibi est præter molestas agitationes, motus irrequietos. Certe, finis illius cœlestis circumvolutionis unicum est terræ beneficium; terrenarum vero istarum concitationum constantisque vexationis finis unicus est quies in cœlis. Ii, qui imaginati sunt terram circumvolvi cœlumque immotum consistere, supposuerunt hoc tamen fieri, ut nobis in hoc circumquaque rapto terræ globo quietis sive stare sive sedere interim liceret: quanto magis suaderi nobis potest, perfectam beatis omnibus requiem, super mobiles hasce sphæras repositam esse!

Parum refert, o Deus, quibus me, breviculo hoc spatio, curarum motibus agi contigerit; dummodo, certum mihi sit, non multo post tempore, æternam tecum in cœlis requiem indubio reponi.

XIV. *Ad conspectum erythaci cubiculum suum intrantis, canentisque.*

Bella avicula, quam tu alacris istic sedes et cantillas; et tamen nescis aut ubi sis, aut unde tibi cœnam comparare possis, aut in quo demum arbusculo tibi licebit postmodo pernoctari! Quam me jam pudet mei, qui, ubi tam largam mihi alimoniam munifica Dei manu parari videam, meque sentiam ædibus hisce meis tuto ac commode insidentem; tristi tamen quadam et ingrata diffidentia languescere videor! Ego vero si æque incertus essem aut domicilii

aut alimenti, quam mœstus essem, quam solicitus! quantilla mihi lubido foret, aut tibi cantandi aut mihi ipsi! Certe, non sine Providentia quadam venisti tu huc. Misit nempe te huc Deus, non tam ut delectares mihi animum, quam ut me pudore justo suffunderes; convinceresque tetricæ cujusdam infidelitatis, qui, cum media palam abunde suppetant, minus tamen aut gestiam aut confidam. Ratio ac fides non tantum apud me valuerunt, quantum merus apud te naturæ instinctus. Ipsa hæc futuri nescientia hilariorem te præstat felicioremque, quam me certa conditionis melioris præscientia.

O Deus, non minuitur Providentia tua donis illis, quæ mihi, super bruta hæc animalia, benignus indulsisti: noli sinere, ut majora hæc adminicula impedimento mihi sint, quo minus et sancte securus sim et fidenter alacris.

XV. *Ad conspectum araneæ in fenestra latitantis.*

Nullum in homine vitium est, cujus imago quædam et analogia in brutis animalibus reperiri non possit. Ut inter nos, suos habet terra latrones, mare piratas, qui spoliis vivunt ac sanguine: ita et nullum non genus animalium nativos quosdam habet speciei suæ grassatores; in aere, accipiter est; lupus piscis, in fluvio; in oceano, cete; leo, tigris, lupus, in deserto; in apum præsepibus, vespæ; araneæ, in fenestris.

Inter reliqua, vide mihi ut pusillus iste Arabs subdole tentorium suum extendit prædæque inhiat; quam studiose insidiatur viatori. Quam primum audit a longe vel minimum advolantis muscæ sonitum, quam festinat illico ad antri sui ostiolum, curiose speculaturus! quod si incautus ille hospes vel extimum tenuissimæ telæ ambitum semel tetigerit, quam subito accurrit insilitque miserrimo captivo; et, post quandam luctæ speciem, arcte illum vinciens subtilioribus suis funiculis, misellam post se prædam in antrum trahit!

Quid hoc aliud est, nisi emblema latronum illorum spiritualium, qui perpetuas animis nostris insidias struunt? Illi araneæ sunt; nos, muscæ: illi peccatorum retia nobis capiendis quam latissime extenderunt; in quæ ubi semel inciderimus, ligamur illico, et in gehennam rapimur. Libera animam meam, O Deus, ab astutis secretisque istorum machinationibus: nempe et horum venenum longe magis mortiferum est; et telæ robustiores textæque subtilius. Aut doce me, quæso, tentationem evadere; aut, vi pœnitentiæ, laqueos iniquitatum perrumpere: faxisque, ne prædæ sim

malis illis spiritibus, qui animæ meæ perniciem insidiose moliuntur.

XVI. *Ad conspectum pluviæ, sole interim splendente.*

Talis est vel optima vitæ hujus conditio. Si sol divini vultus mihi tantillum affulserit, non est quod ægre mihi fuerit afflictionum pluviis interea madefieri. Quoties vidi ego cœli faciem nubibus et tempestatibus obvolutam; nullo interim splendescente sole! tristia tamen illa et nebulosa tempora patienter evici, solo fretus communis lucis solatio: tandem vero, radii illi feliciter emicuerunt, animamque mihi exhilararunt. Bene mecum actum erit, si, quoad ordinarium vitæ statum, licuerit mihi, per innatæ cujusdam tristitiæ nebulas Satanæque tentationes, vel minimo cœlestis consolationis obtutu frui: non est quod sperem, dum in hac valle sum, claram solis faciem, absque omni sive imbre sive nubecula, contueri. Uni cœlo reservatur hœc tanta beatitudo: suprema illa regio gloriæ ab his dubiis miserisque vicissitudinum turbis immunis est.

Ibi, o Deus, videbimus uti videmur ipsi. Lux sata est justis, et rectis corde gaudium.

XVII. *De viæ longitudine.*

Heu, quantum distat mons ille, quem a longe conspicor! Ipse mihi oculus tantæ intercapedinis mera prævisione fatigatur; tempus tamen et patientia intervallum illud facile superabunt: hac nocte sperabo fore ut nos ultra fastigia illa pernoctemur. Sunt quædam quorum expectatio plus in se tædii habet, quam executio. Illud me solatur interim, nullum posse vestigium metiri quo non accedam propius ad viæ terminum: quem ubi semel fuero assecutus, facile quidem et itineris longitudinem obliviscar, et refocillabo mihi animum retrospectando in immensum hunc terræ tractum, quem ita tempestive licuit pedibus commensurari.

Non aliter se habet in nostro cœlum versus itinere. Natura hæc, imbecillitatis suæ conscia, mera et longitudinis et difficultatis præcogitatione languere incipit: oculus non magis ducit, quam dejicit mihi animum. Multa gratiæ et veræ obedientiæ vestigia illo me sensim perducent. Tantum, movere mihi fas sit, et sperare: divina bonitas opportune tandem salutem meam perficiet.

Da mihi interea, o Deus, animum meum constanti quadam patientia possidere; et non tam celeritatem respicere, quam certitudinem. Ubi ad summitatem sancti montis tui adspiraverim, omnes hi molesti gressus viæque sive cœnosæ paludes sive ardua

præcipitia, vel prorsus oblivioni dabuntur, vel certe memoria sui ad felicitatis meæ cumulum haud parum adjicient.

XVIII. *Ad conspectum pluviæ et aquarum.*

Quam certam ipsique sensui obnoxiam vicissitudinem constituit natura, inter unionem ac divisionem! Vapores multi, e mari exorti, in unam conveniunt nubem: decidit illa nubes in plurimas guttas divisa: concurrunt hæ guttæ illico; et, per multa stillicidia, in eundem canalem desinunt: canales illi in rivulos, rivuli in flumina, flumina in mare confluunt. Receptaculum unum, vastum illud quidem capaxque, omnia hæe suo sinu complectitur: istuc nempe velut ad primum ac originale principium refluunt ac recurrunt omnia.

Pari modo se habet, aut habere saltem debet, cum donis spiritualibus ac divinis. Tu, o Deus, charismata super nos tua ubertim diffundis, non servanda nobis ilicet, sed aliis derivanda. Multijuges illæ facultates, quas in varium hominum genus depluere tibi placuit, non eo abs te animo dimissæ sunt ut eo ipso in loco absorberentur in quo decidunt; sed, ut per diversarum vocationum canales, in fluenta communia, universali sive Ecclesiæ sive Reipublicæ bono, deducerentur. Recipe a me, Domine, pauculas illas guttulas, quibus animam meam irrigare voluisti; faxisque redeant affatim in immensum illud gloriosæ gratiæ tuæ oceanum, unde originem sumpserunt.

XIX. *Ad eundem, rursus.*

Guttæ multæ canaliculos implent; canaliculi multi, rivulos: rivulorum multorum incursu turgescunt flumina. Haud excedere solent ripas suas rivuli, donec se evacuaverint canaliculi: neque intumescunt flumina, dum pleni sunt rivuli: sed, ubi semel fluvioli se in amnes exoneraverint, tota vallis subita exundatione operitur. Ex parvis initiis oriuntur magna: e multis minimis larga concrescit moles. Mundus iste, quid tandem est nisi quiddam ex atomis conflatum?

Etiam in rebus civilibus ita factum vidimus: imæ plebis diminuta supellex potentiorum opes haud parum auxit: quibus nempe satis angusta res fuit, donec privatorum quorundam influxuum accessione crevisset: quot evacuatis canalibus debent isti tantam potentiæ inundationem!

Neque aliter se mecum habet, in quacunque sive externa sive spirituali conditione: O Deus, tu guttas meas in undas multiplicasti: ut, ex plurimis temporis momentis, ætatem meam conflasti;

ita, ex multis documentis, hunc mihi quantillum cognitionis modum complere voluisti: ex multorum amicorum benefica largitione quantillas opes congessisti: multis denique Spiritus tui sanctis motibus influxibusque, ad aliquam saltem gratiæ mensuram me suaviter perduxisti. Doce me, o Deus, sapienter moderateque bonitate tua frui; daque ut quas impertiisti mihi undas in guttas tuas reducam, guttas vero tuas in nubes: adeoque unde et quomodo quicquid habeo, quicquid sum, humili gratoque animo agnoscam.

XX. *Lucerna introducta.*

Quantum vero mutatus, ex quo lumen introiit, videtur locus iste! imo, et nos ipsi! Omnia profecto novam formam, et vitam quasi novam induisse visa sunt: neque nos ipsi iidem sumus. Quam pulchra res lux est! quam jucunda, quam spiritibus humanis apprime congrua! nec qua rerum visibilium uspiam est, quæ ita prope accedit ad naturam animæ nostræ; imo, creatoris, Dei. Uti, e contra, quam tristes sunt tenebræ! adeo ut sceleratissimos quosque carcerum obscuritate punire soleamus; utpote, quos satis miseros esse posse non arbitremur, modo lucis hujusce privilegio frui liceret: sed, et ipsi damnatorum cruciatus non atrociore quopiam, quam extimarum tenebrarum nomine, describi solent. Quid aliud sunt tenebræ, quam mera lucis absentia? Lucis vero tenebrarumve sive jucunditas sive horror, secundum qualitatem gradumve causæ, unde ortum habet, solet æstimari.

Quod si pauperis lucernæ igniculus, qui nihil aliud est nisi pauxillum inflammati aeris fuliginosi cujusdam lini oleaginosæ pinguedini circumfusi, ita oculos animumque afficiat; quanto magis gloriosis solis radiis, cœlestis lampadis splendore delectamur! Quanto, vero, adhuc magis supremi illius æternumque splendentis Justitiæ Solis, qui hoc lumen soli visibili, hunc solem mundo donavit, beatifica luce refocillamur! Et, si dubiæ hæ imperfectæque tenebræ, quæ præter luminis sive naturalis sive artificialis privationem nihil omnino sunt, tantum tristitiæ secum afferre solent; quantum horroris incutient diræ illæ tenebræ, quæ ab æterna gloriosissimi Dei, Patris Luminum, absentia oriuntur! Quanta, o Domine, quamque justa miseratione prosequimur infelices illas animas, quæ in ignorantiæ tenebris ac umbra mortis secure usque sedent; ab omni salutari tui, Veri nempe Dei, cognitione miserrime exclusæ! Sed, quanto horrore concutior planeque consternor, ubi subit animum tremenda damnatarum illarum animarum conditio, quæ a facie divina perpetuo arcentur, exquisitissimis sem-

piternisque caliginibus adjudicatæ! Pigebat sui Egyptios etiam ob tenebras triduanas; nusquam tamen comperimus cruciatuum genus ullum, longam illam noctem fuisse comitatum: quid igitur dicemus de illis deploratissimis animabus, in quibus infinitorum torminum sensus cum summo perpetuæ Dei absentiæ cruciatu, horrendo plane modo, conjungetur?

O tu, qui solus es Vera Lux, diffunde radios tuos per cæcas omnes animæ meæ latebras anfractusque; meque, per debiles quasdam gratiæ emicationes, ad perfectum gloriæ tuæ splendorem perducito.

XXI. *De eadem.*

Quantumlibet lucem diligamus, solemus tamen eam, primo ingressu, conniventibus clausisque oculis salutare; non sustinentes videre illud, sine quo nihil videmus. Subitæ mutationes, tametsi forte in melius, aliquid secum semper molestiæ ferre solent. Quanto spectaculum aliquod excellentius est et splendidius, tanto magis debilis oculorum nostrorum acies primo illius obtutu offenditur.

O Domine, si tu gloriosam præsentiam tuam nobis istic agentibus patefaceres, hujus nos intuitu prorsus confunderemur illico: quam sapienter, quam gratiose istoc reservasti glorificationis nostræ conditioni; ubi nulla oculos nostros debilitabit infirmitas, aut perstringet gloria; ubi absoluta justitia perfectam nobis et visionis et fruitionis fiduciam æternum præstabit!

XXII. *Accenso igne.*

Repercutimus flammam; non supprimendi quidem animo, sed excitandi potius, augendique.

Afflictiones illæ repulsæque, quæ dejicere nobis animum aut plane demere videntur, revera nihil aliud sunt quam benignissima gratiæ incitamenta. Si judicii vindictam animæ meæ intenderet Deus, aut fomitem, gratia motus, mihi subduceret, aut frigidum igni suffunderet, aut bonorum subinde motuum defectu flammam languere sineret et interire: nunc vero, ubi adminicula opportunitatesque boni et desideria sancta mihi continuo subministrare voluerit, male profecto mentem Dei mei interpretabor, si afflictiones hasce, ad restinguendum potius quam ad accendendum vivificandumque Spiritum in me suum, immissas judicavero.

O Deus, nisi folles tui aliquando in me sufflando vehementius, spirituali quadam reporcussione, animam mihi exercerent; condi-

tionem equidem meam merito suspectam haberem: pauculæ illæ minimæque gratiæ scintillæ, quæ animæ meæ superstites sunt, cito extinctæ forent, nisi hoc modo excitarentur: perge, o Domine, adflare illis fortiter, donec accendantur; accendere, donec ad te usque exardescant, flammasque in cœlum emittant.

XXIII. *Ad canis latratum.*

Quid vero feci ego cani huic, qui me sic irato clamore prosequitur? Si illum increpuissem acrius, baculumve ei intentassem, aut pronus quæsissem lapidem quo illum impeterem, merito irritassem hunc strepitum, hosque nimis importunos latratus.

At vero, quid mirum videri debet in brutis hanc inquietatam dispositionem comperire, cum hoc idem in hominibus ratione præditis usu veniat! Annon vidi ego sæpius innocentiam, ac benemerita, rixosi invidique vulgi allatrationibus, absque omni, nisi bonorum forsan officiorum provocatione, exceptam? Annon sensi ego, non linguas modo, sed et dentes istorum nihil suspicantis mei calcibus infixos; qui nihil interea, nisi meras blanditias meruerim? Ubi aut virtus mea, aut animus, si non didicerim utrumque horum contemnere?

Moriar ego, o Deus, moriar prius, quam volens quicquam patravero, quod iram tuam, justamque piorum cordatorumque servorum tuorum offensam proritet mereaturque: quod si [me] malus cujusquam genius, factiove, aut injustum forte præjudicium, fidelitatis erga te meæ causa, impetierit; fatigent sibi, quantum volunt, disrumpantque guttura clamosi hi canes, falsis canorisque censuris: silenti quadam constantia, pergam ego interim; et, si aures mihi vapulent, cor sane liberum ac securum conquiescet.

XXIV. *Visa ἀλεκτρυομαχία sive gallorum pugna.*

Quid vero est quod ita dissident isti alites? Unde tam cruenta hæc pugna? Certe nec vetus aliqua simultas, nec recens injuria in causa est. Quorsum ergo hæ tam diræ lites? Nihil, profecto, hos inter se committit, nisi quod unire potius ac conciliare deberet; communis natura: eadem utrique species est. Non video horum alterutrum in diversi generis volucres involantem; sed, ubi cum aliis omnibus pacem alunt, bellum secum ipsi gerunt: nec alia quidem provocatione, quam mutuo sui conspectu irritantur. Quod si hoc in culpa sit, cur non unusquisque secum ipse dissidet; dum id quod ipse est, in alio odit ac ulciscitur?

Ex quo hominis peccatum litem in mundum intulit, plena est natura rixarum dissidiorumque. Nullus est in tota creatione sulcus, in quem non jacta sunt discordiæ semina; inque vix finitam antipathiarum varietatem excreverint: quarum certe nulla vel odiosior est vel deploratior, quam quæ inter creaturas ejusdam generis intercedere solet. Quid vero hoc aliud est, nisi imago tristis illius inimicitiæ, quæ inter nos rationis compotes, non communi modo humanitatis, sed et religionis etiam vinculo conjunctos, passim exercetur? Pugnamus ilicet, nobiscum nosque perdimus mutuo, plus quam animalia illa, quæ ratione domandis moderandisve affectibus destituuntur. Nec quæ bellua ita homini crudelis est, ac homo ipse: ubi unus ferarum sive dente sive ungue perit, multæ myriades humana manu trucidantur. Quid est bellum illud, quod tam studiose gerimus, nisi ars occidendi? Quicquid Turcæ ac Pagani faciant, quousque, o Deus, brutus iste furor armabit contra se invicem gentes Christianas? Etiam diabolis quidem ipsis inter se parum disconvenit; concordes sunt illi in malo, nimis; unde fit, quod nos homines ita nobismet in bono lethaliter adversemur?

O tu, qui solus es Pacis Deus, ita compone inquieta hominum pectora, ut in communi quidam concordia feliciter conspirent; recrea, tandem, animas nostras multitudine pacis.

XXV. *Ad decubitum suum.*

Qualis est iste rerum humanarum eventuumque circulus! Nunquam sane mutatione quadam vacat conditio nostra; nec tamen in illa mutatione nimia cernitur varietas. Dormimus, evigilamus; evigilamus, dormimus denuo; edimus, evacuamur; laboramus, non sine continua quadam vicissitudine: ita tamen omnia disposuit ordinavitque infinita Dei sapientia, ut perpetuis hisce iterationibus parum fatigemur; nec minus alacres ingeramus nos quotidianis istis exercitationibus, quam si semel in vita nobis forent transigendæ. Diurnis laboribus bene-fessus, quam libenter exuo me, lectumque subeo! ante lucis dein matutinæ exortum, inquietioris lecti pertæsus, quanto libentius exurgo laboremque repeto!

Quidni ego magis appetam exuere corpusculum hoc, ut immortalitate super-induar? Quid enim aliud hoc est, nisi vestis intima; quam ubi semel deposuero, libertate fruitur anima mea ac quiete? Quoties decubui ego plenus spe nocturni refrigerii; tandem vero, post crebrarum volutationum tædium laterumque frustra commutatorum sitos varios, surrexi insomnis, tristis, languidus. Ubi me

extremum hoc tandem exuero, non potest vel corpus hoc meum quiete, vel anima gaudio destitui; neutrum vero, ubi surrexero, gloria.

Quid est, o Deus, præter innatam quandam infidelitatem, quod me impedit ab hujus tam felicis dissolutionis ambitu? Sat habet mundus miseriæ ac molestiæ, satis superque habet cœlum beatitudinis, ad ciendum perficiendumque hujus ultimæ gloriosissimæque mutationis desiderium. Credo Domine, adjuva incredulitatem meam.

XXVI. *Visis carbonibus ignitis.*

Vix quæ creaturarum omnium est, quæ naturali quodam instinctu non appetat diffundere se ac dilatare. Nec ignis nec aqua suis se terminis contineri sinit. Scintillulæ illæ, quæ in carbonibus istis cernuntur, quam se exerunt, accenduntque proximas faces!

Identidem se habet moraliter, cum in malo tum etiam in bono: utrumque horum se dilatat facile, proximosque afficit: quod tamen in malo tanto magis conspicuum est, quanto nos illi fovendo prosequendo aptiores sumus. Ubi minima hæreticæ opinionis scintillula in animum instabilem, superbum, irrequietum inciderit, afficit illum illico, proximumque capax subjectum statim accendit: illi duo tertium subinde inflammant; jam vero, quanto major societas, tanto major publicæ combustionis et celeritas et intentio. Ubi Ecclesiam Dei videmus flammis misere correptam, sero quidem de ferro et silice conquerimur. Illud superiorum sanctæ prudentiæ fuerit, periculosam pervicacium contentiosorumque animorum attritionem tempestive præpedire; et primas quasque scintillulas, ubi exciderint, confestim extinguere. Quorsum vero non æque prævaleat gratia, ac veritas, suos propagando terminos, ad plurimorum utilitatem ac salutem? Certe quidem, plus habent istæ in se illicii, nisi depravatio nostra nos nimis incapaces boni præstitisset.

O Deus, dum sacra quadam invidia percitus æmulabor felicem nimis mali successum, dabo quantum potero operam, ut alii cœlestibus hisce flammis accendantur: quæ, si non latissime se diffuderint, haud mea profecto culpa acciderit.

XXVII. *Conspecto mendico humili ac mansueto.*

Ecce modo quantum possit egestas! Homo iste, qui tam humiliter viatori illi prosternitur, sine dubio non minus habet stomachi, quam is, cui adeo supplex provolvitur; et, si mutarentur forte

utriusque conditiones, æque superciliose despiceret, æque fastidiose alloqueretur hunc, quem nunc blanda quadam projectaque reverentia excipit.

Ita plane se habet inter Deum et nos. Videt ille nempe nulla nos posse ratione melius domari, quam rerum externarum penuria. Etiam bestiæ vel maxime efferæ, carentia tamen cibi ac quietis, cicures redduntur et capaces disciplinæ.

Tu solus nosti, o Deus, quid ego facerem, si modo mihi valetudo, requies, rerumque omnium copia suppeteret: tu ergo, pro infinita sapientia et misericordia tua, ita justa quidam proportione tuas sive largitiones sive coerciones dispensa, prout animæ meæ maxime expedire noveris. Si non adhuc humilier satis, indigeam ulterius; et ita dispone res meas, ut nisi te uno, omnibus destituar.

XXVIII. *Conspecta cornice velleris ovini lanam vellicante.*

Quam probe norunt hæ creaturæ, quibuscum tuto ac fidenter agere liceat! Non audet cornix ista hoc facere lupo aut cani. Nota bestiæ hujusce insontis simplicitas ansam porrigit huic audaciæ.

Mitis quædam animi dispositio facile proritat injurias. Pravorum ingeniorum crudelitas illos vulgo seligit, non qui pessime merentur, sed qui plurimum pati volunt. Male locantur patientia et mansuetudo animi, ubi contumeliæ insultationique hominem exponit. Ovinæ dispositiones optimæ aliis, sibi vero longe pessimæ sunt. Non illibenter equidem ferrem injurias; nollem tamen committere, ut eas lenitate mea provocem: quod ad innocentiam, ovis, sim videarve; at, si quis vellus meum dilaniare ac deglubere satagit, caveat is sibi.

XXIX. *Visis duobus limacibus.*

Quanta quamque varia est, inter creaturas ejusdem speciei, diversitas! Ecce istic duos limaces. Alter domum suam gestat; domo caret alter: limaces tamen ambo; nec utrius melior fit conditio facile constat. Qui domum habet, plus habet tutelæ; qui domo caret, plus habet libertatis. Privilegium tecti illius cum magno onere conjunctum est: objiciatur modo lapis quispiam domiportæ illi necessario adscendendus, quanta cum difficultate beneficum illud pondus secum trahit onustus ille viator! quod si paulo angustior fuerit via, nullus ingressui locus conceditur. Ubi ille alter, vacuus, nulla sentit viarum discrimina.

Certe, semper quietus, aliquando et felix est, cui nihil suppetit.

Nemo hominum invidendus est adeo, ac ille, qui in egestate potest esse alacris.

XXX. *Auditis vendacium quorundam clamoribus platearibus.*

Quanto cum strepitu, proclamant hi pauperculi merces suas! Narrat unusquisque quid sibi sit, vultque hoc auditoribus omnibus palam innotescat: et tamen, vilissima ilicet sunt ista, quæ tanto stridore venditant. Non audio ditiorum mercatorum quenquam publice fateri quantum sibi in arca nummorum sit, aut quantæ rerum pretiosissimarum gazæ in secretis sibi repositoriis recondantur: unusquisque potius divitias suas celare cupit; et, ubi urgetur vehementius, facultates suas dissimulare studet.

Nec se habet aliter in veris, spiritualibus nimirum, opibus: qui plenus est gratiæ bonorumque operum, parum curat ista mundo gloriosius ostentare; sed in secreto bonæ conscientiæ testimonio, tacitoque applausu Spiritus Dei sibi attestantis, suaviter acquiescit; ubi, e contra, propriæ dignitatis, facultatis, meritorumve venditatoria propalatio, miseram arguit horum omnium indigentiam.

O Deus, si donorum tuorum confessio gloriæ tuæ inservire possit, non committam ut modestia mea tenacis cujusdam ingratitudinis rea peragatur; sed, quod me ipsum attinet, non possum equidem nimis latere. Ita me fac abscondam, ut tibi parum injurius sim; et inter laudes tuas meique ipsius, prudenter discam distinguere.

XXXI. *De muscis ad equini dorsi recrudescentis scabiem collectis.*

Quam frequentes ad misellæ hujus bestiæ saniosam plagam convolant muscæ; ibique sedent, purulenta illa carne se saginantes, reliquas saniores corporis partes ne attingentes quidem!

Sic plane faciunt invidæ detractorum linguæ: si vitiosi quid insit sive personæ cujusquam sive actionibus, istuc illico confluunt, huic insistunt; laude digna si qua sint et bene gesta, tacite ista omnia negligenterque præterire solent. Invidiosa certe philautia, cum pusillanimi quadam crudelitate conjuncta, pravam hanc in hominibus dispositionem progignit: hoc, interim, solum reportant malevoli isti; Non potest non esse animal turpissimum, quod sola sanie pascitur.

XXXII. *Ad conspectum laternæ secretæ quadam duplicatione obscuratæ.*

Lumen inibi est; ita tamen prorsus occlusum, ac si non omnino esset: ubi vero latus apertum ostenditur, sat luminis exhibetur

dirigendo viæ duci qui laternam portat, alii præterea nemini: ipse alium facile discernit, beneficio illius lucis, quæ sibi projicitur; alius vero illum interea discernere non potest.

Talis omnino est reservata sibi scientia: nec, præter possessorem, quicquam cuiquam prodest. Inter celatam artem et ignorantiam, nullum externum discrimen est: et, ubi abscondita hujusmodi eruditio foras dignatur prospicere, ita parce lumen emittit suum, quasi publicam utilitatem omnem prorsus declinaret; exhiberetque facultatem quandam, absque omni bene agendi voluntate; censuræ ergo, potius quam communis beneficii. Adminicula nempe illa, quæ Deus aliis communicata voluit, nobis suppressa clanculum ac retenta, quid aliud sunt nisi hæc, quæ furum solet esse propria, laterna, honesti hospitis manu gestata?

O Deus, cum a te, Patre Luminum, lux omnis nostra sit; fac ne sim junceæ illius candelulæ, quam in anima mea accendisti, avarus dispensator: fac sim aliis impertiendo lumen, quam recipiendo, felicior.

XXXIII. *Audito hirundinis cantu in camino suo.*

Et hoc melodiæ quoddam genus est; quamdiu vero duraturum? Ubi frigescere cœperint matutini rores, abiit illico hospes hic meus, absque omni valedictione aut vero notitia. Jucunda hæc anni tempestas minimum indiget suavi sonorum modulatione: quam hyems media frustra desiderabit.

Ita facere solet ingratus parasitus: nemo paratior est res prosperas nobis gratulari, nemo illis fruitur nobiscum lubentius; sed, ubi una cum temporibus mutari incipit conditio nostra, hospitem ille saltem rebus se nostris et inquilinum gerit. Cedo mihi avem, quæ durissima hyeme cantillat, et constrictissimo gelu petit fenestras meas. Una fornax amicitiæ, adversitas est. Quem non pudet vinculorum meorum, qui immerentis mei nec censuris dejicitur, nec alienatur contumeliis, ille mihi amicus esto: vel unus scrupulus amoris, quo me iste talis prosequitur, plus apud me valebit, quam mille pondo inconstantis simulatæque professionis.

XXXIV. *Conspecta musca quadam lucernæ flamma se comburente.*

Lux, inquit sapientissimus ille Solomon, *jucunda res est;* et, certe, sic nos facile comperimus: attamen externum lumen nullum est, quod non ab igne proficiscitur. Lumen autem illius ignis non magis jucundum est, quam ignis illius luminis periculosus: neque magis visum nostrum allicit illius voluptas, quam hujus periculum

approximationem vetat. Quam fatua est musca hæc, quæ, præ lucis amore ac admiratione, distantiæ tutamen nulla vel scire vel servare voluit; sed ingerit se temere huic, qua periit, flammæ! Per quot gyros, singulos singulis proximiores, ante ultimum hunc ausum, circuiit! nunc vero immitis flamma, parum agnoscens blanduli clientis affectum, subito illam absumpsit.

Ita faciunt curiosa illa et audacia ingenia, quæ ad lucem Divinæ Majestatis inaccessibilem propius quam par est accedere non verentur, resque nimis altas stupendasque scrutari malunt: tam diu nempe isti secreta Omnipotentis consilia incaute circumvolitant, donec audentes animorum alæ comburantur; et ipsi, æterna pernicie, insanam curiositatem luant.

Bea me, o Deus, rerum illarum notitia, quæ tu revelare voluisti: contentus sim ego adorare Divinam Sapientiam tuam, in iis quæ parum revelasti. Ita luce tua fruar, ut ignem tuum interea evitem.

XXXV. *Conspecta alauda sursum volitante.*

Quam agili celerique penna pusilla hæc alauda, recta quidem linea, cœlum versus cantillans ascendit! ubi accipiter, cui robur corporis majus et ala celerior, per multas circumgyrationes, ascensus sui fastigium gradatim tandem assequitur. Nempe illa corporis moles alarumque longitudo impedimento sunt, quo minus recta possit ascendere; quandoquidem istud, et aliquod aeris adminiculum et idoneum volatui promovendo spatium, requirat; ubi minima illa avicula absque omni reluctatione aerem libere findit, nec quo indiget externo motus sui adjumento.

Nec se habet aliter cum hominum animabus, cœlum suum repetentibus. Non desunt, quæ suis iisdem facultatibus, quibus accelerari posse videretur felix hic cursus, haud parum retardantur: ingenium fortasse igneum, profundum judicium, apprehensio facilis, ita nimis multos præpediit, ut necesse illis fuerit, suam ipsorum remorationem, non parvo labore, redimere; ubi boni adfectus honestas simplicesque animas immediate evehunt ad suum cœlum, Deoque libere frui jubent. Quorsum vero efferri nos patimur illis dotibus, quæ nostram ad gloriam iter retardare possunt? Quorsum, e contra, dejicimur tenuitate aut paucitate donorum illorum, quorum absentia (quæ cordis nostri esse potest affectio) ad beatitudinem facilitare nobis viam potest?

XXXVI. *Auditis aviculis verno quodam mane cantillantibus.*

Quam alacriter modulantur hæ aviculæ ac cantillant, præ nativo

quodam gaudio, quod, appropinquante jam sole vereque novo intrante, conceperunt; quasi vita ipsarum et discessisset una, et una etiam cum beneficis illis radiis rediisset!

Vero Justitiæ Sole, Patre Luminum, non aliter afficitur anima fidelis pœnitensque. Ubi ille faciem suam abscondit, gravissime perturbatur, tristemque afflictionis tantæ hyemem silenti quodam planctu consumit: ubi ille tandem redierit, in præsentia ejus plenitudo est gaudii; nulla satis alacris est cantilena, qua illi reduci gratulemur.

O tu, qui Consolationis omnis Deus es, inde cordi meo sensum suavissimarum delectationum dulcissimæ præsentiæ tuæ; facitoque ut os meum laudem tuam canore eloquatur.

XXXVII. *Ad conspectum prunæ cineribus coopertæ.*

In cumulo hoc toto nihil quicquam apparet, præter meras favillas: neque lux istic est, neque fumus, nec calor; et tamen, ubi excito hosce cineres, vivi quidam carbones inibi reperiuntur, qui ignem et continent, et propagare apti sunt.

Non pauca Christianorum pectora instar foci hujusce sunt. Nulla, pro tempore, in illis gratiæ vita apparet; sive sensui suo, sive judicio aliorum: durante tentationis impetu, frigida videntur omnia planeque emortua: adhuc tamen, ubi pessimo in statu res ipsorum sunt, prunæ quædam secretæ ab altari cœlesti accensæ in illorum sinu absconditæ latent; quæ, salutaribus Spiritus Sancti motibus, erutæ et afflatæ, reliquias quasdam præ se ferunt divini ignis, tandemque facile ad perfectam usque flammam excitantur. Nihil periculosius est, quam ex specie externa judicare. Quare aut me dejicerem ipse, aut alios censura notarem, quasi Spiritum omnino extinxissent: ubi ille retraxerit se modo aliquantisper, inque pectore intimo abdiderit, ut se tandem magis gloriosum præsentemque exhibeat.

XXXVIII. *Conspecto Æthiope.*

Ecce homo, cujus color satis indicat eum longe abesse domo: ex ipsa cute regionem ipsius facile intelligimus. In illius facie nox est, ubi in nostra dies. Quantum homo homini distat, et formis et coloribus; omnes tamen interea ejusdem Patris filii sumus! Neque minor animorum varietas est: dispositiones, judicia, opiniones hominum non minus profecto distant, quam figuræ ac temperamenta. Quod huic pulchrum, illi videtur deforme: et nos, in istius hominis patria, pari stupore ac fastidio adspiceremur: decorus iste, qui nobis videtur faciei candor, non aliud illis, quam

cruda quædam formæ indigestio censeretur. Pulchritudo externa in spectantis oculo potius, quam in spectati forma collocatur. Color, quicunque fuerit, pulchrum est quod placet: etiam ipsa Christi Sponsa de se fassa est, nigram esse se, sed decoram tamen.

Hic idem spiritualiter color nostri omnium est: oculus tamen benignissimi Dei et Servatoris nostri, pulchritudinem illam, qua maxime delectatur, in nobis conspicari profitetur. Verus Moses ducit Ethiopissam; Christus, Ecclesiam. Non est quod nos cutem curemus, sed animam. Illa si innocens, pura, sancta fuerit, externæ cutis rugæ ac maculæ parum amovere poterunt amorem illius, qui dixit, Ecce, formosa es, mea Soror, et Sponsa; ecce, formosa es: quod si illa turpis et atra fuerit, non est penes angelicam corii nostri formam ac splendorem, præstare nos quicquam aliud, quam exosum horrendumque Deo spectaculum.

O Deus, animam meam facito pulchram tibi ac spectabilem: novi sat bene intimam illam formam usque duraturam; dum cœlum, casus, ætas, morbus, fœdare exteriorem hunc hominem, et tam colores quam lineamenta omnia deformare, facile poterunt.

XXXIX. *Visa Galaxia, minimisque in ea stellulis.*

Quanta claritudo ac splendor, in illo cœli circulo, supra reliquos quosque orbes, cernitur! Unde hoc evenire arbitramur, nisi forsan ex eo, quod multarum minutiorum stellarum lumen ibi uniatur, constantemque hunc nitorem efficiat? Illæ tamen minutiores stellæ non discernuntur interea; dum splendor, ab illis profectus, ita insigniter conspicuus est.

In cœlo hoc inferiore, multi sunt, qui, dotibus egregiis meritisque, in hominum notitiam deveniunt: ego vero illorum humilitatem ac gratiam plurimum admirari soleo, quorum virtutes ac benegesta utilitati publicæ maxime conducere cernuntur, dum ipsorum personæ obscuræ delitescunt. Secrete gloriosum est, nemini visum splendere interim. Nimia, proculdubio, altitudo est, quæ facit ut vel omnino non videantur stellæ illæ, aut videantur minimæ: quæ si inferius paulo demitterentur, majores apparerent. Nulla vera magnitudo est, absque intrinseca quadam humiliatione sui. Provectione nostra utemur pessime, si, quanto altius elevamur, tanto minores non videamur: parum refert abscondi nos, dum lumen nostrum palam cernitur.

XL. *Viso puerorum ludo.*

Trahit sua quamque ætatem voluptas. Ita fecimus et nos, hoc ætatis. Videor equidem mihi, jam nunc veterem puerilium ludo-

rum fervorem recens recordari. Quam acriter quantoque passionum impetu, prosequuntur pueruli isti ludicra hæc exercitia! Vide mihi puerum illum, ubi totus calculorum manipulus jam pignori sistitur, quam cor illi fere in os insilit, præ formidine proximi jactus; quamque desiderio ac spe proprii successus nimium exaltatur! Certe, magni illi nepotum gurgites, qui quicquid est patrimonii alearum fortunæ totum committere audent, casum illum decretorium, aut vehementius expectare, aut majore cum gaudio doloreve accipere nequeunt.

Non possumus non ridere modo, ubi subit animum tam futilium fatuarumque pueritiæ nostræ delectationum recordatio. Nec minore profecto fastidio, renatus homo vel carissimas naturalis conditionis voluptates prosequi solet. Hilari olim solutoque animo, solebat ille mundo frui. Convivia, comessationes, ludi, lascivi gestus, obscœnitatesque cordi huic fuerant prius; nec quem sine istis felicem esse posse autumabat; vix vero, præter seipsum, aliam quempiam: ubi autem salutaris Dei gratia et probum hunc reddidit et prudentem, quam fastidiose despicit hic insulsas carnalis suæ conditionis felicitates! Delectationes nunc alias magis viriles, imo divinas magis persentiscit; miraturque potuisse se olim juvenem, vanis hisce voluptatum blandimentis abripi. Ita se plerunque habent voluptates prout æstimantur: quod huic volupe est, cordolio est illi. Sola spiritualia ac cœlestia, firma solidaque contentatione, et stabilire animum possunt et satiare.

Tu solus, o Deus mi, capax non es, aut emendationis cujuscunque aut mutationis: liceat mihi te uno frui; miserebor ego serio infelicissimæ illorum, qui te carent, instabilitatis; certusque ero semper constantissimæ beatitudinis.

XLI. *Ad conspectum araneæ telam suam exordientis.*

Quam merito admirari solemus curiosas nimis animalculi hujusce operas! Quam tenue filum est, quod educit protrahitque! Qualis hæc, quam texit, tela! Ipsa tamen bestiola mortifero veneno plena. Toxici esse potest plurimum, ubi multum est artis.

Similis plane huic doctus est ingeniosusque hæreticus. Acutissimi forte conceptus, verba acutissima excidere illi possunt; quæ tamen venditat dogmata, secretique doctrinæ apices, periculosi lethalesque plane sunt. Annon insaniret ille planissime, quisquis esset, qui, ex eo quod miro telæ hujus artificio plurimum delectatur, opificem araneolam, vel manu tractare, vel ore manducare discuperet? Pariter desiperemus et nos, si, dum falsi doctoris artem

quamcunque mirabundi suspicimus, aut ipsum authorem deperire, aut scripta illius familiariter pertractare, non vereremur. Tuti profecto esse non possumus, sive judicia nostra spectemus sive affectus, absque prudenti quadam rerum ac personarum discriminatione; sine qua, fieri sane non potest, quin et Deo injurii simus et nobis ipsis: Deo quidem, nisi egregias illas dotes, quibus creaturas ornavit suas, libenter agnoscamus; nobis, si, dum præcellentes illarum facultates approbamus, una etiam vitia quæque perniciosissima imbibamus.

XLII. *Conspecto morione quodam.*

O Deus, unde fit quod ego talis non sim? Quid fecit iste homo, quod tu illi intellectum negaveris? aut, quid feci ego, quod modum ejus saltem aliquem mihi indulseris? Quid inter nos discriminis est, præter tuam solius bonitatem; qui mihi largitus es, quod mereri nullus poteram; illique denegaveris, quod nulla potuerat ratione vendicare? Seu dare seu detinere etiam, tui solius, o Domine, beneplaciti est.

Neque aliter, se habet, in re gratiæ. Irregenitus quisque merus est morio spiritualis: nec quis, præter renatum, vere sapit. Unde fit, quod, cum alium aspiciam vanitate pravitateque naturæ suæ prorsus infatuatum, ipse interim cognitionem Dei magnorumque salutis mysteriorum fuerim assecutus; didicerimque ab illis peccatis, quæ pessimo hominum malorum appetitui perplacere solent, penitus abhorrere? Quis me tandem discrevit?

Nihil quicquam, præter tuam unius liberrimam misericordiam, O Deus. Quorsum ego alias homo sum; non brutum? quorsum recte formatus; et non monstrum potius? quare corpore integro; non mancus? quare sensibus ac judicio præditus; non fatuus? quare probe affectus; non destitutus gratia? quare vas honoris; non iræ? Si quid in me non mali sit, tuum est, o Domine. Tu tibi laudem habe ac gratias; da mihi interim gratitudinem.

XLIII. *Viso magnete et gagate.*

Ut ad humanæ societatis conservationem, civile quoddam est inter homines commercium; ita et naturale commercii genus, inter creaturas reliquas ordinavit Deus, ad communem conservationem universi. Vix quicquam in rerum natura est, quod non nativa quadam alterius cujuspiam attrahendi potentia imbuatur. Ignis vapores ad se trahit; sol, ignem: humiditatem attrahunt plantæ; luna, mare: purgativa quæque proprios sibi attrahunt humores.

Naturalis quidam instinctus sensitiva quæque inclinat ad amorem ambitumque generis sui; quin etiam, in ipsis imperfecte mistis, hoc usu venire quotidie experimur: adeo ut, vel lapides ac metalla, quæ sensu omni carent, activa tamen hac virtute neutiquam carere facile intelligamus: magnes ferrum attrahit; gagates, ne nihil attrahere videretur paleam ac pulverem allicit. Quanto vero impetu, lapidum istorum uterque in proprium sibi quisque objectum operatur! Quicquamne aut gravius est, aut motui minus aptum, quam chalybs, aut ferrum? ita tamen ista ad dilectum sibi magnetem accurrunt, quasi quendam haberent desiderii delectationisque sensum; atque ita extremo illius punctulo arcte adhærent, ac si ponderis sui oblita fuissent præ contactus hujusce voluptate. Quicquamne dissipationi aptius, quam palea ac pulvisculus? ita tamen ista ad gagatem colliguntur, atque ita illi palam adsilire cernuntur, quasi ambitione quadam provectionis hujusce ducerentur.

In duobus hisce videor mihi videre justum emblema cordis humani, virtutisque spiritualis ejusdem utrinque attractivæ. Spiritus Sancti gratia, instar veri magnetis adamantisve, ferrea hominum pectora ad se trahit; firmaque quadam sanctarum cogitationum bonarumque actionum constantia retinet: Mundus, ad instar gagatis, carnalia levium ac vanorum hominum corda ad se attrahit; vitiosisque peccatorum delinimentis sibi retentat.

Tuus sum[a], o Deus; esto tu magnes meus. Trahe me, et ego post te curram. Aduni cor meum tibi, ut reverear Nomen tuum.

XLIV. *Ad concentum musicum nocturnum.*

Quam suaviter, intempesta hac nocte, sonat concentus iste! De die, sic aurem afficere nec solet, nec potest quidem. Harmonici omnes soni silenti noctis caligine longe jucundiores haberi solent.

Sic se plane habet cum læto salutis nuncio. Nunquam ita suaviter sonat Evangelium, ac obscurissima vel persecutionum publicarum vel propriæ afflictionis nocte. Illud semper idem est: in nostra, qui tantum beneficium recipimus, dispositione, unicum discrimen est.

O mi Deus, cujus summa laus est dare Cantica de nocte, prosperas res meas facito pias et sanctas, adversas vero alacres.

XLV. *Ad conspectum tritici ventilati.*

Ubi ventilatur triticum hoc, granorum maximum ac solidissi-

[a] *Chalybs* was probably omitted here, by an error of the press, in the original edition.—Pratt.

mum semper imum petere video; levissimum quodque superiorem locum sortiri.

In re morum, pariter se habet: plenissimi gratiæ, humillimi plerumque sunt; et ii, sæpenumero, maxime omnium conspicui sunt, quibus minimum suppetit. Obscuritatem quandam dejectionemque, aut ambire aut simulare, sordidum est et suspicione plenissimum; ille vero, cujus modestia mediocrem suis se oculis exhibet, humilem alienis, plerumque virtutum omnium intime ditissimus est. Humilis mihi plenitudo sit potius, quam elatio vacua.

XLVI. *De herbis exsiccatis.*

Herbas illas aiunt servari commodissime, longiusque et colorem et saporem retinere, quæ sub umbra paulatim arefiunt; quam quæ subito sive solis sive ignis calore exsiccantur torrenturque.

Firmiora sunt ingenia illa diutiusque duratura, quæ lenta quadam educatione obscure instituuntur: tempus et facilis quædam studiorum constantia ad maturitatem perducunt longe melius, quam subitus laborum impetus. In spirituali conditione nostra, idem plane usuvenit: affectata quædam lentitudo parum periculosior est, quam nimia perfectionis acceleratio: ubi me momentis singulis ad spei meæ terminum tanto magis appropinquare sensero, non est quod præcipitare discupiam.

XLVII. *Audito ferri extincti stridore.*

Audi modo quam ferrum illud, aqua extinctum, canore sibilat; stridoremque illum edit, quem frigidum prius siccumque, facere non potuerat.

Fervidos inordinatosque appetitus adolescentiæ, absque querulo quodam murmure rebellique oppositione, extinguere non possumus. Debellari non possunt vitia nostra, absque reluctatione valida; nec tumultu aliquo, vacare potest illa reluctatio: post tantillum soni, fumi, ebullitionisque, quiescit metallum hoc; formamque, in quam fabri ictibus redigitur, usque servat.

Quorsum ægre mihi foret, o Deus, quod sentiam pios conatus meos, pro minimo mutationis meæ spatiolo, repugnantiam quandam pati; quandoquidem certus sim, seditionem hanc in felicissima pace deinceps desituram.

XLVIII. *Visis muscis quibusdam pulchre coloratis, quas cantharidas apellare solemus.*

Quam pulchra colorum mistura in musca hac cernitur! nulla

tamen, uti aiunt, in toto muscarum genere æque venenosa est; ita ut, vel extimo manus contactu, interna corporis viscera corrodat.

Non est quod aut coloribus fidamus aut formis : illorum quidem præstantiam ita licet admirari, ut venustate non fascinemur interim. Humilis simplicitas minus præ se fert, minus tamen habet periculi. Cedo mihi internam virtutem utilitatemque : externum gloriæ splendorem curent alii.

XLIX. *Conspecta nocticula vel cicindela.*

Qualis lucerna frigidiuscula quidem illa, in corpore vermiculi hujus accenditur ! Non alia opus est illorum confutatione, qui nullum omnino lumen absque calore aliquo esse arbitrantur. Certe tamen, externus calor gelidum hoc lumen reddit illustrius : nusquam vidi ego nitedularum istarum aliquam, nisi æstivis calidioribus scilicet mensibus resplendentem : frigidis anni tempestatibus, ubi et obscuriores, et longiores, et tristiores sunt noctes, nullæ aut sunt, aut certe apparent saltem.

Ita faciunt hypocritæ Christiani : fervidis lucidisque liberæ approbatæque professionis temporibus, nemo illis lucet magis : tempestatibus vero duris tristibusque sive interdictionis sive persecutionis publicæ, simulata horum lux omnis aut periit aut certe latuit. Ubi veri quique professores, aut, instar solis, æque semper lucent ; aut, stellarum instar, gelidissimis noctibus maxime resplendent scintillantque. Noctilucæ hujusce lumen speciem quandam præ se fert, usui inservit nulli : lux omnis, quæ a colore proficiscitur, communicare se aliis potest, quanquam non sine subjecti cui inest diminutione continua ; ista vero neque se absumit, neque alios quicquam adjuvat. Malo nunquam, quam non semper lucere : nullum habere lumen malo, quam non aliis quod habeo impertire.

L. *Conspecto quodam oculum unum claudente.*

Ubi collimare aliquo velimus, aut cernere accuratius, oculum unum claudimus.

Ita et animi oculis facere solemus. Ubi fidei oculo exquisitissime intueri volumus, rationis oculum interea claudimus : aliter fieri non potest, quin ut visuales radii, qui utrique harum apprehensioni inservire debeant, transversi sibi incidant, visionisque actum impediant. Imo, dextrum hunc rationis oculum eruam ego potius, quam, uti ntercipiendo beatificam Dei mei visionem, offendiculo mihi sit.

LI. *Conspecto fonte.*

Quantum vero fumum edit fons iste ; ubi ampliores quique

canales gelu constricti obrigescunt! viva est hæc aqua; aliis interim emortuis. Illud nos experientia omnis docet, fontanas aquas, quæ a scaturiginibus profundioribus oriuntur, hyeme calidiores semper quam æstate profluere: intrinsecum nempe calorem repercutit duplicatque frigus externum.

Talis est verus quisque Christianus, in die malo: illa, qua imbuitur gratiæ vita, oppugnando vigorem acquirit: neque ita sanctus fuisset iste, si in meliora tempora incidisset. Nolo dicere, eum hoc nomine gratias debere inimicis; certe dico, eum pro inimicis gratias debere Deo.

O Deus, quid tandem restinguere potest ignem illum, qui frigore intenditur? Quam ego felix ero, si quantum mundus livore ac malitia, tantum ego gratia accrevero.

LII. *Visis culicibus in radiis solaribus ludentibus.*

Quanta culicum nubes istic est! Vide vero mihi horum motus omnes: ludunt illi nempe per solis radios, susque deque volitando, cantillantque; et, ubi desierint, sedent, et manum proximam faciemve, in quam incidere contigerit, mordent illico.

Ecce perfectum emblema otii ac detractionis. Quot sunt, qui ita pessime horas bonas consumunt! qui, ubi succedentes sibi dies vanis inutilibusque ludorum generibus prodegerint, resident tandem æque inertes, detrahuntque proximis.

Etiam cantat aliquando apis; sed et laborat quoque assidue: istæ vero fatuæ musciculæ ludunt semper canuntque perperam. Vel negotiosissima quæque et agillima ingenia necesse habent tanto magis recreari; totos vero se dedere ludis ac voluptatibus, otiosissimorum hominum eque Epicuri grege porcorum est.

Mordet stimulatque etiam apis; sed non nisi injuria quapiam lacessita: isti sanguinem, parum provocati, eliciunt; et tantum animi causa lædunt. Non recusarim ego exercitationis genus aliquod; quo me recreem fiamque labori meo et aptior et alacrior. Neque non stimulare velim aliquando, ubi sontica me injuria irritaverit. Libera vero me, o Deus, ab illis hominibus, qui aut nihil, aut male semper agere mavolunt.

LIII. *Conspectis uvarum racemis.*

Vide quantum inter uvas hasce discrimen est. Ibi botrum cernis uvarum, quæ se mutuo contingunt, bene maturum: solitariæ, quas alibi vides, virides plane duræque manent.

Sic et nobiscum se habet. Sancta societas progressum nostrum

haud parum promovet: Væ autem soli. Bene illi est, qui aliorum opera fit melior; sed felix est is, cujus opera fiunt alii meliores.

LIV. *Viso agro herbis noxiis male infestato.*

Quam læta gauderet segete agellus iste, nisi quod herbis hisce noxiis ita nimium abundet. Non amo colores hosce cæruleos, rubeos, flavos, simplicibus aristis interspersos. Venustas hæc alibi mihi placeret magis. Malo istic videre arvum minus pulchrum, ferax magis.

In agro hoc, vivam mundi effigiem video: in quo, plus gloriæ, quam solidæ virtutis inesse comperitur; ubi, major pars exuperat meliorem; ubi, nativa terræ proles adventitiam gratiæ sobolem longe vincit; ubi, parasiti et inutiles scurræ dominos suos et spoliant et aliquando etiam supereminent. Et ager et mundus, uti similes apparent, ita similiter crescunt, desinuntque similiter; igni merito adjudicatur uterque: dum simplices solidæque contemptæ virtutis aristæ in horreis immortalitatis reponuntur.

LV. *Conspecta tulipa, calendula, heliotropio in horto suo.*

Veri clientes solis sunt isti flores: quam studiose observant et motum illius et influxum! Sub vesperam, clauduntur statim, quasi lugentes discessum illius, sine quo neque possint neque velint quidem efflorescere: mane vero, reditui ipsius, alacri quadam foliorum extensione, gratulantur: meridie autem, velut liberrime ejus bonitatem fassi, quam maxime dilatantur.

Cor pium sic plane facit Deo. Avertisti faciem tuam, et turbabar; inquit ille qui Deo cordi erat. E contra; In præsentia tui vita est; imo, plenitudo gaudii. Sed et cor carneum sic facit seculo: illo quippe favorem subtrahente, dejicitur; renidente demum, reviviscit. Plurimum ergo interest, in quo nostra se figit electio. Sol noster, quicquid id est, nos ad se attrahet.

O Deus, sis tu mihi, quod in te ipso es: scilicet eris tu, me trahendo, misericors; ego, te sequendo, felix ero.

LVI. *Audito companæ fractæ sono.*

Quam ingratum horridumque sonitum edit campana hæc, cuivis auri! Metallum satis purum est: sola fissura est, quæ raucum hoc et discors sonat.

Quam similis est campanula hæc, infami et improbo doctori! Munus illius reverendum est: satis sonora vox ei: scandalum, quod ab impura ejus vita oritur, doctrinæ fructum omne destruit

et corrumpit; offenditque aures illas, quæ, absque hoc foret, concionibus ipsius caperentur. Fieri forte potest, ut hic talis, vel dissono illo stridore, ad triumphantem in cœlis Ecclesiam vocet colligatque alios: nullum vero ipsi remedium manet, præter ignem; sive reformando homini, sive destruendo.

LVII. *Viso cæco quodam.*

Quantum debeo ego Deo meo, qui mihi oculos dederit, quibus hunc hominem et oculis carere videam et carendo miserum! Quam suspiciose, quam meticulose incedit ille! Quam solicite, et manu et baculo, examinat sibi viam! Quam anxie timideque, morsiunculam omnem haustusque guttulam recipit; sæpe tamen aut posti alicui eundo obviat, aut ad lapidem impingit, aut muscam bibendo absorbet! Non aliter se huic habet mundus, quam si omnino non esset; aut, ac si totus esset offendicula, retia, præcipitia: quod si quis illi manum commodare velit, huic, quantumvis perfido, duci credat necesse est; absque omni quidem miseriæ allevamento, excepto uno hoc, quod perire se nequeat videre.

Plerique sic spiritualiter cæci sunt: et, quia sic se habent, parum discernunt; non discernentes autem, de tam misera conditione nulli conqueruntur. Deus hujus sæculi occæcavit oculos infidelibus et immorigeris. Ambulant illi, in viis æternæ mortis; atque ei se ducendos committunt, qui nihil aliud, præter ipsorum in infernum præcipitationem, quærit.

LVIII. *Ad conspectum fagi feracissimæ.*

Quam frugifera, hoc anno, est ista arbor! Non ita, superiore, onusta fuit; neque sic erit, sine dubio, proxime futuro. Ille mos harum arborum prodigarum est, ita se totas in fructum una effundere, ut steriles postmodo et avaræ videantur.

Ita vidi ego prægnantia quædam ingenia, quibus justa prudensque sibi moderandi cura defuit, sic se tota in elaborato aliquo opere prodigere, ut aut parum deinceps feracia, aut in aliis omnibus egena et elanguida, visa fuerint. Vera sapientia, uti succo attrahendo, cum nutrimenti tum fœcunditatis causa, inservit; ita regit ejusdem tempestivam moderatamque dispensationem, ut satura nimis non sit tempestas hæc, dum illa famelica est. Id mihi curæ erit eam assequi mensuram temperiemque, ut, quicquid tandem evenerit, sat mihi semper suppetat; nunquam vero, nimium.

LIX. *Ad conspectum nummi in aquam injecti.*

Non male forsan avaro optarem, si quicquid illi nummorum est

profundo flumini devoverem. Nec quod pavimentum gurgiti illi aptius: nec quod forte spectaculum inexplebili illius desiderio accommodatius foret: singuli enim ibi nummi duplices viderentur; drachmæ nimirum omnes, totidem solidi; scutorum vero lilia, totidem angeli apparerent[b]. Elemento nempe huic innatum hoc est, augere, quoad externam speciem, quantitatem quamlibet: dum, mediante tenuiore hoc acre, solidum illud corpus perspiciendo penetramus, non potest quicquam nobis aliud representari.

Neque se habet aliter in spiritualibus sive oculis sive objectis. Si carneis oculis per interpositum concupiscentiæ medium prospicimus, vilis quæque et frivola voluptas largam quandam perfectamque animi contentationem mentietur: si debilibus oculis minutulos peneque *ἀδιαφόρους* veritatum apices a longe contueamur, (præsertim vero ubi apprehensionis nostræ medium variatur,) unaquæque particula et maxima videbitur et rei religionis haud parum necessaria: hinc fit, inutiles quasque sacrarum genealogiarum minutias, scholasticasque omnes in Theologicis disquisitionibus subtilitates, inter summa fidei capita annumerari. Veræ prudentiæ magna laus est, posse videre res, ut sunt; et, ut sic videntur, appreciari. Operam ego sedulo dederim, illam assequi judicii vim firmitudinemque, ut neque sensus mei animum decipiant, neque objecta sensum fallant.

LX. *Accepto rumore terræmotus Limensis; a quo sylva quædam, casis duorum montium, absorpta quasique sepulta fuit.*

Bone Deus! unde nosse possumus, quando ac ubi in tuto simus? In sylva hac seu bestiæ seu homines siqui erant, quam se non minus securos putabant, quam nos nunc istic sumus? Supra se nil, nisi cœlum; infra se nil, nisi terram firmissimam, videre potuerunt: et tamen, quam horrenda subito decipula deprehensi periere! Divinæ manus effugium nullum uspiam est. Æque suspicatus fuisset quis, cœlum ruiturum, ac illos montes. Non est quod nobis placeamus improbabili judiciorum divinorum eventu. Sæpe quidem audivimus vidimusque montes sylvis coopertos; sylvas vero montibus coopertas, nusquam antehac accepimus. Qui sylvas illas plantarunt severuntve, igne aliquando absumendas fore

[b] [*Drachma*, used here as the Latin equivalent for *teston*, was reckoned about equal to the *denarius*, $7\frac{1}{2}d$; —*Scutum*, *l'écu*, the crown piece—reverse, a shield bearing the arms of England quarterly with the lilies of France; *Angeli*, the ancient English gold coin, with the figure of an angel upon it, worth about 10*s*.]

arbitrabantur: ecce, Deus terra absorbendas judicavit. Impossibilia quæque solemus occursu montium describere; et, ecce, istic montes duo convenerunt, vallem deglutiendo. Quam beneficus Deus est, cujus Providentia casus istos omnes regit disponitque! Oppida urbesve æque facile sic sepeliri potuissent, atque vallis solitaria, ac fruticosa sylva. Certe quidem, ille, qui hoc fecit, Deus, eventus hujus usum longius quam sonitum dilatari voluit. Fecit hoc, ut doceret quid et ille posset, et nos meriti. Si corda nostra sensu quodam reverendo Infinitæ ejus Potentiæ, terribiliumque judiciorum metu, non minus tremant discindanturque quam terra hæc, quid mirum exempla nos fieri aliis, qui aliorum exemplis moveri usque detrectavimus?

LXI. *Ad conspectum gliris.*

Quam minimo sumptu vivunt hæc animalcula, quæ solo somno pascuntur! Ita et ursos et erinaceos aiunt hyemem totam deterere; ac surgere pinguiores, quam decubuerant.

Quoties invidi ego saginatrici harum bestiarum somnolentiæ, ubi cogitationum labor assiduus somnum mihi omnem ademerit, neque per horulæ unius momentum quiescere permiserit, languescentemque novo deinde penso addixerit! Attamen, ubi hanc utriusque conditionem probe appenderim, fatebor equidem lubens, malo labore deteri, quam pinguescere otio: malo vitam utiliter operosam, quam inutiliter segnem delicatamque. Nescio, an vere possim dicere animalia illa vel vivere quidem, quæ nihil agunt; quandoquidem nos vitam motu definire soleamus: certe, illorum vita parum vitalis est. Quod ad me, malim ego profecto conqueri de animo, quiescere nescio; quam de corpore, laboris impatiente.

LXII. *Visis apibus secum pugnantibus.*

Quam mihi dolet, videre utiles hasce et industrias creaturas in se mutuo tam furiose involantes; seque, vel in ipso præsepiorum ingressu, stimulantes invicem interficientesque! Id mihi cordi foret, aspicere apes hasce idem fucis facere ac vespis, communis utilitatis hostibus notissimis: justitiam hoc sapit ilicet: videre vero apes has secummet ipsis dimicantes, non potest non esse molestum domino suo; qui, quæcunque demum vicerint, cives perdat necesse est.

Perfectior nulla potest esse Reipublicæ, sive civilis sive sacræ, imago, quam in istis apum præsepibus. Apes operosi sunt honestique concives; sedulo callaborantes ceræ ac melli ad com-

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munis rei sustentationem importandis: vespæ ac fuci inutiles sunt et improbuli scurræ, qui alienorum laborum spoliis victitare solent; sive ut vitilitigatores, sive fures, sive edaces parasiti, proximos quòsque despoliantur. Ubi justitiæ aciem sentiunt isti, tempestivasque pœnas sic luunt ut nihil deinceps mali perpetrent, felix profecto spectaculum est: videre autem bene affectos fidosque subditos duellis, sive forensibus sive mavortiis, decertantes; videre Christianos, fidei ejusdem professores, mutuum sibi sanguinem religionis causa crudeliter profundentes, triste et horrendum quiddam est et prodigii plenissimum; eoque magis, quo plura ac commodiora et rationis et gratiæ media nobis, cum componendis litibus, tum corrigendis vitiosis contentionum studiis, suppetunt.

O Deus, qui una et Dominus Exercituum et Princeps Pacis audis, bellum cum vitiis, cum fratribus pacem, indulge.

LXIII. *Conspectis vespis in vitrum melle illitum decidentibus.*

Vide modo vitream illam ore angusto phialam, quam proxime præsepio illi collocatam: quam studiose convolant illo vespæ; dulcis illius, quo inescatur, liquoris odore attractæ; deciduntque illico a lubrico hoc præcipitio in decipulam illam aqueam, nunquam deinceps evasuræ: ibique, post paulum vani laboris ac lassitudinis, suffocantur statim et intereunt. Nullam vides apicularum illo respectantem: illæ recta ad suum præsepe volant, suavem illam escam ne notantes quidem.

Otiosæ maleque feriatæ animæ omnibus tentationibus facile distrahuntur: et otii illis sat est et arbitrii, omnes peccatorum illecebras lubenter excipere; suasque vitiosas libidines prosequi petulantius, donec in perniciem omnino irrecuperabilem inciderint. Ubi diligens laboriosusque Christianus, qui honestæ vocationis operibus jugiter sancteque incumbit, ab omni lethalium illiciorum periculo immunis est; ac mel veri solaminis, in duram mali hyemem prudens reponit. Felix is est, cui non videre modo liceat laboris sui successum sed et illo frui: quicquid tamen contigerit, hoc certo sane constat; si labor noster non possit bonum quod volumus adipisci, malum certe quod vitare cupimus prævortet.

LXIV. *Viso fonticulo e loco quodam deserto ebulliente.*

Ecce veram imaginem beneficientiæ. Quam claræ pureque chrystallinæ sunt hæ undæ; quamque largiter effluunt, et suavi quodam murmure in vallem festinant! Hominem tamen nullum interea vides, imo ne brutum quidem, quod puræ illius saluberri-

mæque lymphæ particeps esse possit. Satis est, obvio cuique patere laticem hunc, ita ut haurire possit, qui volet, libere.

Sic munifici patres-familias quotidianum semper dimensum apparant, adsint absintve hospites. Sic concionatores pii vivas salutaris doctrinæ aquas ubertim profundunt, sive auditores sacrosancta salutis media participare malint, sive tantos conatus negligant. Ilicet hoc nobis solatio sit, non fuisse harum cœlestium aquarum deparcos: harum vero beneficii ac usus rationem reddat mundus.

LXV. *Conspecto bubone.*

Quam misere tristem ac melancholicam vitam agit iste ales! qui, tota die, hederæ densioris tegmine caput suum occulit; de nocte vero, cum quiescunt volucres reliquæ, evolat stridulasque et ingratas voces edit.

Nescio equidem quorsum prudentiæ hunc alitem olim sacrarint veteres, nisi ob tutam forsan obscuritatem perspicacitatemque singularem; quod, cum animalium reliqua, domestica et aërea, prorsus cæcutiant, bubo solus, interno quodam fretus lumine, vel minima quæque in rem suam objecta conspicetur. Istoc, nempe, sapientiæ illi nos hujus exemplo docuerunt: Prudentissimum esse eum, cui minimum est cum vulgo negotii: Nullam adeo tutam esse vitam, ac quæ obscure traducitur: Secessionem, etsi minus forte solatii, minus tamen periculi vexationisque nobis præstare: denique, Illum vere sapere, qui suo cernit lumine; cum mundus reliquus in confusis quibusdam inscitiæ tenebris usque resideat; nec, nisi externæ illuminationis adminiculo, veritatis quicquam discernere unquam possit.

Si de die prodiisset hic ales, quam istuc illico collectæ aviculæ omnes admirabundæ illum cinxissent; quasi vultus deformitatem, vocisque asperitatem unanimes haud parum stuperent! Nihilo sibi tamen minus perplacet illi sua conditio; neque minus is sibi quietam delitescentiam gratulatur.

Non est quod vir prudens, imperiti rudisque vulgi censuris nimium afficiatur; potius vero suis ipsius bene fundatis firmatisque determinationibus usque adhærescat. Quid fieri soleat, nemo non fatuus novit; quid debeat fieri, soli sapienti innotescit.

LXVI. *De brachio obstupescente.*

Quam obstupet mihi, pro tempore, brachium, quo innixus sum diutule, fereque insensibile fit! Aliis certe a me destinatum officiis, nunquam mihi defuit: nunc vero ubi me illi reposuerim, causam querendi justam sentio.

Non est quod brachio cuiquam carneo fidamus: quicquid fuerit in quo nos illi recumbendum censebimus comperiemus tandem fiduciam hanc dolore speique frustratione desituram.

O Deus, forte ac potens est brachium tuum: in illud reclinant creaturæ tuæ omnes, tutoque ac feliciter usque sustentantur. O, si nos parum capaciores essemus diffidentiæ, quam manus tua omnipotens defatigationis subductionisque.

LXVII. *Visa scintilla sursum volante*

Viva illa est, quæ apud Jobum occurrit similitudo, hominis ad laborem nati, scintillæque ad sursum evolandum. Naturalis nempe est ille scintillarum motus. Identidem et homini labor: mens illi creatur activa, et ratiocinationi alicui apta; membra omnia motui cuidam accommodata; nervi, motus adminicula, concessi; sed et omnes vitæ suæ rationes illum ad actionem aliquam evocant et solicitant. Ita ut otiosus homo non magis gratia destituatur, quam ab ipsa natura degeneret. Certe quidem, in prima ignis accensione, scintillæ forsan aliquæ, flabellorum impulsu, hac illac, susque deque, volitare solent: sic etiam in primordiis forte ætatis nostræ rudique adolescentia, juvenilis quædam vanitas nos ad motus inordinatos irregularesque incitaverit; sed, ubi deferbuerint illæ ardentiores adolescentiæ flammæ, et nos quandam dispositionis stabilitatem fuerimus assecuti, jam sursum volant scintillæ nostræ, vitaque nostra totus labor est. Et quare non id nos facimus, cui creatione destinamur? Cur non detrectaverit nobis potius vitam Deus, quam nos Deo opus? Nostris profecto ingratiis laboramus, si necessitate impulsi id facimus.

Obedientia tui, O Deus, permotus, aliquid semper agere velim. Nec me quicquam solabitur unquam labor meus, si mihi ipsi potius, provisioni inservierit, quam tibi, sacrificio.

LXVIII. *Corvo conspecto.*

Non possum ego unquam alitem hunc adspicere, quin statim Eliam cogitem; miraculumque, non minus fidei ipsius, quam alimoniæ stupeam. Fortis illa quidem stabilisque fiducia fuit, quæ ipsum in remotam divexit solitudinem, ut a corvis alimentum expectaret. Rapax est, ut nos probe novimus, iste ales: vix sibi sufficit, quod alicunde poterit deprædari: sed et ipsa ratio non potuerat non prophetæ suggerere, quantæ in arido quodam remotoque deserto deliciæ forent panis ac carnes: secedit tamen ille, etiam ab hoc œconomo cibum præstolaturus. Noverat is volucrem

hanc non magis voracem, quam immundam: immundam quidem, uti legi, ita etiam pastus sui ratione; nam, quo tandem nisi fœtidissimis vescitur cadaveribus? cum tamen Deus hunc illi obsonatorem ordinaverit, non fastidiose nauseat quidem; sed mira animi confidentia insolitam illam cibi apparationem expectat: proque fiducia sua, illi parum idonei obsonatores panem et carnem mane, vespere panem et carnem constantissime apportant. Nec quis famelicorum horum corvorum vel unum ciborum illorum frustulum, qui meliori destinati sunt palato, deglutire potuit. Citius defecit Cherith fluvius, quam officiosum istorum obsequium. Eliæ, proculdubio, appetitus sæpiuscule incuriosam hanc dietam antevorterat: ubi ille, e speluncæ suæ limine, avidis curiosisque oculis observaverat, e qua tandem cœli plaga prodigiosi isti ministri devolarent; advenientesque a longe conspicatus, grato animo, miram Dei sui bonitatem veritatemque recoluerat; plusque sua fide, quam cibo nutriebatur.

O Deus, quam infinita est providentia, sapientia, potentia tua! Nos, misellæ creaturæ tuæ, non id sumus quod existimus, sed quod tu nos existere voluisti: ubi tua res agitur, nihil nobis de nostro suppetit. Indulge mihi fidem, et fac quod voles.

LXIX. *Viso verme.*

Quam humili loquendi modo, exprimit Deus Ecclesiæ suæ conditionem; Ne metue, o vermis Jacob. Nullus non pes est, quin despicatissimam illam creaturam calcare soleat. Dum intra frigidas obscurasque terræ cellulas, in quibus delituerat, sese contineret; tuto, quia secrete, habitaverat: nunc vero, cum ex abditis illis cavernulis se exeruerit semel, luminique solari sese audacter præsentaverit, oculisque simul transeuntium; quam radiis hisce fervidioribus torretur illico; hac ac illac se torquet, misere cruciata, quo se subducat nescia! quam palam, et volucribus cœli, et hominum bestiarumque pedibus obnoxia!

Qui tale fecit animalculum hoc, sicque appellare voluit Ecclesiam suam, bene norat conditionis utriusque analogiam. Quam despicit contemnitque mundus pusillum illum gregem, cujus tutamen maximum fuit semper obscuritas! Sicubi vero unquam contemptissima hæc bonorum paucitas mundo se exhibere ausa fuerit, quam statim tosta, quam calcata, quam omni persecutionum genere accepta fuit!

O Servator, non aliter quidem Sponsæ tuæ, quam ipsi tibi factum sentio. Par ut illi fores, tu de te dixisti ipse, Vermis sum,

non homo. Talis in illa terrenæ humiliationis conditione fuisti: talis esse voluisti. Sed, uti verum verbum illud est, qui fecit in cœlo angelos, etiam in terra fecisse vermiculos: ita non minus etiam verum est, qui se et Ecclesiam suam vermes fecit super terram, naturam utique nostram sibi adsumptam super omnes angelos elevasse; personamque nostram, Ecclesiæ suæ membra, paulo minus angelis honorasse. Parum refert, quid nobis fiat in hac valle lachrymarum, dum certi simus pauxillum hoc miseriæ æterno cœlestis gloriæ pondere compensandum.

LXX. *Se induendo.*

Quam misella res homo foret, nisi id, quod ipsi bene est, aliis creaturis deberet! Terra, et linum, tergo suppeditat; et ventri, panem: communia vestimenta, bestiæ; superbiora, bombyces: viscera dorsumque terræ, metalla fomitemque; pisces, volucres, animalia reliqua, alimentum subministrant. Ingenium quidem illius novit, hæc omnia ad suum usum convertere: materiem vero nisi ipsa porrigerent, actum de homine esset. Et tamen, nos fatui admiratione nostri impotenter efferimur; imo, vilissimorum animalculorum exuviis superbimus. Nec quod horum est, æque quod nostri indigeat. Imo potius fruerentur illa sese, eo magis, si homo non esset.

O Deus, quanto magis egestatem nostram persentiscimus, tanto magis *αὐτάρκειαν* tuam admiremur; ambiamusque felicem illam conditionem, in qua, tu, qui totus perfectio es, omnia in omnibus es nobis aliquando futurus.

LXXI. *Conspecta bibliotheca instructissima.*

Quantus ingenii et eruditionis mundus istic congeritur! Nescio certe, plusne mihi animi adimat, addatve spectaculum hoc: adimit quidem, quod tam multa hic sint, quæ ego scire nullus unquam potero; addit vero, quod varietas hæc tanta tam accommoda mihi adminicula suppeditet, ea quæ debeo cognoscendi. Nihil verius est illo Solomonis; Librorum conficiendorum finis nullus est. Etiam spectaculum istoc luculento indicio est. Finis nullus est: imo, nec esse debet quidem. Operosam agilemque animam indulsit homini Deus; cujus assiduæ agitationes non possunt non multas, obstetricante interim tempore et experientia, abstrusas veritates in lucem producere: istas si quis supprimere ac suffocare vellet, næ ille humano generi, cujus mens mutuo lumine accendi usque solet, haud parum injurius foret. E diuturna deliberatione et studio ortæ cogitationes accuratissimæ omnium sint oportet: has

scilicet chartis committimus. Quantæ felicitatis est, posse me hic, absque omni necromanticæ vitio, quemlibet priscorum Heroum Doctrinæ, sive humanæ sive divinæ, statim evocare, cumque illis dubia mea omnia liberrime communicare! posse, pro libito, totas reverendorum Patrum acutissimorumque Doctorum Synodos ab omnibus terræ plagis, suffragia sua mihi, de arduis quibusque subortis quæstionibus, non temera illa quidem sed mature digesta laturas, convocare! Neque vel casu oculos conjicere possum in tacitorum istorum præceptorum quempiam, quin aliquid addiscam illico. De copia vero conqueri, delicati est nauseantisque animi. Nulla nos lex jubet omnes perlegere: quanto vero plures imbiberimus digesserimusque, tanto certe magis crescat pinguescatque animus necesse est. Benedictus sit Deus, qui tot claras lampades in Ecclesia sua accenderit: nemo nunc, nisi qui cæcutit volens, tenebras causari potest. Benedicta sit etiam fidelium ipsius servorum memoria, qui tantum sudoris, sanguinis, spirituumque, animarum denique, in pretiosissimis hisce chartis reliquerint; seque lubentes in duratura hæc monumenta profuderint, ut aliis prælucerent.

LXXII. *Visa cruce rubea, pestis insigni, foribus appicta.*

O signum plane dirum ac horrendum! Morbus iste vera Crux est; eaque profecto sanguinea: et forma et color ipse mortem præ se ferunt. Israelitarum fores, quarum superliminaria sanguine conspersa sunt, ab interfectore angelo tutæ ac immunes erant: ecce istic, destruens angelus percussit; et tam lethalis plagæ stigma post se reliquit. Sub hoc signo solemus alibi pugnare alacres, victoriamque reportare: quare ita nunc istud horremus domi?

O Deus, tu pro nobis, alibi, pugnas; hic, contra nos. Sub illo, nos pro te dimicavimus; sub hoc vero, quoniam peccata nostra contra nos dimicarunt, judiciis tuis oppugnamur. Et tamen, O Deus, crux tua est, quantumlibet gravis: nostra quidem, merito; inflictione vero, tua. Domine, afflictionem tuam sanctifica; tolle iram.

LXXIII. *Ad cœli mutationem vicissitudinemque.*

Nescio insalubriusne esset, cœlum nos una semper facie contueri, an semper varia: nam, ut continua quædam cœli mutatio valetudinis incertitudinem, sic et permanens unius temperiei constantia certitudinem invaletudinis necessario producit. Dissolvit nos humiditas perpetua: perpetuus calor exhalat spiritus, inflammatve: stupefacit frigus: siccitas obstruit, arefacitque.

Nec, quoad animi statum, aliter se habet. Si cogitationes nostræ

semper volatiles, variæ, ac inconstantes forent; nusquam perfectum aliquem mentis habitum, sive judicium spectemus sive dispositionem, assequeremur: si, e contra, semper fixæ, certe periculum sine dubio perniciosi alicujus excessus incurreremus. Semper cogitando, insaniremus plane: semper cogitando sive cruciatus nostros sive peccata, animum penitus desponderemus; semper cogitando voluptates jucunditatesque, in luxuriosam quandam delicatamque mollitiem dissolveremur: dubitare semper ac metuere, diræ cujusdam et infernalis servitutis esset; audere vero semper et fausta quæque certissime sibi polliceri, periculosissimæ foret præfidentiæ: horum autem omnium probe temperatæ vicissitudines, sanam vividamque animam conservant.

Utcunque tamen, O Deus, variæ mutationes istæ spirituali conditioni meæ apprime necessariæ sint, faxis ut a te nil nisi sudum ac serenum sentiam. Attolle tu mihi lumen vultus tui; Spirituque tuo libero, animam meam semper stabilito.

LXXIV. *Conspecto conjugii ritu publico.*

Quam jucunda quamque perfecta exhibetur istic Christi ac Ecclesiæ conjunctionis, similitudo! Personas non moror: institutionem cogito. Neque maritus, neque uxor, jam in propria potestate sunt: dediderunt sese mutuo alterutri: non modo uxor, vas fragilius, addixit se totam protectioni ac participationi capitis fortioris potentiorisque; sed et maritus ita se totum infirmiori conjugi resignavit, ut uxoris imbecillitates viro, viri autem vires ac facultates uxori cesserint. Imo, et ipsa illorum caro proprietatem suam commutaverit: uxoris quæ erat, viri est; quæ viri itidem, et uxoris. Imo, ipsorum anima spiritusque, respectu mutui affectus, non magis a se invicem, quam a propriis corporibus possunt separari.

Sic se habet, O Servator, inter Te et Ecclesiam tuam. Nostri non sumus, tui sumus; desponsasti tu nos tibi scilicet veritate et justitia: quæ nobis facultates, quæ dotes, nisi et a te et in te suppetunt? et, ut audax nostra fiducia sanctaque audacia tuas sibi gratias appropriare præsumit, ita et benignissima misericordia tua dignatur te nostris induere infirmitatibus: misella Ecclesia tua patitur in terra; tu sentis in cœlo; quasique de plagis ipsius conquestus, exclamas, Quare me persequeris? Itidem, et tu non ita tuus es, quin ut et noster interea sis: tui cruciatus, merita tua, tua obedientia, vita, mors, resurrectio, ascensio, intercessio, gloria, imo et tua beatissima Humanitas, et Divinitas gloriosissima, virtute juris in te nostri, unionisque nobiscum tuæ, ita nostri

sunt, ut ne mille quidem mundi nostram in te partem redemptitare possint.

O misericors et beneficentissime Servator, ut tu non potes non amare ac fovere pauperculam hanc indignamque animam, quam tu tibi ipsi desponsasti: ita et indulge mihi reciproce gratiam hanc, ut te colam, tibi obediam; spretisque vilibus vitiosisque procantis mundi blandimentis, me tibi totum dum hic superero unice servem, ut te deinceps æternum fruar postmodum.

LXXV. *Conspecto angue.*

Nescio quis nobis ad conspectum serpentis horror oboriatur. Deformiora sunt animalia quædam alia; sed et quædam etiam illis, non minus mortifera: nullum tamen est, quo viso, æque resilit sanguis noster obrigetque. Unde fieri potest hoc, nisi ex quodam veteris inimicitiæ instinctu? Percussi olim fuimus in paradiso, venenato hujus aculeo; neque non adhuc sentire possumus lethale illud virus. O nostram, tamen, fatuitatem: ipsum serpentis illius corpus nobis nocere non potuerat, absque suggestione peccati; et tamen, peccatum diligimus, odimus serpentem.

Quotidie veteris illius serpentis stimulo vulneramur, et non conquerimur: et aculeus ille tanto magis perimit, quo sentitur minus. Est aculeus quidam reatus; est et aculeus doloris: in illo mortiferum virus est, cujus nos quidem sensum habemus minimum; in hoc, minus est periculi. Ab ardentibus illis in deserto serpentibus morsos se deprehenderunt Israelitæ; sensusque doloris eos illico ad quærendum remedium instigavit. Ecce desertum nostrum, mundus est: et, ut stimulus mortis est peccatum; ita et stimulus peccati, mors. Non medelam magis opto, quam dolorem. Si satis dolere ac queri possim, non sanari quidem non potero.

O tu, qui verus es Serpens ille æneus, palam in deserto elevatus, tolle oculos ad te meos, eosque in te fige. Misericordia tua et animam meam sanam faciet; et vel ipsum vulnus, medicinam.

LXXVI. *Visis monasterii cujusdam ruinis.*

Non ita facile dictu est, quid parietes istos olim extruxerit; ac quid modo dejecerit: ipsa nempe dominorum nequitia. Unicuique lapidi lingua est, quæ nuperorum possessorum superstitionem, hypocrisin, otium, luxuriam subincuset. Videor mihi, videre in unaquaque harum congerie, majusculis characteribus, inscriptum, Terram frugiferam sterilem reddit, ob iniquitatem incolentium. Non defuit, forte, aliquod in demolitoribus ædium istarum sacrilegii. In toto quidem negotio hoc, justa quædam manus fuit, quæ

mutua hominum peccata ad sanum salubremque usum redigere noverat. Parum profecto cogitarant vel architecti vel incolæ, tam sumptuosam commodeque constructam fabricam adeo cito violenterque in desertis ruderibus desituram.

Non est quod nos efferamur animo, sed timeamus. Nullum ita altum tectorium est, nullus paries tam firmus, quem peccatum solo pulverique æquare non possit. Esto moles quæpiam tam accurate fabricata clausaque, ut ne aerem quidem ipsum admittat; peccatum intromiserit modo, judicium Dei frustra excludere tentaverit. Nequicquam profecto stabilitatem ædibus illis pollicebimur, quas nos turpissimæ immunditiæ nostræ et testes et reas usque fecerimus: ædificii cujusque firmitudo, non tam materiæ adscribenda est, quam domino. Felix illa casa est, quæ honestum sortita est dominum; væ palatio, cui vitiosus obtigit habitator.

LXXVII. *Ad displosionem bombardæ.*

Deus Bone, quam ingeniosi sunt homines, se trucidandis invicem! Quam bellas excogitarunt machinas, quibus se a longe possint mutuo occidere; atque ita vitam adimere, ut, dum phalanges totæ uno ictu prosternuntur, nemo norit quis se læserit! Quantum vero honoris in cæde mutua collocamus! Illa insignia, quibus superbimus, ejusmodi sunt, quæ aut nos aut proavi nostri sanguine comparavimus: gloriæ nostræ monumenta quid aliud sunt, nisi victi occisique hostis spolia. Ubi, e contra, tituli omnes Divini misericordiam sonant, summamque erga genus humanum benignitatem: Deus Pater, Creator est hominum Conservatorque: Deus Filius, humani generis Servator: Spiritus denique Sanctus, Consolatorem seipsum indigitat. Væ mihi, cujus imago est quam nos, ita ferociter affecti, gestamus; nisi illius, cui verus titulus est, Homicida ab initio? Vitam quidem auferre, facile est: non ita facile, restituere. Cedo mihi hominem, qui rationem adinvenire possit totas hominum cohortes, ab occisione conservandi: sacrum illi erit in Calendario meo ac rubricatum nomen. Plus veri honoris est in corona civica, unius subditi fidelis servati causa; quam in laurea, plurimis devictis hostibus.

O Deus, satis illorum hominum est, qui animum in id unum intendunt, ut quæ tu fecisti destruant: inde tu mihi, excitaque et animum et operam, ut servare quoquo modo possim ac redimere peritura. O tu, qui communis es nostrum omnium Servator, indulge mihi et ambitionem et facultatem, alium aliquem, præter meipsum, ad salutem perducendi.

LXXVIII. *Audito campanæ sono moribundi cujusdam obitum præmonentis.*

Quam tristis ac lugubris est hæc mortis summonitio! Sonus iste non aures nostras ferire debet, sed pectora: neque modo preces nostras exigit, sed apparatum; preces quidem, pro decessura statim anima; nostri vero decessus, apparatum. Nusquam profecto æque precibus indigemus, ac in ultimo hoc certamine: tunc etenim, et nos ferocissime aggreditur dirus ille Hostis, et nos illi resistendo maxime impares sumus: tunc ita opprimitur natura, ut parum suppetat otii, sanctos motus aut eliciendi aut revocandi quidem. Nihil quicquam occurrere potest, quod æque præparationem nostram requirat, atque pugna hæc ultima: tota vita nostra vix sufficit extremæ huic horæ. Quis ego sum, aut quo tandem melior vicinis? Quoties retulit mihi campana hæc ipsa, exitum multorum robustiorum magisque vividorum corporum; spirituum alacriorum vivaciorumque! Nunc vero quid, nisi me revocat ad seriam egressus mei cogitationem? Non est quod istic morari sperem: abeundum est mihi quoque.

O tu, qui Miserationum omnium Deus es, propitius esto misello servo tuo, qui jam modo cum novissimo illo hoste conflictatur. Amici ejus mœsti illum circumstant, et intuentur intentius, moribundoque allachrymantur; cui succurrere parum possunt: necesse est eum sibi relinquant, ut magnum hoc opus sibi solus transigat: nemo, præter te solum, penes quem sunt mortis exitus, miseram hanc et tantis hostibus imparem congressam animam relevare potest. Et, quod me attinet, sine me nemo proximorum moriatur: uti ego quotidie morior, ita doce me mori semel: fac me præ manu familiarem illi nuntio, qui mihi necessario expectandus est. Doce me sic numerare dies meos, ut cor meum veræ addicam sapientiæ.

LXXIX. *Defamatione quadam divulgata.*

Si vel primus ego vel optimus omnium essem, cui probra immerito fuissent ingesta, difficilius forte foret, patientiam mihi imperare. Aut participatione, aut exemplis, imminui solet dolor: quibus utrisque ubi destituimur, supra modum dejici solemus, ac si miseriarum archetypi quidam designaremur. Nunc vero, quandoquidem communem hanc omnium, qui virtutem unquam coluere, conditionem comperio, quorsum ego falsiloquarum linguarum sibilationibus ita nimium crucior?

O Deus, ipsum te defamavit, Diabolus in paradiso. Te vero,

O Servator, contumeliis magis impetierunt homines in terra, quam nos impetere possunt homines dæmonesve. Tu, qui omnium optimus es, eminentissimus etiam illorum omnium es, qui mendaci venenataque lingua unquam fuere sauciati. Nimium mihi favent linguæ hæ maledicæ, quod me tuis passionibus conformem præstent: nisi illæ ita invidæ ac mordaces essent, ego certe ita felix esse non possem. O tu, qui gloriosissimum es innocentiæ contumeliose exceptæ exemplar, quandoquidem pro te mori non liceat, da mihi saltem tecum vel sic vulnerari.

LXXX. *Audito quodam campanarum concentu.*

Dum tempus suum atque ordinem servant hæ campanæ, quam suavem harmonicumque sonum edunt! Villulæ quæque vicinæ communi hoc concentu recreantur: ubi vero discors sonant, alteraque alteri obstrepit; sive coincidente sonitu, sive præpostere se ingerente; quam injucundus est stridor ille, et haud parum ingratus! Ita ut, qui gaudium publicum, bene ordinata regularique campanarum pulsatione, testari solemus; domorum itidem combustionem, confuso earundem sonitu, significemus.

Et sic quidem in Ecclesia ac Republica se habet. Ubi unusquisque suum novit locum ordinemque, suavissima est pacis contentationisque harmonia; sed, ubi debita intervalla respectuumque mutuorum proportiones justæ parum observantur, ubi aut imperia aut personæ discordi quodam sibi clangore intersonant, gravissimæ lites incidunt ac utrisque fortasse perniciosæ. Confusio scilicet hujusmodi incendium commune vel innuit, vel certe portendit. Populares siquæ sint administrationes campanarum seriem facile ac forte etiam tuto variare possunt: regimen vero Monarchicum, constantem quendam regularemque ordinem, fixosque et dominii et subjectionis gradus efflagitat; qui quidem, absque manifesto præjudicio ac discrimine, violari non possunt. Me quod spectat, ita ego impense diligo Ecclesiæ ac Reipublicæ pacem, ut non possim, cum plenissimo illo quidem charitatis Apostolo, non optare Utinam exscindantur qui istam conturbant; campanasque omnes cupiam, vel concordes, vel sane elingues.

LXXXI. *Conspecto bene instructo convivio.*

Quanta istic varietas est, carnium, piscium; utrorumque, neutrorumque: quasi et ars et natura saginationi nostræ ac deliciis conspirarent! Meo certe tamen animo, nimio hoc omni melius est quod est satis. Excessus iste oneri est et domino, et hospiti.

Dolet mihi quidem cogitare, quis labor, qui sumptus conquirendis hisce tot cupediis necessario insumendi fuerint; quantum cruciatus subierint tot misera animalcula, moriendo ut superfluo semel sacrificio ventri immolarentur; sed et quanta accumbentibus pœna incumbit, usque sedendi donec per omnia hæc fercula suo quodam ordine transierint; quantum denique stomacho provinciæ demandatur, tot ciborum misturas una concoquendi. Non ita austere rigidus sum, ut largos hosce apparatus, ubi res postulat, parum licere censeam: etiam Servatorem meum, non semel, convivio accumbentem comperio: et hoc non minus, quam diuturnum illius jejunium unicum, memoratur. Proculdubio, munificus Deus noster creaturas nobis suas, non necessitatis ergo solum, sed et voluptatis, impertiit: excessus tamen isti, et rari sint oportet, et non nimii; et, ubi sunt, non minus patientiæ profecto, quam temperantiæ desiderant.

Optio si mihi mea detur, pauxillum mihi sit, cum pace et charitate. Ille, cui quotidianum dimensum erat, triginta cori similæ et sexaginta cori farinæ, boves triginta, centum oves, præter ferinam volucresque saginatas, precatur tamen, Da mihi panem sufficientiæ. Nullum mihi perpetuum convivium sit, præter bonam conscientiam: ab istis vero lautis largisque epulis, liceat mihi, pro et animæ et corporis sanitate, fame potius quam crapula laboranti, surgere.

LXXXII. *Audita lyra bene pulsata.*

Infinita fortassis esse possunt artis inventa, quorum possibilitatem, famæ talia alicubi posse fieri referenti, vix profecto crederemus. Si in rudiore aliqua remotioreque mundi plaga vixissemus; audivissemusque, fieri posse, ut ab excavatis dolatisque lignis, bestiarumque iliis motis parumper humana manu, tam suavis harmonicusque sonus ederetur; nos plane incredibile putassemus: nunc vero, cum hoc vulgo fieri et videamus et audiamus quotidie, ne miramur quidem.

Mirum non est, si nos præcogitare nequeamus, sive genera sive modos harmoniæ illius supernæ, quam a sanctis angelisque in cœlo usurpari voluit Deus; cum minima hæc, quorum sensus noster facile convincitur, ita nimis admiranda videantur.

Nosti tu, O Deus, infinitas temetipsum per creaturas tuas te glorificandi rationes, quæ finitum ingenioli nostri captum longissime transcendunt. Fac sapientiam tuam potentiamque usque stupeam; simque adorando humilior, quam curiosior inquirendo.

LXXXIII. *Viso et audito pavone.*

Video hypocritarum non unum esse genus. Inter omnes alitum species, hic, et pulcherrimus videtur, et sonat ingratissime: ita ut hic hypocritam se præstet oculo. Sunt et alii, huic adversi, uti merula, quæ nigra videtur; cantat tamen optime: hypocrita nempe illa auri est. Sunt et alii, qui, et specie et voce, sat nobis placent; moribus vero ac gestu offendunt; qualis est psittacus, cujus colores venusti sunt, sonus non injucundus; mordere tamen solet ille, proximamque manum quamque unguibus impetere: hic et oculo et auri hypocrita est. Gradus tamen adhuc ulterior, præter irrationalium omnium exemplum, eorum est, scilicet, quorum species, voces, gestus, moresque, non perplacere non possunt; corda tamen fœdissima sint, et horrenda impietate plena. Externæ venustatis non est, hypocritam facere non vere turpem et odiosum. Quod ad me, curæ mihi sit, ut professio mea cum verbis, verba cum actionibus, actiones cum corde conspirent; utque omnia hæc a Deo Veritatis approbentur.

LXXXIV. *De scelerato quodam serio pœnitente.*

Nescio mirerne magis sapientiam an misericordiam Dei, in rebus humanis administrandis. Nisi ita flagitiose peccasset hic homo, nunquam tam felix fuisset. Dum se inculpate gesserat prius, gratia interim destituebatur: nunc, illud in quod inciderat crimen gravissimam ipsi calamitatem superintulit; humiliavit eum illa calamitas. Humiliationis istius ansam arripuit Deus, homini opportune convertendo. Ni pes illi unus in os inferni collapsus fuisset, nunquam profecto ita cœlo appropinquasset.

Nemo hominum ita vecors aut imbecillus est, ut cui parum suppetant ingenium viresque, et peccandi, et peccato utendi pessime: una Infiniti Numinis bonitas est, quæ peccatum, in se malum, nobis commodum ac salutare potest efficere.

O Deus, nihil nobis peccatisve nostris debemus, quod malis nostris melioreſcimus. Opus tuum est: tua solius sit gloria.

LXXXV. *Ad conspectum liliorum.*

Non potest non esse flos pulcherrimus, quem selegit Servator noster, ipsi Salomoni, non quotidiano quidem habitu, induto, sed splendore regio jam tum ornatissimo, conferendum. Certe, nullus unquam rex terræ fuit, æque ac ille gloriosus. Nihil sane produxit natura, regiæ magnificentiæ illustrandæ idoneum, quod ipsi defuit: ille tamen, qui utrumque et Salomonem et florem

hunc fecerat, ait, Salomonem, vel regio apparatu insignem, huic flori parem non fuisse.

Quam frivola est terrena istæc gloria, quæ tam facile potest exuperari! Quam iniqui sumus nos formarum externarum judices, qui speciosas hasce plantas, quas ita laudat Creator, adeo contemnimus; admiramurque viliora quæque metalla, quæ ille, istarum habita ratione, contemnit! Quid vero est? nunquid istæ tam cita aritudine vilescunt? at nos ipsi quid sumus? Omnis caro fœnum; et omnis gloria hominis, ut flos agri. Ut nos æque speciosi esse non possumus, ita neque magis permanentes.

O Deus, illa mihi ambitio esto, tecum postmodo albis indutum ambulare. Vestem si ego istic stellis ornatam, cum superbo Herode, gestavero, splendida illa toga non me poterit a pediculis vermiculisve vindicare. Insiderem modo throno aureo in domo eburnea, cum istoc tamen flore minime forem compararandus: æque certe caducus esse possem; non æque speciosus. Quid refert, pro florene, hic, habear, an herba noxia? Uterlibet sim, arescam necesse est. O tu, qui major es Salomone, indue me perfecta justitia tua: sic ego, in atriis domus Dei mei, æternum efflorescam.

LXXXVI. *Visa sandapila floribus ornata.*

Quæ nimis pulchra videntur, vix unquam a justa suspicione immunia sunt. Dum nil præter lignum hic fuit, nullus istoc flos decorabat: nunc, ubi lignum hoc olido farcitur cadavere, suavissima hac florum varietate adornatur illico. Abiegna hæc sandapila, de se quidem suaviter redolet: fœtidum vero hunc hospitem nacta, ita nimis florum adminiculo indiget, ut, ne horum omnium ope, putridum hunc odorem evincere possit.

Neque aliter se in vivis habet: perpetuus unguentorum aromaticorum usus, malesuavis cujusdam odoris reatum secretum arguit. Idem etiam spiritualiter usuvenit: nimis gloriosa professionis facies, internam aliquam fœditatem, quæ lucem refugit, vulgo innuit. Partes magis pudendas minusque decoras, vestimus honoratius. Nimium ornamenti intolerandam deformitatem subindicat. Quod ad me, nil nisi mediocre ac moderatum ostentem: ita neque fallam applausum, neque nimium merebor censuræ.

LXXXVII. *Conspecta mundi fabrica.*

Vel materialem hunc mundum cernere, bonum est; melius tamen, mundum intelligibilem cogitare. Cogitatio hæc animæ quædam visio est, qua res sui similes, spirituales scilicet immortales-

que contemplatur; quæ quidem objecta, sensibilia quæquæ non minus exuperant, quam spiritus materiam corpoream, substantia pura corruptibilem, Deus Infinitus finitam creaturam, transcendit.

O Deus, quale illud Psaltis de te tui verbum est, Humiliare te nempe temetipsum, ut contempleris et quæ in cœlo sunt et quæ in terra! Haud parum nobis gloriæ est, vel infimam cœli partem contueri: humiliatio vero quædam tui est, vel optimam cœli partem despicere. Quanta mihi felicitas erit, adeo exaltatum iri oculos meos ut te videant, cujus tam immensa est gloria, ut vel locum statumque beatitudinis meæ videre, quoddam demissionis genus sit! Imo, ipsi illi angeli, qui faciem tuam adspiciunt, ita gloriosi sunt, ut si quam unius istorum faciem intueremur, tantæ nos gloriæ diutius superesse non possemus, qui tamen interea faciem suam ab aspectu tui splendoris abscondunt. Quot horum myriades, et throno tuo in cœlis, et scabello in terris. Sanctis istic tuis, ministraturæ, sive adstant, sive provolvuntur! Mundus ille tuus alter invisibilis, is est, cujus communio nos vere felices præstare potest. O Deus, si corpus meum hic cum brutis, quorum terrenam substantiam participat, versetur; uniatur anima mea tecum, Spirituum Deo; et ad insensibilis beatorum tuorum angelorum societatis fruitionem elevetur. Fac præ manu intercedat mihi cum civibus rebusque cœli tui sancta quædam familiaritas; neque sim futuræ gloriæ hospes ac peregrinus.

LXXXVIII. *De vespæ aculeo.*

Quam minima possunt vel maximis molestiam facessere! Mus elephantum, culex leonem, imo vel pulex gigantem, vexare potest. Ecquod telum minus esse potest vespæ aculeo? quantum tamen doloris, vel ex tantillo hujus ictu sentio! Vix visibilis ista acies, quam venenavit, quam tumefecit mihi carnem! Sed et non parum dolori addit, partis teneritas quædam et mollities.

Quod si vel iratæ muscæ tactu minimo sic torquear, quomodo ferre potero dirum cruciatricis conscientiæ stimulum? Ut pars illa, et maxime agit, et sentit exquisitissime; ita, vulnus, quod sibi infligit, necesse est ut supra modum grave sit et dolorificum: tutius profecto quis inter crabronum examina volutaretur, quam uni hujus cruciatui subjaceret. O Deus, quicquid de me foris fiat, da mihi pacem domi; et, quicquid caro mea patiatur, animam mihi sanam servato et incolumem.

Ecquod vero sic cruciato remedium, nisi parte affecta melle

statim illita? Ea sola medicina dolorem minuit. Quam prope noxam collocavit remedium natura! Quandocunque cor meum peccati aculeo pungitur, sola tua dulcissima, O Servator, preciosissimaque merita, mitigare dolorem ac sanare vulnus possunt: illa medendi virtutem habent; da mihi una applicandi gratiam: pharmacum hoc ilicet certissimum dolorem meum faciet salutarem: sic ego cruciatui meo gratulabor: Bonum mihi est, quod sic fuerim afflictus.

LXXXIX. *Viso reo pro tribunali consistente.*

Quanto cum terrore pro tribunali stat reus iste! tremit illi manus, dum probationis ergo elevatur: motitantur timore labia, dum se insontem pronunciant: vel ante judicis sententiam, damnat illum facies pallida et consternata; ante carnificis manum, mortem illi metus infert. Judex tamen iste imbecillis homo est, post non multos dies moriturus ipse: sententia, quam fert ille, mortis, jamdudum a natura ipsa in hominem quemque, vel innocentissimum, lata est: sed et actus ille mortis, quem per eum lex infligit, brevis et momentaneus est.

O Deus, quanto cum horrore consistet coram tremendo tribunali tuo peccatrix reprobi anima, in die magni illius consessus universalisque judicii: terrebit eam Infinitæ Majestatis præsentia; ferox ac clamosa conscientia eam accusabit; deformium ac terribilium dæmonum legiones in procinctu stant, rapere eam ad supplicium paratissimæ; ignis inextinguibilis horrenda vorago præcipitandam expectat: quam denique non minus confundit gloria Judicis, quam crudelitas carnificum; ubi sententia inevitabilis est, et pœna sempiterna! Quorsum vero non ita me sagacem prudentemque reddunt terrores hi tui, O Deus, ut secretum quoddam, in animam meam actionesque, judicium exerceam; adeo ut, a corde meo absolutus, a te parum condemner; et, a meipso judicatus, non damner cum seculo?

XC. *Audito galli cantu.*

Quam aspere sonuit vox hæc, in aure Petri; imo, cor illi plane transfixit! Sæpe quidem audierat is alitis istius sonum, neque quicquam illo prius movebatur: nunc vero, is alitem gestabat alium in pectore, magis sonorum; cujus canori accentus, cum hisce conjuncti, conscium male discipulum pene exanimarant. Fessus labore agricola, cum a dulci somno, primo mane, a familiari hoc nativoque horologio excitatur, non ita succenset molestæ huic avi, neque adeo vexatur intempestivo hoc sono, ac

Petrus fuit, ubi volucris istæc expergefecit illum ab alto sopore conscientiæ, et ad tempestivam resipiscentiam revocavit. Non aliter cecinit gallus iste, quam alii solent; neque discrimen notarum suarum ullum sensit: Divina manus fuit, quæ matutinos hosce accentus ordinaverat, summonendæ pœnitentiæ. Qui prædixerat hoc, et prædeterminaverat itidem: non potuit non tunc canere ales ille; omnis, quantumvis confusus, strepitus, in Pontificis Maximi aula non potuit sonum hunc ab aure Petri intercipere ac detinere.

At, O Servator, supereratne tibi hoc otii, dum pro tribunali stabas injusti illius crudelisque judicii, inter sanguinolentam inimicorum turbam, dum furorem ipsorum sentires tuamque expectares mortem, ut aurem dares Petrinæ resipiscentiæ monitori; auditoque hoc semel, retorqueres oculos in renegantem, execrantem, abjurantemque discipulum? O misericordiam sine modo, supraque omnem nostræ admirationis potentiam; temetipsum negligere, præ peccatore! unius advertere ac irritare pœnitentiam, cum jam vitam tuam pro omnibus depositurus modo esses!

O Deus, æque tu semper misericors es. Æque tibi chara est electa quævis anima. Fidelium monitorum tuorum sonus aurem meam usque feriat; et misericordium oculorum tuorum radii saucient cor meum: sic ego exibo, et flebo amarissime.

XCI. *De cogitationum varietate.*

Ubi cogito, quam ab hoc vitæ momento pendet æternitas, miror posse me quid aliud, præter cœlum, meditari: ubi video cogitationum mearum distractiones varias, vitæque meæ aberrationes, miror rursum, quomodo ita possim fascinari, ut cœlum hoc, quod credo, adeo obliviscar. Quod unum modo facere possum, illud est, vanitati meæ succensere. Non ita variæ essent cogitationes meæ, si rectæ forent omnes. Pro uno directo tramite, mille sunt devia. Ut unum tantum cœlum est, ita una est, quæ eo ducit, via; viva illa nempe via, in qua, fide et obedientia ambulo. Quo perfectiora sunt omnia, eo se magis ad unitatem illam, quæ perfectionis omnis centrum est, reducunt.

O tu, qui unus es idemque infinitus, retrahe cor meum, ab omnibus vagis inutilibusque cogitationibus; affigeque me tuo cœlo, tibique ipsi qui cœli illius cœlum es. Nulla mihi, nisi in te, vita sit; nulla cura, nisi te fruendi; nulla, nisi gloriæ tuæ, ambitio. Fac me sic, ante tempus, imperfecte felicem; ut, ubi tempus non erit amplius, perfecte beatus esse possim per omnem æternitatem.

XCII. *Ad conspectum meretricis plaustro exceptæ publicisque contumeliis expositæ.*

Quanto cum strepitu, ac tumultu, zeloque publicæ justitiæ, punitur peccatum hoc! Neque pleniores sunt plateæ spectantium oculis, quam clamoribus insectantium. Contendit unusquisque odium facti, aliquo vindictæ symbolo, testari: cœnum hic, ille aquam, alius quis ova putrida, in miseram conjicit meretricem. Nec quo, certe, minore supplicio digna illa est: at nemo, interea, domum reflectit oculos, ut se videat. Nullus in charitatem peccaverim, si dixero, multos justæ huic pœnæ insultare acrius, qui meruerint graviorem.

Nos homines, externo quidem scandalo, peccata metimur; sed Deus ille sapientissimus sanctissimusque, cui soli peccamus, ad intrinsecæ iniquitatis modum, secretamque voluntatis et justitiæ suæ violationem, ea solet æstimare: atque ita, quæ nobis leviuscula, gravia illi delicta videri solent. Nos, fatui, Davidis adulterium plaustro ac tympanis probrose excipiendum censuissemus; numerationem autem populi, vix culpæ quidem loco habuissemus: sapientissima vero Dei Omnipotentis justitia multum in hoc comperit criminis, quod nos ne accusassemus quidem. Proculdubio, plus est in secreto quodam atheismo, quem mundus censura notare aut nescit aut parum curat, flagitii, quam in adulterio quovis turpissimo. Publica peccata plus habent pudoris; privata plus forte habere possunt reatus. Si illorum insimulare me nequeat mundus, sat est, posse me animam meam incusare graviorum. Gestiant alii, quantum volunt, in publicis hisce suppliciis: misereat me peccati aliorum, sensuque mei humilier.

XCIII. *Ad rosæ odorem.*

Odoratus, unus quidem est ex sensibus infimis, et qui minimo omnium inserviat usui: ex iis tamen quinque nullus est, qui æque exquisitam voluptatem recipit redditve. Nihil quidem terrenum, ut mihi videri solet, tam perfecte sensum ullum delectat, quam rosæ primæ odor olfactum.

Ita ordinavit sapientia et benignitas Creatoris, ut sensus ii, qui magis affines sunt corpori, terræque illi ex qua corpus fit, suavissime afficerentur illis rebus, quæ ex terra genitæ sunt; ii autem, qui magis spirituales sunt, plusque cum anima affinitatis habent, voluptatis suæ perfectionem, velut seculo illi alteri servatam, aliunde expectarent. Tunc, et ibi solum, visus meus animam meam præstabit æternum felicem.

XCIV. *Ad conspectum syngraphæ laceratæ et irritæ.*

Quamdiu valebat illud chirographum, ego membranulæ meæ servus eram: duplex erat obligatio mea; solutioni una, altera vero pœnæ: nunc vero, ubi adimpletur conditio solviturque debitum, quid aliud est nisi irrita quædam chartula; nulli usui idonea, nisi forsan ut testis sit suæ frustrationis nullitatisque?

Neque se habet aliter severa lex Creatoris mei. Extra Christum, perfecte valet vigetque: meque vel ad absolutam, quam præstare nequeo obedientiam, vel ad cruciatum exquisitissimum mortemque æternam, quam subire nequeo, necessario obligat. Nunc vero cum illam Servator meus cassatam penitus, quoad rigorem maledictionemque, Cruci suæ affixerit, respicio quidem hanc, ut prioris periculi et servitutis monumentum: hinc probe novi, quantum debuerim; quantum nomine meo solutum fuerit. Directio ejus perpetua est: obligatio ad mortem evanuit. Immunis sum a maledicto, qui ab obedientia mea nunquam ero immunis.

O Servator, tu tibi sume gloriam; da mihi pacem.

XCV. *Audito naufragio quodam.*

Terra et aqua, uti benefici largitores sunt, ita et voracissimi etiam receptatores: ut materiam sustentationemque sublunaribus quibusque suppeditant, ita et eandem totam non multo post resumunt; fructum uteri sui, tandem, avide insatiabiliterque deglutientes. Ex his tamen duobus, terra magis munifica est, et crudelis minus: hæc etenim, ut plusculum alimoniæ, opum, supportationisque subministrat; ita vix quid unquam a nobis recipit, quod nos ipsi non lubentes ei resignaverimus, quodque in eam, vi quadam naturæ, non sponte recidat. Ubi aqua, ut non multum nutrimenti, præter paucula quædam ad ornatum, confert; ita nos nostraque violenta manu rapere parata est; quæque nunquam dederat, desubito auferre: nulla nobis metalla preciosa elargitur; et tamen, momento temporis, multos auri argentique acervos una diripit. Nihilominus tamen, non obstante quotidianæ hujusce rapinæ tristi experientia, quam multos videmus indies, quibus firmam pedibus calcare terram satis liceat, misericordiæ maris confidere etiamnum ausos! Imo, quot ubique occurrunt, qui cum vix dum periculosissimum naufragium evaserint, fidei tamen instabilis illius et malefidi elementi se adhuc concredere non dubitant!

O Deus, quam nos audaces sumus, ubi merito diffidere deberemus! quam diffidenter timidi, ubi certissima obvenit causa fiduciæ! Quis unquam, O Domine, in benignissimam providentiam tuam firmissimaque promissa recubuit perperam? Istic tamen,

fidem nostram anxie retrahimus, excusationesque cudimus incredulitatis. Quod si Petrus undas illas solidum sub pedibus suis pavimentum senserit, dum confidenter calcaverat illius anima; ubi tamen fluctus decumanus flatusque paulo violentior hominem una adoriri consentiunt, languescere jam fides ejus, ipse vero subsidere statim incipit.

O Deus, doce me illic dubitare, ubi nihil præter incertitudinem comperire certus sum; et, ubi nulla potest subesse dubitationis causa, secure semper confidere.

XCVI. *Viso cœlo sereno stellis referto.*

Empedoclem profecto culpare nequeo, qui vitam in terra traducere se velle professus est, solum ut cœli faciem intueretur: certe, si nihil nobis præterea negotii foret, satis hoc pensi esset, in hac infima mundi parte, adspicere et observare scintillantia illa cœli luminaria super capita nostra regulariter circumvolventia; eorumque situs, molem, motus.

Christiani vero opus longe nobilius excellentiusque est. Apertum est illi cœlum; is ultra velum cernere potest; altiusque supra has stellas, quam distant a nobis stellæ, prospicere; ibique tantum gloriæ notare, quantum tam specioso ac magnifico pavimento respondere possit: quo quidem conspecto, mirari non possum, si Vas illud Electum, tam felicis mutationis gloriam ambiens, terram hanc derelinquere vehementer cupierit.

O Deus, ego, ob hæc quæ oculis usurpo meis, Infinitatem tuam summopere laudo: sed, si velum tibi placuerit retrahere tantillum, fideique meæ oculo intimam glorioæ fabricæ tuæ partem repræsentare, non aliam quidem istic beatitudinem desiderabo. Neque majoris favoris capax esse potest anima mea, quam ut hic videat, fruaturque postmodo.

XCVII. *Audito rumore belli.*

Deus Bone, qualis laniena jam pridem factus est orbis Christianus! Quam mactantur homines, ut muscæ; sanguisque, instar aquæ, effunditur! Certe quidem, crudelitas et ambitio magnatum tot millium pereuntium animarum rationem, diram illam quidem tristissimamque, olim redditura est. Justa equidem arma nullus damno: illa non minus necessaria sunt, quam injusta sunt humano generi infesta. Etiam Michael et Angeli ejus pugnant; sed et titulus est ipsius Dei, Dominus exercituum: Sed, væ homini illi, quisquis demum fuerit, per quem scandalum hoc venit. Juris

alieni usurpatio, juramentorum contractuumque violatio, zelusque male-sanus, rei sunt publicæ hujus internecionis. Privatorum hominum injuriæ lachrymis facile lavantur; principibus vero rerumque publicarum administratoribus illatæ, vix quidem sanguine diluuntur. Sine dubio, horrendus ille cometa non certius portendebat bella hæc, tam fera ac diuturna; quam bella hæc mundi finem præsagiunt. Nunquam lite quadam vacabat terra, ex quo tres tulit incolas; sed tam universales discordiarum flammæ, ex quo Christianus orbis extitit, nunquam profecto exarserunt.

O Servator, quid mihi aliud, ista serio cogitanti, occurrit, nisi te, qui universalem pacem per orbem totum in priore adventu tuo, obtinere voluisti, statuisse etiam, ut, in secundo adventu tuo, bellum non minus universale terram exerceret? Pax illa mitissimæ præsentiæ tuæ sternebat viam: bellum vero istud, formidandæ ac terribili.

XCVIII. *Puero ejulante.*

Non sine justa ratione, jubet Apostolus, ne quoad intelligentiam pueri simus. Quam fatui semel sumus omnes! Lachrymamur primulum ridemusque, quorsum vero utrumque facimus plane nescimus: non sat nobis ingenii suppetit, ut indicio aliquo innuamus, quod nos lædat, aut de quo conqueramur: os quidem detorquere possumus, hac illac; ubera vero quæritare parum novimus: quod si præsto forte non sit adjutrix quæpiam, tantum plorare, motitari, mori deinceps possumus. Postea vero, ubi menses aliquot nos docuerint forsan, inter res personasque aliquantulum distinguere, tricas quasque, etiam maxime nocivas, stridulo fletu prosequimur; et, ubi nulla subest causa alia, ejulamus modo ut nosmet ejulantes audiamus; et sono majore victi, conticescimus: quin et solo dentitionis dolore ita morosi sumus, ut nihil quicquam nos placare possit; quod si qua priorum, quæ olim placuerunt, næniarum, nobis sedandis porrigatur, abjicimus quæ habemus, si quæ cupimus habere parum suppetant. Nec ignem metuimus, nec aquam: nihil nos terret, præter aut virgam, aut spectrum aliquod fictitium. Fallit nos parentum nostrorum notitia: nec quem agnoscimus amicum, præter sutorem vestiarium, qui novam adduxerit tunicam; aut nutricem, quæ nos ornaverit bellule. Quo propius accedit ad dispositionem hanc maturior ætas nostra, eo magis pueriles sumus; nostraque et aliorum censura digniores.

Rursum vero, non minore de causa, præcipit Apostolus, ut, quoad malitiam, pueri simus. Parvuli isti vere innocentes nulla secreta laborant malevolentia: placantur fere citius quam irritantur:

quod si quis injuriam illis intulisse visus fuerit, ubi alapa nutrici porrigitur, qua offendentem cædat, sedantur illico; eodemque momento, manum exerunt reconciliationis ergo, seque in provocantis brachia dedunt ultro. Ubi autem vel morosissimi sunt, cantilena aliqua suaviore ad priscam quietem reducuntur. Vetus verbum est, "Senem bis puerum esse;" felix vero est, inquam ego, qui sic semper puer manet. Magnæ imperfectionis est, scientia destitui; e duobus, tamen, minus malum est ut quis intelligentia puer sit, quam vir malitia.

XCIX. *Ineunte morbo.*

Mea quidem unius culpa fit, quod ego istud non expectaverim. Omnia suas vicissitudines subeant necesse est. Multos ego serenos detrivi dies: non erat, quod non aliquando nubes et turbines præsentirem. Si modo potuissem ego semper bene agere, absque omni peccati mistura, perfectam forte sanitatem merito sperassem; sed, cum obedientiam meam multis defectibus vitiosis enormibusque delictis intersperserim, cur mihi ægre est, misceri morbum valetudini? Quid nunc sentiam, novi: quid deinceps perpessurus sim, non dignus sum qui sciam. Ut tempora mea, ita rerum mearum mensuræ, penes sapientissimum benignissimumque Deum sunt. Illud me solatur unice, qui mihi immisit mala hæc, modum etiam iisdem malis præstituisse. Si gravia sint, scio esse justa: maximum eorum, quæ ego ferre possum, minimum est eorum, quæ perpeti meruerim. Quieti indulgere vellet natura; sed, O Deus, quicquid fiat de cadavere hoc meo, jure bono tu gloriam tuam respicis. Ego peccavi; necesse est vapulem. Misericordiæ tuæ ingens gloria est, corpus meum verberare, ut animam serves. Pessimum morbi, dolor est; pessimum doloris, mors est. Dolorem quod spectat, si gravis is sit, diuturnus esse nequit; si diuturnus, illud nempe discriminis est inter terrenum hunc et infernum cruciatum, gravis esse non potest. Mortem vero quod attinet, et inevitabilis illa est, et haud parum benefica: ibi desinit miseria mea, incipit gloria. Bene locantur pauci gemitus, ubi præludio sunt immortalis gloriæ.

Quicquid sit, nuntius tuus, O Deus, dignus est qui summa gratulatione excipiatur. Dominus est ilicet: quid vult, faciat.

C. *Promisso quodam vehementius postulato.*

Verum est illud quidem, honestum quemque verbi sui semel emissi servum esse. Ubi promiserim, debitor sum; debita autem,

et postulari possunt, et solvi necesse habent. Multum tamen est, in obligationum nostrarum generibus, discrimen: quædam pollicemur, quod debita sint; quædam vero, eo solo nomine debentur, quod ultro promiserimus. Posteriora hæc, quæ mera sunt favoris et beneficentiæ spontaneæ vincula, nos absolute quidem ita ligare, ut, quicquid interveniat in expectante mali, necessario teneamur, quanquam maximo cum nostro incommodo, præstare promissum, plane nequeunt. Pollicita quæque gratuita capacitatem quandam in recipiente semper præsupponunt: qua dempta, ipsa nos communis æquitas liberat et absolvit. Gladium quendam accurate sculptum amico cuidam meo promiseram: is, interea temporis, in phrenesin incidit: quid? nunquid hunc aut mittere teneor; aut statim arguor violatæ fidei, qui non miserim?

O Deus, merito quidem audis tu *Deus Veritatis*. Neque minus impossibile est ut tu fidelis non sis, quam ut esse desinas. Quoties pollicitus es tu, nihil quicquam boni tuis defuturum; quoties tamen audivimus, filios tuos charissimos fame et inedia laborasse! Quid? vacillatne ergo verbum tuum, nostrisque cavillis obnoxium erit? Absit, absit, ut cogitationes nobis occurrant ita audacter impiæ. Minime vero: quæ gratiam externam spectant promissa, nunquam non cum certa quadam conditionis sive capacitatis nostræ, sive expedientiæ subintelligentia, proponuntur. Vides tu scilicet, rerum omnium affluentiam, quietemque, exitio nobis fore: amor tuus noxio nos beneficio cumulare detrectat. Digni sumus qui infestis perniciosisque favoribus puniamur, si prudentiam tuam curamque eximiam in nostra hac indigentia grato animo non agnoscamus. Sufficit nobis abunde, miserationum tuarum optimas quasque debitas nobis esse, quia a te promissas: non possumus nimis confidenter poscere, quod tu certissime largiri promiseris; largiendoque, nos æternum beatos præstiturus es.

CI. *Muscis quibusdam conspectis.*

Quoties muscas istas, culices, ac vermiculos intueor, est sane quod cogitem, Quid sum ego Infinito Creatori meo, plus quam isti? Quod, si hi rationis meæ participes essent, quidni conditorem suum compellarent, cur tales facti sint; cur tam inutiles vivant, tantoque cum neglectu moriantur? Et, si mihi æque ac illis deesset ratio, sorte ego quavis, quemadmodum et illi, sat bene contentus forem. Ratio, qua præditus sum, non a meipso profluit: illam qui mihi solus indidit, potuit et istis non minus dedisse; meve, si visum fuisset, non minus quam istos, rationis expertem condidisse.

Non est, quod me morosum ingratumque reddat major illius benignitas. Quicquid sim, quicquid habeam, Deo meo acceptum referam; quicquid defuerit, absit ut cum ipso expostulem.

CII. *Viso zelote quodam fanatico.*

Corpora nostra de novo formare, gratiæ propositum non est; sed iis uti potius, prout disposita invenerit. Ingenia moresque hominum sequuntur, ut plurimum, humorum in corpore qualemcunque temperiem. Ista humorum mixtio, gratia insuper operante, efficit stupendam illam varietatem, quæ in religiosa quaque professione elucet. Cum in animum tristem, mæstumque, gratia inciderit, nihil hic affectatur, nisi morositas quædam, et singularis vitæ austeritas, licitæque et probatæ libertatis tetrica repudiatio; nihil denique, præter durissimæ severitatis et theses et praxin assiduam: cum vero, e contra, hilarem ac jucundum bearit gratia, ad libertatem lætitiamque tendunt omnia; eæ cogitationes nunc maxime arrident, quibus ad lepores et festivitatem quandam cor dilatari possit. Maximum arguit in sapientia Christiana profectum, posse inter simplicem gratiam et nativum cujusque ingenium, quæcunque demum professio sit, discrimen statuere; debitam Deo gloriam tribuere, propriasque hominibus infirmitates.

CIII. *Conspecto sordido quodam canalium expurgatore.*

Hominum animos accommodavit infinita Dei providentia ipsorum conditionibus quibuscumque. Si plebeii magnatum animos gererent, de servilibus quibusque officiis actum penitus esset: omnes nempe imperare vellent; vivere posset nemo. Et, si magnatibus inesset sordidum mancipiorum ingenium, actum itidem esset de ordine et obsequio; quia nemo sic quidem imperitare noverit. Nunc vero, ex hac morum discordia, eruit ordinavitque Deus optimam regiminis et pacis harmoniam: eo nimirum, quod necessarius utriusque sortis in se invicem nexus, cogat unumquemque, provrium, in quo positus est, ordinem usque sustinere; eaque præstare officia, quæ ad sui reique publicæ tutelam maxime expedierint. Ut itaque inferiorum est, Deo benedicere, ob superiorum merita et potestatem; ita neque minus superioribus incumbit, ob inferiorum humilitatem et observantiam, gratias ipsi habere maximas; quique mediæ conditionis sunt, pares, utrorumque nomine, referre oportet.

CIV. *De perspecillis suis.*

Ista ego intueor, non ut objecta, sed ut adjumenta: neque, ut in

ipsis visio mea terminetur, sed per ista transeat; eorumque adminiculo, alia quædam visu digna clarius conspicetur.

Multa hujusmodi specula habet anima, usurpatque. Per Creaturarum speculum, ad potentiam ac sapientiam Creatoris fertur oculus: per Scripturas, ad magnum redemptionis mysterium, cœlestisque hæreditatis gloriam: per Dei Beneficia, ad immensam ipsius misericordiam; per Judicia, ad justitiam ejusdem incomprehensibilem. Verum, ut mea hæc perspecilla facultatem in oculo supponunt, nec mihi cæco possunt visum impertire, sed lippiénti tantum clariorem reddere; ita, neque possunt ista Creaturarum, Scripturarum, Beneficiorum, Judiciorumve specula, potestatem mihi indere beatifica illa objecta quovismodo apprehendendi, nisi et oculum fidei habuero, cui ista demum præsententur. Certe hæc qualiacunque auxilia infideli, pariter se habent ac cæco perspecilla. Ut naturales oculi, sic etiam et spirituales, suos habent caliginis gradus. Pessime autem de ætate mea merui, si, dum defecerint paulatim naturales isti ocelli, altera illa spiritualis acies non et perspicacior indies et firmior evaserit: etsi, ubi me vel optime habuero, nunquam non perspecillis mihi opus erit, donec tandem videro, uti videor ipse.

CV. *Visis atomis in solis radiis.*

Quam inquieto cursu atomi istæ minutulæ, sursum deorsum, in radiis solaribus motitantur; dum fixi interim hærent montes, nec unquam, nisi mota terra ipsa, moveri solent!

Sic levia ac operosa ingenia nunquam non agitantur, multo cum laboris dispendio, fructu pene nullo; dum solida et profunda delitescunt, nec, nisi necessitate quadam impellente, prodeunt. Esset modo atomorum motus iste utilis æque ac inquietus, atomus ego quam mons esse malim.

CVI. *Conspecta vesica recente.*

Suum unicuique rei tempus opportunum est: vesica ista, ubi semel peraruerit, nullo quantovis flatu distenditur; recens jam et humida, intumescit illico tota, halituque vel lenissimo dilatatur.

Neque aliter se habet cum hominum indole ac ætate. Si puerum adhuc tenellum literarum virtutisque præceptis institueris, mirum quam facilem se geret! quam suaviter eruditionem ac pietatem omnem imbibit! Sine illum modo, donec longiore tempore pravoque exemplo induruerit; donec malis se habitibus obfirmaverit, et vitiosis cupiditatibus contractus quasi compressusque

fuerit, nunc indocilis fit penitissime. Citius jam vesica ista rumpi sane, quam distendi poterit.

CVII. *Viso quodam dormiente.*

Nullius ego artem miror magis, quam illius, qui nihil cogitare profitetur, nihilque agere: sed et illius, qui se absque ullo insomnio dormire posse ait. Siquidem, irrequieta res est animus humanus: qui, licet corpori det veniam, mortali quidem illi ac terrenæ moli, ut quieti indulgeat; ipse tamen, spiritualis cum sit, eoque nomine activus et indefessus, continuo motu agitatur. Da mihi mare, tranquillum undique et immotum; solem, qui non luceat; oculum apertum, qui nihil tamen videat: ego concedam identidem animam rationalem esse posse otiosam. Possibile quidem est homini, ex naturali sive accidentaria forsan stupiditate, cogitationes suas proprias non sentire; uti et adeo distrahi aliquando contingat oculum auremve, ut proprium sibi objectum neuter percipiat; interea tamen, illud vel hic cogitat, cujus fortasse rationem reddere non potest: quemadmodum sæpius ita elabuntur nobis insomnia, ut phantasmata nostra postea repetere et revocare nequeamus. Illi ego me potius in disciplinam tradiderim, qui plura simul cogitandi artem profitetur. Motus instantanei spiritibus magis conveniunt, quam plumbea quædam quies ac pigritia. Cum anima mea nunquam non agere aliquid gestiat, curæ mihi erit, ut semper bene agendo occupetur.

CVIII. *Viso cranio humano.*

Miror ego antiquorum cum Græcorum tum Romanorum morem, quibus solenne erat, media inter epula, mortui cranium convivis apponere; eo quidem fine, ut discumbentes liberius genio indulgerent, et ad pocula hilaritatemque solutiores ferrentur: quod quidem spectaculum, ut mihi videtur, terrorem potius incutere; et, si quod aliud, luxuriantibus frænum injicere potuisset.

Verum, quicquid illi demum fecerint, qui nihil amplius post mortem superesse crediderunt; ideoque breve cogitantes ævum et voluptatum et vitæ suæ, incitarunt se, eo quidem acrius, ad liberiorem libidinis suæ usum prosecutionemque, quo minus diutule illa frui liceret: nobis certe, qui Christiani sumus, eoque nomine, haud ignari vitam hanc breviculam ad futuram gaudii vel pœnarum æternitatem viam sternere, sed et sumptuum quoque rationem a nobis post epulas tandem exposcendam; nihil est

quod libidinis æstum magis temperare possit impetumve appetitaum cohibere, quam ut de vitæ fragilitate mortisque certitudine serio semper meditemur. Ecquis ventrem saginare vellet, ut vermibus epulum instruat? Ecquis ita desiperet, ut momentaneis peccati blandimentis, ea quidem lege, ut pœnas in æternum duraturas deinceps luat, se totum addiceret? Me quod spectat, videor mihi audire cranium hoc, haud aliter quam sic me allocutum: "Ne quid temporis prodigas: et tu moriturus es: optimis quibusque operam impendas: non licebit diu benefacere; sic age, ut bene valeas æternum."

CIX. *Ad conspectum scævæ cujusdam.*

Vetus est facilisque observatio illa, utut sensus dexteriores sinisterioresque æque activi vegetique sint; membra tamen dextravorsum posita sinistris aliquanto esse fortiora, quia scilicet sæpius magisque exercentur: unde etiam sequitur, quod cui manus sinistra magis in usu est, eidem et brachium sinistrum dextro dexterius validiusque sit.

Neque aliter in anima se habet. Facultates nostræ intellectuales exercitio plus roborantur; otio vero languescunt. Novi ipse concionatores egregios disputatoresque acutissimos, qui tamen utrique hoc, quicquid erat artis, desuetudine paulatim perdiderunt; alios vero, indole quidem mediocres, qui frequenti exercitio ita demum auxerint, ut non contemnendum utriusque facultatis modum fuerint assecuti. Malo mihi desint egregiæ animi dotes, quam ut ego illis desim. Carere istis, mihi vitio non erit: vitio certe est, non bene uti.

CX. *Conspecto tuguriolo pauperculo vetere, nudato tegmine stramineo caducoque.*

Infirmæ senectutis aptius emblema cogitari non potest: ecce enim parietes lutosi, jamque modo in pulverem abituri; tectum rarius, detectumque; recurvata statumina; obscuræ fractæque fenestræ; domus denique tota in domini sui caput illico ruitura.

Corpus vel validissimum casa vilis est tenuisque: si recentiore et meliore ligno constructa, qualem tamen tempus æque facile corrumpet, istaque non minus sordidam ac laciniosam relinquet; et, quæ forsan incendio, tempestatibus, hostiumque violenta impetitione citius corruet. Hoc sibi imprimis curandum homines proponere solent, ut bene habitent. Alii quidem sibimet ædificant; splendide forte satis, at parum solide stabiliterque: alii

posteris; firmiter satis, at non alte, nitideque: felicem vero illum, qui ædificat æternitati; firmitudine, splendore, ac sublimitate nihil infra cœli supremi contignationem æmulatus.

CXI. *Conspecta quadam gemma luculenta.*

Quam puri vereque preciosi sunt uniones isti; ex ima tamen maris fæce deprompti! Ecquis vel vilissima se natum origine conqueritur, qui eximias hasce naturæ delicias sic conspicatur oriundas? Conchylia hæc, quæ sexu carent, atque ideo ex mera putredine ortum deducunt, quam gloriosas edunt gemmas, quibus et ornare se solent et superbire maximæ orbis dominæ!

Non externa quadam specie, ac eventus probabilitate æstimanda sunt, magna Dei opificia. Qui omnia e nihilo eduxit, quam facili negotio eruit ex obscuritate gloriam!

CXII. *Visa quadam antepyra.*

Quam similis mihi videtur antepyra hæc, inter me et ignem tam commode interjecta, fido cuidam patrono aulico; cujus intercessio me ab ardore injustæ potentum iræ, quo immerito forsan, absque hoc foret, mihi torreri contingat, tuto servat protegitque.

Quod si interpositio benignissimi Servatoris mei, Unici mihi in cœlis Patroni, tueri me velit a meritissima excandescentia magni illius Dei, qui ignis consumens est, quam ego vere beatus fuero!

CXIII. *Viso petasite, vel bardanæ quam vocant, folio largiore.*

Neque vitis, nec quercus, nec cedrus, nec quæ alia quam novi arbor in tota hac mundi plaga, æque amplum edit folium, ac herbula hæc; quæ tamen, post satis longam expectationem, nihil quicquam profert præter lappam inutilem, molestamque.

Ita neminem omnium plus religiosæ professionis ostentare vidi, quam hominem ignarum; cujus malefervidum ingenium nihil fructus edit, præter seditiosam quandam Ecclesiæ, in qua degit, perturbationem. Nimia boni species non tanto melior est omnino nulla, quanto fructus malus est nullo deterior.

CXIV. *Audito aviculæ cantu.*

Nimio quam probabile est, inter animalia omnia, rationis expertia, aves sonorum dulcedine maxime delectari: quo fit, ut et istæ tantum temporis cantando deterant, et imitandis hominum modulationibus haud parum sint aptiores.

Actionum frequentia, modo voluntaria fuerit, arguit volupta-

tem quandam complacentiamque in iis quæ facimus; voluptas vero illa nos reddit et agendi peritiores, et magis capaces perfectionis cujusdam in iis quibus jugiter exercemur.

O Deus, si in Lege tua delectationem meam omnem locavero, hanc unam meditabor alacer, audax eloquar, præstabo sedulus felixque.

CXV. *Conspecto quodam oscitante.*

Si quis realem effectum fortemque operationem sympathiæ, etiam ubi nullus intercedit contactus corporeus, sedulo observaverit, haud parum sane mirabitur. Ita, unius mæstitia totum conventum tristitia quadam afficit: ita, unius oscitatio aperit distenditque plurimorum aspectantium fauces: ita, lipporum intuitus oculum inficit pari lippitudine.

Facile hinc videmus, qua fretus ratione, Servator noster cum insectatore suo tam vehementer expostulaverit, Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris? Ecclesia patitur in terra: is sentit in cœlo; quiritaturque. Quanto magis persona sensu valet et apprehensione, tanto acrius afficiatur necesse est.

Non potes tu, O Servator Benignissime, non exquisitissime sentire miserias infirmitatesque nostras: ni nos itidem illatas tibi injurias, fratrumque nostrorum necessitates senserimus, nihil sane nobis tecum fuerit commercii.

CXVI. *Visa arbore quadam resecta.*

In frondatione hac experientia reique rusticæ peritia homines edocuit, ramum saltem unum in arboris summitate relinquere; quo succus ab ima radice attrahatur retineaturque.

Eadem plane prudentia in censuris observanda est; iis nimirum quæ corrigendis moribus, non personis destruendis inserviunt. Ita nempe infligendæ sunt illæ, ut non animum prorsus despondeat reus, speque omni ac solatio destituatur: sed ut sentiat quas patitur pœnas, ad animæ suæ bonum intendi universas; reformationemque suam et unice propositam agnoscat, et exinde expectatam.

O Deus, si sic mecum agere velles ac ipse merui, non solum ramos mihi omnes resecares, sed stirpem etiam ipsum rescinderes penitusve eradicares; tu vero superfluos mihi quosdam ramusculos, amputare misericors voluisti, stolones reliquos fovere. Quam indignus fuero ego hac gratia; si, dum tua sic mihi favet indulgentia, ipse aliis, minus fortasse male meritis, severum me crudelemque præstitero!

CXVII. *De studioso quodam qui vim sibi intulerat.*

Si gravi aliqua insignique ægritudine laborasset iste, tanti hujusce mali causam adinvenire haud difficile fuisset. Imbellis natura hæc facile quidem obruitur impatientia: unica sit oportet vis divinæ gratiæ, quæ cum maximis malis confligere possit, deque illis denique devictis triumphare. Istic vero nemo omnium suspicari potest, quid tandem fuerit quod hominem hunc ad tam immanem αὐτοκτόνιαν impulerit. Supellex illi non curta fuit; fama illæsa; sat sanum corpus; animi vero dispositio, quantum quidem nobis apparuit, candida ac serena; vita denique inculpata: aliquid tamen invenit Tentator quod suggereret impotenti huic animæ, tanta violentia non indignum.

Quam misella res est vita nostra, cujus nos ita facile tædeat! Quam nos mera sumus debilitas, ni a suprema illa manu sustentemur! Ex omnibus illis tentationibus, quæ mentem humanam invadere solent, quis non autumaret hanc maxime impossibilem; "Occide te?" Diligit se nempe quisque, naturæ instinctu: vita suavis est; mors infesta. Quid est, quod non speret Diabolus persuadere hominibus, cum inducere ipsos possit, ut vitam abdicare, mortem ambire mavelint? Aut quid desperem ego tantum apud me valere, ut aliquando possim, potenti Spiritus Divini efficacia, vitam contemnere, causaque Servatoris mei, oppetere mortem illam, in qua pauca quædam pœnarum momenta cum æternitate gaudii commutantur: cum alios quosdam videam, quantumlibet improbabiliter suggerente Satana, gratis prodigere animam; atque ita temporalem sibi mortem accelerantes, ut æternæ periculum interea incurrere non dubitent?

CXVIII. *De judicis adventu.*

Prout afficiuntur spectatorum animi, sic plane homines humanæque actiones construi solent. Eadem facies Judicis, absque ulla sui mutatione, a reis non sine terrore quodam, non sine gaudio fiduciaque ab insontibus oppressis, conspicitur: eadem Sponsi labia et mel simul et myrrham distillant; bene quidem dispositis animis mel dulcissimum, myrrham vero rebellibus præfractisque: uti et poculum idem optime sapit sano, febricitanti displicet: verbum idem, his ὀσμὴ θανάτου illis ζωῆς; εὐωδία tamen Christi utrobique: idem solis radius fortem oculi aciem refocillat, perstringit debilem.

Id sibi demum ut quisquam hominum proponat, sive facere sive loqui quod omnibus perplaceat, impotentis cujusdam et otiosæ ambitionis est; quando-quidem videmus illum, qui infinite bonus

est, terribilem longe pluribus quam amabilem apparere. Non est aliud a se bonitas, quibuscunque tandem oculis conspiciatur. Tutus profecto esse nusquam potest, qui pluris facit hominum censuram, quam conditionis suæ veritatem ac justitiam. Qui omnium corda ambitiose captat, suum perdidit.

CXIX. *Conspecto lapidum acervo.*

Sub tali acervo sepultus est primus martyrum: nullus antiquorum regum sortitus est tumulum æque gloriosum: multi istic lapides erant, et pretiosi omnes. Jacob olim caput suum in lapidem reclinavit, viditque cœleste illud spectaculum, ascendentium descendentiumque angelorum: in caput Stephani congesti sunt lapides multi, eodem plane momento, quo cœlum vidit apertum, Jesumque ad dextram Patris consistentem. Ecce, Jacob, uni illi recumbens lapidi, angelos tantum vidit: Stephanus vero, sub lapidibus multis illico se repositurus, angelorum Dominum conspexit. Jacob vidit angelos susque deque moventes: Jesum stantem conspexit Stephanus. Ut ergo Jacob, juxta quod voverat, altare illic erexit Deo postmodum; ita et Stephanus modo congerit lapides istos, e quibus sanctum altare struit, ipse in gratissimam Deo victimam immolandus. Et, si tempus uspiam sit colligendi lapides, et tempus item dispergendi, certe, hoc ipsissimum tempus erat, quo et dispergebant Judæi, et colligebat Stephanus lapides istos, æternæ tanti martyris gloriæ futuros monumento. Non ita clare videras tu, o Beatissime, cœlum tibi apertum, ac cœlum te coopertum conspicabatur: non ita liquido vidisti tu Jesum tuum in cœlo stantem, ac ille te sub fatali hoc cumulo patienter, fortiterque jacentem conspexit. Fallor? aut lapides illi non fuerunt siliciæ [silices], calculive, aut quod aliud vile genus; sed adamantes, pyropive, aut siqui alii pretiosiores, coronæ illi gloriæ, qua cingereris, immortalis decorandæ.

CXX. *De bubone et vespertilione.*

Istæ noctis alumnæ toto die latitare gestiunt: et si, casu quodam aut insperata vi, e latebris suis intempestive propellantur, quam insectanter illico excipiuntur cæduntur que ab avibus quibusque lucicolis!

Longe aliter nobiscum se res habet. Filii tenebrarum qui sunt, filios lucis violenta quadam malitia persequi, fugare, deprædari ubique solent: par utrobique inimicitia est; viget tamen istic prævaletque pars deterior. Numquid hinc fit istud, quod lux spiritualis non minus tenebrarum filiis exosa sit, quam nox naturalis

alacribus illis diei clientibus esse solet? aut vero hinc forsan, quod tenebrarum filii, haud minus sibi jus proprietatis in sæculo hoc vendicantes, quam alites illi in æthere claro illuminatoque faciunt, pium quemque, ut peregrinum prodigiosumque animal, horrent et insectantur? Quicquid sit, ut vespertiliones ac bubones isti, nocti quasi destinati factique videntur, atque ideo deformitatem quandam turpitudinemque præ se ferunt; ita novimus nos hosce pravos improbosque, utut sibi ipsi perplaceant, vere fædos esse, idoneosque qui tenebris usque obnubilentur; et, uti operibus tenebrarum unice delectantur, ita et ad conditionem horroris ac tenebrarum plenam merito reservari.

CXXI. *Viso vellere ovino.*

Animal vero hoc quietum innoxiumque, quam, Dei sic providentis beneficio, vestitissimum est! Sed et in cæterorum omnium administratione, quam stupenda est divina bonitas, et sapientia! Aptioribus motui animalibus naturaque formidolosioribus, leviorem tenuioremque tunicam induit; ac subterraneos præterea cuniculos, tutos quidem illos, paravit: quæ vero laboribus usibusque humanis destinavit, crassiore ac firmiore tergore munivit: hominem, denique, quod spectat, nudum, tenellum, inopem in hanc lucem producturus; nobilem illam rationis facultatem parentibus ipsique demum indidit, qua omnia quibus opus foret facile suppeditare posset. Ita tamen, munificus cum sit Deus, prodigus non est; dona sua sic æqua manu spargens, ut nihil cuiquam aut desit aut vero superfluat: animalia, quæ rostris freta sunt, dentibus carent; testacea quæ sunt, carent ossibus: sat est omnibus; nulli nimium. Neque aliter fit homini, quem creaturarum omnium dominum esse voluit Deus: donorum varietas parca quadam largitate et istic dispensatur: non est quod glorietur quispiam; non est quod queratur: ita quisque ab extrema indigentia, ac a summa perfectione, immunis est.

Non ausim, O Domine Deus, illud ambire ut comprehendam: doce me modo, ut mirari aliquando discam.

CXXII. *Audito tonitru.*

Nulla cogitanti mihi virtus occurrit, cujus adeo universalem defectum in me aliisque persentisco, ac quæ tremendæ Dei Majestati debetur usque reverentiæ. Homines sæpius familiaritatem quandam cum Deo affectare ac profiteri, sub specie sancti amoris, nimio quam proclives sumus: quem si recte cognoscerent mortales, nec

absque pavore cogitarent, nec absque tremore nominarent quidem. Angusta illorum corda juxta tenuem intellectus sui, nimium incapacis, modulum, de Deo sentire ac imaginari solent: cum illud oporteret tantum ambire ac studere sedulo, ut, divinæ incomprehensibilitatis stupore et adoratione, toti absorbeantur. Non semper tonat ille quidem, æque tamen semper tremendus. Ex omnibus quotquot uspiam fiunt operibus ejus, nullum non prodit Omnipotentiam. Rubore profecto suffundor, quoties vanorum hominum audaciam cogito, qui actus Omnipotentis intra naturalium causarum cancellos circumscribere non verentur; illud mirari nolentes, quod scire profitentur. Sola inscitia tantæ hujus audaciæ rea est. Una est in humillima quadam reverentia, Theologia; una, in tacito stupore, Philosophia.

CXXIII. *Conspecto erinaceo, vel echino.*

Mirabar equidem, primo intuitu, quid sibi voluerint Græci diverbio illo suo, Πολλὰ μέν, &c. "Multa quidem scire vulpeculam, erinaceum vero unum quiddam sed magnum:" at, cum naturam moresque animalis hujusce perpendissem, facile intellexi quo respexerit adagium illud; unumque illud magnum comperi, curam salutis suæ callide satis conservandæ. Quamdiu siquidem sub tectorio suo delitescit, ostium suum aquilonaris orientalisque venti flatibus rigidioribus obstruere cate novit; posticum vero aperire, ut leniore interim aura commode perfruatur. Egressum foras insequitur canis, jam modo comprehensurus, in globum illico convolvitur erinaceus, sentibusque illis quibus ipsum undique munivit natura ita totus jacet circumseptus: ut delusus hostis, vice bestiæ, quam avide venabatur, nihil præter pilam quandam spinosam, qua fauces ipsi misere doleant, reperire possit; jamque a præda tam ingrata, non sine clamore, territus ac sauciatus aufugit.

Qui formicæ ignavum tradidit in disciplinam, echino itidem securum videtur improvidumque demandasse, dum, Si sapis, ais, tibimet ipsi sapias. Animantium cuique præcipue incumbit suæ salutis cura conatusque: quicquid vero hoc optime omnium præstiterit, merito audit prudentissimum. Quæ merum corpus sunt animalia, naturæ instinctui fecerunt satis, si quæ ad corporis tutelam spectant solicite sibi prospexerint: homo autem, qui ratione insuper præditus est, nihil egisse judicabitur, nisi meliori sui parti large tutoque providerit.

O Deus, animæ meæ fac sapiam satis: astutiæ illorum, qui simplicitatis meæ miserentur, si invidero, dispeream.

CXXIV. *Viso capro.*

Male audit hoc animal. Neque quid præ se fert boni, quod ex aliis omnibus a Deo ipso eligatur istud, quo improbæ reprobæque animæ conditio aptissime exprimatur. Petulcus est ilicet, salax, fætidus.

Quoties sane hircum conspicio, non possum non in animum revocare horrendum eorum statum, quos ad sinistram sepositos ad Gehennam devovit justus vindex Deus. In terris quidem gregi forte miscentur isti: nec externo colore a genuinis ovibus quicquam discrepant; quod si quem forsan horum, hirsuta pelle, tetro infestoque odore, dignoscere contigerit, nosmetipsos forte tantisper dum subducimus: at, veniet aliquando dies, quo a nobis illos æternum segregabit is, qui innocentiam nostram caulæ assignavit, eorumque nequitiam perpetuæ, quam meriti sunt, lanienæ. Interim vero scandant illi, quantum lubet; celsissime, præruptisque in montibus, quos vix quidem nos oculis audemus attingere, secure pascantur; non est audacia ipsorum periculo suo major, nec ascensus præceps magis quam ruina certa deploranda.

XXV. *Cæco et claudo una conspectis.*

Verum istic est et naturale sensuum commercium. Cæco pedes sunt; claudo, oculi: claudus cæco oculos commodat; cæcus claudo pedes; jamque movet uterque, aliter vero quiescant ambo pereantque necesse est. Uter horum plus alteri debeat, nescio: hic vires dat, ille viam dirigit; utrumque motui æque necessarium.

Certe, ipsum hoc facultatum commercium, etsi aliis in rebus non ita liquido pateat, illud est, quo vivimus; et sine quo, ne mundus quidem posset subsistere: hic cerebrum affert; ille, brachium: linguam, hic; ille, manum. Qui solus novit cur ista omnia creaverit, ita etiam singula disposuit, ut unaquæque pars communi totius universi beneficio aliquid conferat. Quorsum optarim ego inutile quicquam? Si quid vero in me sit, quod aliorum bono inserviat, non meum est, ilicet, sed Ecclesiæ. Absque aliorum ope, vivere non possum: injurius essem, nisi me aliis itidem æque communicarem.

CXXVI. *Visa tabula orbis geographica.*

Quam minutula est, parvæque lituræ similis, regio aliqua tota! Magna eorum imperia, qui Monarchæ audire volunt, facile quis vel pollice uno tegat. Frustra, hic aulam sibi quærat magnus ille Tartarorum Chamus, Mogores Indus, aut Ethiopum, quisquis est, Imperator: satis est, si regnum quisque suum, inter tot orbis

segmina, indigitare possit. Et, si insularum ista fragmenta continentisque insuper minutiæ in unum colligantur, quam nihil aliud sunt hæc omnia nisi punctum indivisibile, præ vasto cœli ambitu, quo cinguntur universa!

Haud facile homini est patriæ suæ toti innotescere: quod si forsan eo usque fama ipsius pertingere possit, terræ tamen vicinæ nomen ejus prorsus inauditum est: vel, si et illic per hominum ora volitare meruerit, partes saltem remotiores tale quiddam esse in rerum natura penitus ignorant: tandem vero si demus, quod tamen nemo unquam mortalium assecutus est, uno omnium ore solum celebrari, quanto interim est ille reliquis melior beatiorve? O angustos terrenæ gloriæ fines! O inanem popularis auræ captationem! Solus ille, demum, vere feliciterque celebris est, cujus nomen cœlo et notum est et inscriptum.

CXXVII. *Ad conspectum cicutæ.*

Nulla creaturarum ex se suaque natura mala est: applicatione quidem sinistra, vel optima quæque fit mala: uti et, e contra, pessima fieri potest usu salutaris. Herba hæc, quam nimia experientia venenosam probavit, capro tamen benignum satis pharmacum est; quippe quæ, frigiditate nimia, febricitantis animalis calorem optime temperet. Ita cercopithecus araneas libere comedit; dapes hinc sibi parans et remedia.

Non est quod ignorantia nostra opificio Dei contumeliam inferat; vel, si nos istoc ausi, satis novit summa ipsius sapientia, hoc, quicquid est injuriæ, in bonum sibi convertere. Indubium plane est, ipsum creaturarum venenum commodis usibus inservire: quanto magis qualitates earum beneficas! Si quid forte nobis noceat, in nos cudendum est ilicet; pro bono malum incaute imprudenterque eligentibus. Interim, Creatori laudes, creaturis vero æquam gratamque comprobationem, debemus.

CXXXVIII. *Viso lilio.*

Flos iste satis ingratum præbet naribus odorem; cujus tamen radix adeo redolet, ut ab heroinis delicatissimis inter aromata fragrantissima reponi soleat: rosa, e contra, florem habet admodum dulcem, radicem vero plane inodoram: crocus, flavas quasdam virgulas emittit non minus suaves quam salutares, dum et flos et radix sensui merito displiceant. Ut vegetabilibus hisce fit, sic pariter et metallis.

Noluit Deus optima quæque semper oculis patere: neque, ex

adverso, præstantissima quæque celari voluit. Scire nempe nos voluit esse se, et clam divitem, et palam beneficum. Si unoquoque Dei dono, suo genere ac loco, parum utamur; amittit Deus debitas gratias, nos fructum et beneficium.

CXXIX. *De arboribus duabus, alta una, lata altera.*

Quæ proceriores sunt arbores, raro admodum expanduntur latius; e contra, rarissima est in latioribus plantis proceritas: ambitione nimia laboraret illa plantarum, quæ utroque modo eminere contenderet.

Idem et hominibus usu venit. Avarus, cui divitiæ maximo in pretio sunt quique ad metalla sese damnavit, ultro honoris adsequi fastigium parum curat: ex adverso, superbus, cujus animus honoribus ambiendis totus incumbit, præ his, divitias facile aspernatur. Est quidem humilis frutex in valle subsidens, qui neque procerus neque amplus est, neutri tamen invidet, utroque longe felicior. Procerior nempe hæc arbor, ædificiis struendis exscinditur; latior vero illa, alendo igni resecatur; adde, quod tempestatibus utraque magis sit obnoxia: dum arbustum humilius a venti invidia et securis ictu, securûm usque crescit; magisque fovetur indies, ut pastori decumbenti tantillum umbræ præbeat. Esto in summa dignitate gloria, sua est mediocritati securitas. Ne mihi invidiam moveat unquam illorum optio, qui maletuti malunt esse, quam inglorii.

CXXX. *Ad conspectum ebrii.*

Facultas longe omnium præstantissima ratio est; et quæ, revera, sola nos a brutis distinguit: sine qua, quid aliud est homo, quam brutum bipes? Pretiosa quæque uti teneriora vulgo sunt, tantoque magis periculis obnoxia; ita, præ aliis, ratio: brevis quædam *ἀγρυπνία*, febris violentia, unumve plus æquo poculum, totam disturbat distrahitque. Quid de hoc animali, homo certe quidem non est, tandem dicemus? Externam adhuc formam habet: habet et cadaver, æque perfectam: vitam sortitur insuper; sortitur æque et brutum: rationem, aut pro tempore penitus perdidit; aut, saltem ita prorsus, quoad exercitium corrupit vitiavitque, ut ipsa, fas mihi sic loqui, brutalitas multo minus dedeceat. Certe, bestia naturalis, eo est morali minus odiosa, quo causæ utriusque differunt magis: illum Deus ipse fecit; hanc, nos quidem ipsi: nihil est, quod brutum pudeat sic fuisse conditum; hominem autem est, quod maxime dispudeat in brutum turpiter degenerasse.

CXXXI. *Viso messore falcem coticula exacuente.*

Otium ludusque animo, ut cos falci, aciei scilicet quæ nimis aliter hebesceret exacuendæ, inservire et solet et debet. Quisquis, itaque, totum temporis sui ludo otiove impendit, semper exacuit, nunquam metit: floridum illi forte gramen est, equus famelicus. Quique, e contra, sine intermissione ulla laboribus desudat, metit ille semper, exacuit nunquam; multum operæ nequicquam perdens: quid enim juvat falx, cui deest acies? Tum demum res bene succedit, cum ita tempestive ac moderate falx acuitur, ut scindere possit; atque ita scindit, ut cote interim indigeat. Sic mihi intermutentur vices, ut neque hebescam labore, nec otio nimio torpeam.

CXXXII. *Admoto speculo.*

Cum alterius faciem intueor, hominem video; qui et me vicissim, æque videt: at, cum speculum inspicio, mei tantum imaginem, per omnia quidem mihi persimilem, video; meipsum interea non video. Puerorum est, puerulum, quem vident, pone speculum latentem quærere: ego nihil ibi subesse sat novi; sed et similitudinem quoque variari, juxta vel obscuritatem vel formam speculi variam.

Cum vel optime sumus dispositi, non aliter nos Deum, in terris, videre possumus. Hic quidem clarius ipsum videt; obscurius, ille: uterque, in speculo tamen. In cœlis Deum videbimus, non uti apparet, sed ut revera est: faciem ejus intuebimur, quemadmodum et ille nostram: spiritus nostri glorificata facies, gloriosissimam illius faciem, qui est Spirituum Deus, libere intuebitur. Interea temporis, non frequentius fixis in speculum oculis hærebit fœminarum superbissima, vultum, quem ipsa credit formosissimum, curiose speculando; quam ego clarissimum cogitationum mearum speculum oculis usurpabo meis, ut vultum illum Dei contempler, quem infinite pulchrum et splendidum esse novi.

CXXXIII. *Viso ligni cariosi splendore.*

Quam clare micat lignum istud! In foco non ita radiabit, ac jam modo sub mediis tenebris facit. Quam pulchrum hic est futuræ conditionis nostræ emblema! Quamdiu lignum hoc arbori concreverat, nihil quicquam splenduit: jam vero, putrefactum, fulgorem illico et lucem emittit.

Ita nos homines, quamdiu vitam istic degimus, toti et sumus et videmur miseri; non citius morti cessimus, quam gloria nostra statim elucere cæperit: ecce tunc, et cælestis gloriæ fulgore co-

ruscat anima; et nomen nostrum, in terris superstes, radios illos libere emittit, quos, antea aut prorsus suppresserat invidia, aut saltem obfuscarat. Quid nunc ita crescere nimis discupimus, cum nos, ex ipsa quidem putredine, tantum lucrari constiterit.

CXXXIV. *Visa hedera.*

Ecce istic fucati amoris verum emblema. Blandi hi sunt sed fatales amplexus: quam intime herba hæc quercui se adjungit, arcteque amplexa umbram præbet non ingratam! dum interea succum illi suffuratur clanculum; vitamque, tandem, exugit.

Talis est meretricis affectus: talis et parasiti. Da mihi veram mutuamque vitis et ulmi amicitiam; eam scilicet, qua et viti melius sit, et ulmo nihilo pejus. Salutaris illa nobilisque planta suffulcientem arborem non adeo rudibus ulmis circumplectitur, ut corticem lædere possit, succumve exhaurire: ulmus e contra debilem quidem illam, et generosam tamen, alumnam benigne sustinet. Ut Deus, ita et homines satis norunt amorem, non ex mera professione externisque ceremoniis quæ vel simulatoribus excidunt sæpenumero calidiores, sed ex ipsis actionibus, æstimare. Ille mihi inimicus non est, qui nocere nollet: nec ego illi amicus, cui non cupiam benefacere.

CXXXV. *De febre quartana.*

Expertus sum aliquando, ea ipsa, quibus morbum contrahit sanus, media etiam fuisse quibus ægrotus sanaretur. Febris quartana medicorum opprobrium olim, nec immerito, audiit; quam tamen, mera crapula, non semel sede sua pulsam observavi. Est ubi dæmonum unus alterius ejectioni operam elocat.

Sed et idem etiam, in animæ morbis comperi. Idem Deus, cujus justitia peccatum peccato plectere solet, non raro etiam, mirifice operante ipsius misericordia, peccatum etiam peccato, justissime tamen, medetur. Sic superbum turpissimæ, in quam inciderat, libidinis, pudore conversum aliquando novimus; sic furiose iracundum, temero quodam homicidio cicuratum vidimus. Non est quod de pharmaco nimium laboremus, dum medici infinitam cum artem tum potestatem intelligimus. De salute mea quid est quod metuam, cum Deus mihi possit non salubribus modo, sed et noxiis remediis opitulari?

CXXXVI. *Conspecto plaustro bene onusto.*

Pathetice admodum exprimitur illa Dei de peccatis Israelis querimonia, Pressistis me, plaustri instar tritico onusti. Plaustrum

vacuum leviter decurrit: gravi vero pondere saburratum difficulter et ægre progreditur, gemitque sub pondere, altos terræ cedenti sulcos imprimens; crepant rotæ, incurvatur axis; tota denique fabrica quam maxime urgetur opprimiturque.

Omnia, præter peccatum, facile ferre potest, qui Omnipotens est: non patitur justitia ejus, ut misericordia ipsius nimium prægravetur. Mirum non est, si anima peccatorum conscia dixerit, Major est iniquitas mea quam ut ferre possim; cum Deus ipse Infinitus peccatorum nostrorum pondere se oppressum queritur. Absit, tamen, ut querelam hanc vanus quispiam putet ex potentiæ defectu, et non potius ex superabundantia misericordiæ profectam. Peccata nostra non possunt Deum quicquam lædere: nos lædunt ipsos gravissime. Dolet ipsi, cum ad pœnas nobis infligendas provocatur. Tum crepitare illi plaustrum videtur, imo frangi, cum justam de nobis vindictam sumere, quasi invitus, urgetur.

Bone Jesu, peccata mundi universa humeris tuis imposita sunt: tu sanguinis grumos exudabas ubertim, tanto pondere gravatus. Quid de me actum foret, si vel unicum de tota illa messe manipulum subiissem; cujus quælibet spica, imo vel unicum spicæ granulum, ad imum usque barathrum animam meam deprimeret?

CXXXVII. *Viso quodam nano.*

Ex omnibus quotquot sunt Dei beneficiis, quid est, quod is æque omnibus impertire voluerit; nisi modo ipsum illud, quod sumus? non eandem corporis mensuram, easdem ingenii vires, eandem memoriæ capacitatem, eundem decorem partium, eundemve aut divitiarum aut honoris cumulum.

Eodem etiam modo dona gratiæ suæ dispensavit Deus. Sunt enim nani spirituales: sunt etiam et gigantes. Viri sunt perfecti; sunt et pueri; infantes; embryones. Imparitas hæc eo magis benignitatem sapientiamque largientis extollit, et charitatem quoque gratitudinemque recipientis exercet. Homines quod sumus non in ipsa corporis mensura consistit: pusillus quisque æque homo est, ac proceritate eminentior. Ita etiam et spiritualiter sese habet; quantitas gratiæ non est, quæ Christianum constituit, sed veritas. Illud mihi in votis erit, ut cubitos multos staturæ animæ meæ adjicere possim; hac tamen, interea, firmabo me solaborque confidentia, quod sciam, non posse me adeo humilem esse, quin ut cœlum aliquando attingam.

CXXXVIII. *Audito paulo importuniore mendico.*

Non male profecto monuit, qui nos a mendicis orare discere

consuluit. Quanto zelo, instat iste! Quam fervidis votis, quam efficaci importunitate, vim infert viatori! Cum antea silentio ipsum præterire proposuissem, clamor rogitantis verba mihi elicit. Alloquor, non alio quidem quam excusationum, minarum, increpationis, commotiorisque repulsæ sono; ille, obsecrationibus adjurationibusque urget acrius; nec desistit, donec tandem eleemosynam a me, quamlibet reluctante, impetraverit. Quam denudat sibi ulcera, impotentiamque palam ostendit, ut oculi etiam mei linguæ exoranti suppetias ferant! Quam belle rhetoricatur, miraque arte misericordiam mihi extorquet! ut vix mihi gratias nunc deberi sentiam, qui, post tot tamque potentes preces, annuerim.

Quidni et ego sic me Deo geram? Non minus certe egeo, quam qui mortalium omnium pauperrimus: sed et gravius multo est inopiæ meæ periculum: eleemosynæ, quas peto, longe meliores sunt; opulentia et misericordia largientis, immane quanto major!

O Deus, cur tu ultro mihi porrigeres quod rogare usque volens detrectaverim? Faxis, obsecro, egestatem meam vere persentiscam: tum demum, neque ego frigide te rogare potero; neque tu ægre, quod petierim, erogare.

CXXXIX. *Viso pharmaco quodam.*

Quam nauseosum est hoc poculum! Oculis, naribus, gustui quam ingratum! Cujus vel ipsa cogitatio, morbi quoddam genus est: et, ubi exhauserim, morbo ipso gravius me affligit hoc, quicquid est, remedii. Quanto dolore stomachum afficit, intestina torquet; vehementiorem in corpore intemperiem excitans, quam qua prius laborabam. Sumendum tamen est, valetudinis ergo: neque revera adeo salutare foret, si minus foret ingratum; nec me sanum deinceps præstaret, nisi prius ægrotum præstitisset.

Tales omnino sunt, et castigationes Dei, et amici reprehensiones; duræ forsan, pro tempore, ac molestæ: quæ tamen postmodo *καρπὸν εἰρηνικὸν* opportune producunt.

Quid ego nunc faciem indignabundus averto, oculos claudo, nares obstruo, et a certo morbi mei remedio tantopere abhorreo; cum empiricos quosdam viderim, qui bufones discerptos audacter manducarint, moxque liquorem venenosum libere absorpserint, idque vel lucri tantilli vel forte ostentationis solius causa?

Sola quædam imbecillitas, animique parum audentis anxietas, fastidiosi hujusce affectus rea est. Quin ego alacris mihi sumo, totumque exhaurio amarum afflictionis poculum, quod sapiens et benignus Deus in animæ meæ salutem ægro miscere voluit.

CXL. *Ad conspectum rotæ.*

Dirissime quidem hostibus Dei imprecari voluit Propheta, dum ait, O Deus, facito eos rotæ similes: quo, quid aliud innuere potuit, nisi conditionis eorum instabilitatem, subitique demum judicii violentiam? Isti nimirum rotæ radii, qui nunc sursum feruntur, jam, dicto aut cogitatione citius, deorsum volvuntur; moxque elevantur, ut illico deprimantur denuo. Neque ullus dari potest motus æque velox rapidusque, ac circularis.

Magnam arguit Dei benignitatem, quod, in pœnis infligendis, moras nectere soleat; ita nos puniens, ut resipiscentiæ adhuc tempus ultra indulgeat. In hisce suppliciorum spatiis gradibusque, vita aliqua et spes residua est; at rapidissima illa vindicis Dei judicia, nihil plane, prætér furorem confusionemque æternam, præ se ferunt.

O Domine, in excandescentia tua ne me redarguas. Castigationes tuas deprecari non possum: correctionem certe quandam peccata mea necessario efflagitant: ego iram tuam supplex deprecor. Castigas tu nempe, quos amas. Ita me verberes, quæso, ut, dum vibices tuas dolens sentio, in misericordia tua lætus acquiescam.

OCCASIONAL MEDITATIONS,

BY JOS. EXON.

SET FORTH BY R. H.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, MY VERY GOOD LORD,

[b]JAMES LORD VISCOUNT DONCASTER.

RIGHT HONOURABLE:

FINDING these papers, amongst others, lying aside in my father's study, whereof I conceived good use might be made, in regard of that spiritual advantage which they promised; I obtained of him good leave to send them abroad: whereto he professed himself the more easily induced, for that his continual and weighty employments in this large and busy diocese will not yet afford him leisure to despatch those his other fixed Meditations on the History of the New Testament.

In the mean time, the expressions of these voluntary and sudden thoughts of his shall testify how fruitfully he is wont to improve those short ends of time which are stolen from his more important avocations; and unless my hopes fail me, the pattern of them may prove not a little beneficial to others.

Holy minds have been ever wont to look through these bodily objects at spiritual and heavenly. So Sulpitius reports of St. Martin, that seeing a sheep newly shorn, he could say, "Lo, here is one that hath performed that command in the Gospel, having two coats, she hath given away one:" and, seeing a bogherd freezing in a thin suit of skins, "Lo," said he, "there is Adam cast out of paradise:" and seeing a meadow part rooted up; part whole, but eaten down; and part flourishing; he said, "The first was the state of fornication, the second of marriage, the third of virginity." But what do I seek any other author than the Lord of Life himself? who, upon the drawing of water from the well of Shilo on the day of the great Hosanna, took occasion to speak of those living waters which should flow from every true believer, John vii. 38: and, upon occasion of a bodily feast, Luke xiv, entered into that divine discourse of God's gracious invitation of us to those spiritual viands of grace and glory.

Thus, methinks, we should still be climbing up in our thoughts from earth to heaven; and suffer no object to cross us in our way without some spiritual use and application. Thus it pleased my reverend father sometimes to recreate himself: whose manner it hath been, when any of these meditations have unsought offered themselves unto him, presently to set them down; a course, which I wish had been also taken in many more, which might no doubt have been very profitable.

These, as they are, I send forth under your honourable name; out of those many respects, which are, in an hereditary right, due to your Lordship, as being apparent heir to those two singular patrons of my justly-reverenced father: the eminent virtue of which your noble parents in a gracious succession yields to your Lordship an happy example, which to follow is the only way to true honour. For the daily increase whereof here, and the everlasting crown of it hereafter, his prayers to God shall not be wanting, who desires to be accounted

Your Lordship's devoted,
In all humble observance,
RO. HALL.

[b] [James Hay.]

THE PROEM.

I HAVE heedlessly lost, I confess, many good thoughts: these few my paper hath preserved from vanishing; the example whereof may perhaps be more useful than the matter.

Our active soul can no more forbear to think, than the eye can choose but see when it is open. Would we but keep our wholesome notions together, mankind would be too rich. To do well, no object should pass us without use. Every thing that we see reads us new lectures of wisdom and piety. It is a shame for a man to be ignorant or godless under so many tutors.

For me, I would not wish to live longer than I shall be better for my eyes; and have thought it thankworthy thus to teach weak minds how to improve their thoughts upon all like occasions. And if ever these lines shall come to the public view, I desire and charge my reader, whosoever he be, to make me and himself so happy, as to take out my lesson, and to learn how to read God's great book by mine.

OCCASIONAL MEDITATIONS.

[Translation.]

I. *Upon the sight of the heavens moving.*

I CAN see nothing stand still, but the earth: all other things are in motion. Even the water, which makes up one globe with the earth, is ever stirring in ebbs and flowings; the clouds, over my head; the heavens, above the clouds: these, as they are most conspicuous, so are they the greatest patterns of perpetual action.

What should we rather imitate than this glorious frame? O God, when we pray that thy will may be done in earth as it is in heaven, though we mean chiefly the inhabitants of that place; yet we do not exclude the very place of those blessed inhabitants from being an example of our obedience. The motion of this thy heaven is perpetual; so let me ever be acting somewhat of thy will: the motion of thy heaven is regular, never swerving from the due points; so let me ever walk steadily in the ways of thy will, without all diversions or variations from the line of thy law. In the motion of thine heaven, though some stars have their own peculiar and contrary courses; yet all yield themselves to the sway of the main circumvolution of that first mover: so, though I have a will of mine own, yet let me give myself over to be ruled and ordered by thy Spirit in all my ways. Man is a little world: my soul is heaven; my body is earth: if this earth be dull and fixed, yet, O God, let my heaven, like unto thine, move perpetually, regularly, and in a constant subjection to thine Holy Ghost.

II. *Upon the sight of a dial.*

If the sun did not shine upon this dial, nobody would look at it: in a cloudy day it stands like an useless post, unheeded, unregarded; but when once those beams break forth, every passenger runs to it, and gazes on it.

O God, while thou hidest thy countenance from me, methinks all thy creatures pass by me with a willing neglect. Indeed,

what am I without thee? And if thou have drawn in me some lines and notes of able endowments, yet, if I be not actuated by thy grace, all is, in respect of use, no better than nothing: but when thou renewest the light of thy loving countenance upon me, I find a sensible and happy change of condition: methinks all things look upon me with such cheer and observance, as if they meant to make good that word of thine, *Those that honour me I will honour:* now every line and figure which it hath pleased thee to work in me, serve for useful and profitable direction. O Lord, all the glory is thine. Give thou me light; I shall give others information: both of us shall give thee praise.

III. *Upon the sight of an eclipse of the sun.*

Light is an ordinary and familiar blessing; yet so dear to us, that one hour's interception of it sets all the world in a wonder. The two great luminaries of heaven, as they impart light to us, so they withdraw light from each other: the sun darkens the full moon, in casting the shadow of the earth upon her opposed face: the new moon repays this blemish to the sun, in the interposing of her dark body betwixt our eyes and his glorious beams: the earth is troubled at both.

O God, if we be so afflicted with the obscuring of some piece of one of thy created lights for an hour or two, what a confusion shall it be, that thou, who art the God of these lights, in comparison of whom they are mere darkness, shalt hide thy face from thy creature for ever! O thou, that art the Sun of Righteousness, if every of my sins cloud thy face, yet let not my grievous sins eclipse thy light. Thou shinest always, though I do not see thee; but, O, never suffer my sins so to darken thy visage that I cannot see thee.

IV. *Upon the sight of a gliding star.*

How easily is our sight deceived! how easily doth our sight deceive us! We saw no difference betwixt this star and the rest: the light seemed alike; both while it stood, and while it fell. Now we know it was no other than a base slimy meteor, gilded with the sun-beams: and now our foot can tread upon that which ere while our eye admired. Had it been a star, it had still and ever shined: now the very fall argues it a false and elementary apparition.

Thus our charity doth and must mislead us in our spiritual judgments. If we see men exalted in their Christian profession,

fixed in the upper region of the Church, shining with appearances of grace, we may not think them other than stars in this lower firmament: but if they fall from their holy station, and embrace the present world, whether in judgment or practice renouncing the truth and power of godliness; now we may boldly say, they had never any true light in them, and were no other than a glittering composition of pride and hypocrisy.

O God, if my charity make me apt to be deceived by others, let me be sure not to deceive myself. Perhaps some of these apostatizing stars have thought themselves true: let their miscarriage make me heedful: let the inward light of thy grace more convince my truth to myself, than my outward profession can represent me glorious to others.

V. *Upon a fair prospect.*

What a pleasing variety is here of towns, rivers, hills, dales, woods, meadows; each of them striving to set forth the other, and all of them to delight the eye! So as this is no other than a natural and real landscape, drawn by that almighty and skilful hand, in this table of the earth, for the pleasure of our view. No other creature besides man is capable to apprehend this beauty: I shall do wrong to him that brought me hither, if I do not feed my eyes, and praise my Maker. It is the intermixture and change of these objects that yields this contentment both to the sense and mind.

But there is a sight, O my soul, that, without all variety, offers thee a truer and fuller delight, even this heaven above thee. All thy other prospects end in this. This glorious circumference bounds and circles and enlightens all that thine eye can see: whether thou look upward, or forward, or about thee, there thine eye alights; there let thy thoughts be fixed. One inch of this lightsome firmament hath more beauty in it than the whole face of the earth: and yet this is but the floor of that goodly fabric, the outward curtain of that glorious tabernacle. Couldest thou but (O that thou couldest!) look within that veil, how shouldest thou be ravished with that blissful sight! There, in that incomprehensible light, thou shouldest see him, whom none can see and not be blessed: thou shouldest see millions of pure and majestical angels, of holy and glorified souls: there, amongst thy Father's many mansions, thou shouldest take happy notice of thine own. O the best of earth, now vile and contemptible! Come

down no more, O my soul, after thou hast once pitched upon this heavenly glory; or, if this flesh force thy descent, be unquiet, till thou art let loose to immortality.

VI. *Upon the frame of a globe casually broken.*

It is hard to say whether is the greater, man's art or impotence. He, that cannot make one spire of grass, or corn of sand, will yet be framing of worlds: he can imitate all things, who can make nothing. Here is a great world in a little room, by the skill of the workman; but in less room by mis-accident. Had he seen this who, upon the view of Plato's Book of Commonwealth eaten with mice, presaged the fatal miscarriage of the public state, he would sure have construed this casualty as ominous.

Whatever become of the material world, whose decay might seem no less to stand with Divine Providence than this microcosm of individual man, sure I am the frame of the moral world is and must be disjointed in the last times. Men do and will fall from evil to worse. He that hath made all times hath told us, that the last shall be perilous. Happy is he that can stand upright when the world declines, and can endeavour to repair the common ruin with a constancy in goodness.

VII. *Upon a cloud.*

Whether it were a natural cloud wherewith our ascending Saviour was intercepted from the eyes of his disciples upon Mount Olivet, I inquire not: this I am sure of, that the time now was when a cloud surpassed the sun in glory. How did the intentive eyes of those ravished beholders envy that happy meteor; and, since they could no more see that glorious body, fixed themselves upon that celestial chariot wherewith it was carried up! The angels could tell the gazing disciples, to fetch them off from that astonishing prospect, that *this Jesus should so come again as they had seen him depart.* He went up in a cloud; and he shall come again, in the clouds of heaven, to his last judgment.

O Saviour, I cannot look upward but I must see the sensible monuments both of thine ascension and return. Let no cloud of worldliness or infidelity hinder me from following thee in thine ascension, or from expecting thee in thy return.

VIII. *Upon the sight of a grave digged up.*

The earth, as it is a great devourer, so also it is a great preserver too: liquors and fleshes are therein long kept from putrifying; and are rather heightened in their spirits by being buried in it: but, above all, how safely doth it keep our bodies for the resurrection! We are here but laid up for custody. Balms and cerecloths and leads cannot do so much as this lap of our common mother: when all these are dissolved into her dust, as being unable to keep themselves from corruption, she receives and restores her charge. I can no more withhold my body from the earth, than the earth can withhold it from my Maker.

O God, this is thy cabinet or shrine, wherein thou pleasest to lay up the precious relics of thy dear saints until the jubilee of glory: with what confidence should I commit myself to this sure reposition, while I know thy word just, thy power infinite!

IX. *Upon the sight of gold melted.*

This gold is both the fairest and most solid of all metals; yet is the soonest melted with the fire: others, as they are coarser, so more churlish, and hard to be wrought upon by a dissolution.

Thus, a sound and good heart is most easily melted into sorrow and fear by the sense of God's judgments; whereas the carnal mind is stubborn and remorseless. All metals are but earth; yet some are of finer temper than others: all hearts are of flesh; yet some are, through the power of grace, more capable of spiritual apprehensions.

O God, we are such as thou wilt be pleased to make us. Give me an heart that may be sound for the truth of grace, and melting at the terrors of thy Law; I can be for no other than thy sanctuary on earth, or thy treasury of heaven.

X. *Upon the sight of a pitcher carried.*

Thus those that are great and weak are carried by the ears up and down of flatterers and parasites: thus ignorant and simple hearers are carried by false and miszealous teachers. Yet, to be carried by both ears is more safe than to be carried by one. It argues an empty pitcher to be carried by one alone. Such are they, that, upon the hearing of one part, rashly pass their sentence, whether of acquittal or censure. In all disquisitions of hidden truths, a wise man will be led by the ears, not carried; that implies a violence of passion over-swaying judgment: but in

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matter of civil occurrence and unconcerning rumour, it is good to use the ear, not to trust to it.

XI. *Upon the sight of a tree full blossomed.*

Here is a tree overlaid with blossoms. It is not possible that all these should prosper; one of them must needs rob the other of moisture and growth.

I do not love to see an infancy overhopeful: in these pregnant beginnings one faculty starves another, and at last leaves the mind sapless and barren. As, therefore, we are wont to pull off some of the too-frequent blossoms that the rest may thrive; so it is good wisdom to moderate the early excess of the parts or progress of overforward childhood.

Neither is it otherwise in our Christian profession. A sudden and lavish ostentation of grace may fill the eye with wonder and the mouth with talk, but will not, at the last, fill the lap with fruit. Let me not promise too much, nor raise too high expectations of my undertakings. I had rather men should complain of my small hopes than of my short performances.

XII. *Upon the report of a man suddenly struck dead in his sin.*

I cannot but magnify the justice of God; but, withal, I must praise his mercy. It were woe with any of us all, if God should take us at advantages. Alas! which of us hath not committed sins worthy of a present revenge? Had we been also surprised in those acts, where had we been?

O God, it is more than thou owest us that thou hast waited for our repentance: it is no more than thou owest us, that thou plaguest our offences. *The wages of sin is death;* and it is but justice to pay due wages. Blessed be thy justice, that hast made others examples to me: blessed be thy mercy, that hast not made me an example unto others.

XIII. *Upon the view of the heaven and the earth.*

What a strange contrariety is here! The heaven is in continual motion; and yet there is the only place of rest: the earth ever stands still; and yet here is nothing but unrest and unquietness. Surely the end of that heavenly motion is for the benefit of the earth, and the end of all these earthly turmoils is our reposal in heaven. Those that have imagined the earth to turn about and the heavens to stand still, have yet supposed that we may stand

or sit still on that whirling globe of earth: how much more may we be persuaded of our perfect rest above those moving spheres!

It matters not, O God, how I am vexed here below, a while, if, ere long, I may repose with thee above, for ever.

XIV. *Upon occasion of a redbreast coming into his chamber.*

Pretty bird, how cheerfully dost thou sit and sing; and yet knowest not where thou art, nor where thou shalt make thy next meal, and at night must shroud thyself in a bush for lodging! What a shame is it for me, that see before me so liberal provisions of my God, and find myself set warm under my own roof, yet am ready to droop under a distrustful and unthankful dulness! Had I so little certainty of my harbour and purveyance, how heartless should I be, how careful! how little list should I have to make music to thee or myself! Surely, thou camest not hither without a providence. God sent thee, not so much to delight, as to shame me; but all in a conviction of my sullen unbelief, who, under more apparent means, am less cheerful and confident. Reason and faith have not done so much in me as in thee mere instinct of nature. Want of foresight makes thee more merry, if not more happy, here, than the foresight of better things maketh me.

O God, thy providence is not impaired by those powers thou hast given me above these brute things: let not my greater helps hinder me from an holy security and comfortable reliance upon thee.

XV. *Upon occasion of a spider in his window.*

There is no vice in man whereof there is not some analogy in the brute creatures. As amongst us men there are thieves by land, and pirates by sea, that live by spoil and blood; so is there in every kind amongst them variety of natural sharkers; the hawk in the air; the pike in the river; the whale in the sea; the lion and tiger and wolf in the desert; the wasp in the hive; the spider in our window.

Amongst the rest, see how cunningly this little Arabian hath spread out his tent for a prey; how heedfully he watches for a passenger. So soon as ever he hears the noise of a fly afar off, how he hastens to his door! and if that silly heedless traveller do but touch upon the verge of that unsuspected walk, how suddenly doth he seize upon the miserable booty; and, after some strife, binding him fast with those subtle cords, drags the helpless captive after him into his cave!

What is this, but an emblem of those spiritual freebooters that lie in wait for our souls? They are the spiders, we the flies; they have spread their nets of sin: if we be once caught, they bind us fast, and hale us into hell.

O Lord, deliver thou my soul from their crafty ambushes; their poison is greater, their webs both more strong and more insensibly woven. Either teach me to avoid temptation, or make me to break through it by repentance: O let me not be a prey to those fiends that lie in wait for my destruction.

XVI. *Upon the sight of rain in the sunshine.*

Such is my best condition in this life. If the sun of God's countenance shine upon me, I may well be content to be wet with some rain of affliction. How oft have I seen the heaven overcast with clouds and tempest, no sun appearing to comfort me! yet even those gloomy and stormy seasons have I rid out patiently, only with the help of the common light of the day; at last, those beams have broken forth happily and cheered my soul. It is well for my ordinary state, if, through the mists of mine own dulness and Satan's temptations, I can descry some glimpse of heavenly comfort; let me never hope, while I am in this vale, to see the clear face of that sun without a shower. Such happiness is reserved for above: that upper region of glory is free from these doubtful and miserable vicissitudes.

There, O God, we shall see as we are seen: *Light is sown for the righteous, and joy for the upright in heart.*

XVII. *Upon the length of the way.*

How far off is yonder great mountain! My very eye is weary with the foresight of so great a distance, yet time and patience shall overcome it; this night we shall hope to lodge beyond it. Some things are more tedious in their expectation than in their performance. The comfort is, that every step I take sets me nearer to my end: when I once come there, I shall both forget how long it now seems, and please myself to look back upon the way that I have measured.

It is thus in our passage to heaven. My weak nature is ready to faint under the very conceit of the length and difficulty of this journey; my eye doth not more guide than discourage me. Many steps of grace and true obedience shall bring me insensibly thither. Only let me move and hope, and God's good leisure shall perfect my salvation.

O Lord, give me to possess my soul with patience, and not so much to regard speed as certainty. When I come to the top of thine holy hill, all these weary paces and deep sloughs shall either be forgotten, or contribute to my happiness in their remembrance.

XVIII. *Upon the rain and waters.*

What a sensible interchange there is in nature betwixt union and division! Many vapours rising from the sea meet together in one cloud: that cloud falls down divided into several drops: those drops run together; and, in many rills of water, meet in the same channels: those channels run into the brook, those brooks into the rivers, those rivers into the sea. One receptacle is for all, though a large one: and all make back to their first and main original.

So it either is, or should be, with spiritual gifts. O God, thou distillest thy graces upon us, not for our reservation, but conveyance. Those manifold faculties thou lettest fall upon several men, thou wouldest not have drenched up where they light; but wouldest have derived, through the channels of their special vocations, into the common streams of public use, for Church or commonwealth.——Take back, O Lord, those few drops thou hast rained upon my soul, and return them into that great ocean of the glory of thine own bounty, from whence they had their beginning.

XIX. *Upon the same subject.*

Many drops fill the channels, and many channels swell up the brooks, and many brooks raise the rivers over the banks. The brooks are not out till the channels be empty; the rivers rise not while the small brooks are full; but when the little rivulets have once voided themselves into the main streams, then all is overflown. Great matters arise from small beginnings; many littles make up a large bulk. Yea, what is the world but a composition of atoms?

We have seen it thus in civil estates; the impairing of the commons have oft been the raising of the great; their streams have run low, till they have been heightened by the confluence of many private inlets; many a mean channel hath been emptied to make up their inundation.

Neither is it otherwise in my whether outward or spiritual condition: O God, thou hast multiplied my drops into streams: as out of many minutes thou hast made up my age; so out of many lessons, thou hast made up my competency of knowledge; thou

hast drained many beneficent friends to make me competently rich; by many holy motions thou hast wrought me to some measure of grace. O teach me wisely and moderately to enjoy thy bounty, and to reduce thy streams into thy drops, and thy drops into thy clouds; humbly and thankfully acknowledging whence and how I have all that I have, all that I am.

XX. *Upon occasion of the lights brought in.*

What a change there is in the room since the light came in! yea, in ourselves! All things seem to have a new form, a new life: yea, we are not the same we were. How goodly a creature is light! how pleasing, how agreeable to the spirits of man! no visible thing comes so near to the resembling of the nature of the soul; yea, of the God that made it. As, contrarily, what an uncomfortable thing is darkness! insomuch as we punish the greatest malefactors with obscurity of dungeons; as thinking they could not be miserable enough, if they might have the privilege of beholding the light: yea, hell itself can be no more horribly described than by outward darkness. What is darkness, but absence of light? the pleasure or the horror of light or darkness is according to the quality and degree of the cause whence it ariseth.

And if the light of a poor candle be so comfortable, which is nothing but a little inflamed air gathered about a moistened snuff; what is the light of the glorious sun, the great lamp of heaven! But, much more, what is the light of that infinitely resplendent Sun of Righteousness, who gave that light to the sun, that sun to the world! And if this partial and imperfect darkness be so doleful, which is the privation of a natural or artificial light; how unconceivably dolorous and miserable shall that be which is caused through the utter absence of the all-glorious God, who is the Father of lights! O Lord, how justly do we pity those wretched souls *that sit in darkness and the shadow of death*; shut up from the light of the saving knowledge of thee, the only true God! But how am I swallowed up with horror, to think of the fearful condition of those damned souls, that are for ever shut out from the presence of God, and adjudged to exquisite and everlasting darkness! The Egyptians were weary of themselves in their three days' darkness; yet we do not find any pain that accompanied their continuing night: what shall we say to those woful souls, in whom the sensible pre-

sence of infinite torment shall meet with the torment of the perpetual absence of God?

O thou, who art the True Light, shine ever through all the blind corners of my soul: and from these weak glimmerings of grace, bring me to the perfect brightness of thy glory.

XXI. *Upon the same occasion.*

As well as we love the light, we are wont to salute it, at the first coming in, with winking or closed eyes; as not abiding to see that without which we cannot see. All sudden changes, though to the better, have a kind of trouble attending them. By how much more excellent any object is, by so much more is our weak sense misaffected in the first apprehending of it.

O Lord, if thou shouldest manifest thy glorious presence to us here, we should be confounded in the sight of it: how wisely, how mercifully hast thou reserved that for our glorified estate; where no infirmity shall dazzle our eyes, where perfect righteousness shall give us perfect boldness both of sight and fruition!

XXII. *Upon the blowing of the fire.*

We beat back the flame, not with a purpose to suppress it, but to raise it higher, and to diffuse it more.

Those afflictions and repulses which seem to be discouragements, are indeed the merciful incitements of grace. If God did mean judgment to my soul, he would either withdraw the fuel, or pour water upon the fire, or suffer it to languish for want of new motions: but now that he continues to me the means and opportunities and desires of good, I shall misconstrue the intentions of my God, if I shall think his crosses sent rather to damp than to quicken his Spirit in me.

O God, if thy bellows did not sometimes thus breathe upon me in spiritual repercussions, I should have just cause to suspect my estate: those few weak gleeds of grace that are in me might soon go out, if they were not thus refreshed: still blow upon them, till they kindle; still kindle them, till they flame up to thee.

XXIII. *Upon the barking of a dog.*

What have I done to this dog, that he follows me with this angry clamour? Had I rated him, or shaken my staff, or stooped down for a stone, I had justly drawn on this noise, this snarling importunity.

But why do I wonder to find this unquiet disposition in a brute creature, when it is no news with the reasonable? Have I not seen innocence and merit bayed at by the quarrelsome and envious vulgar without any provocation, save of good offices? Have I not felt more than their tongue, their teeth upon my heels? when I know I have deserved nothing but fawning on? Where is my grace or spirits if I have not learned to contemn both?

O God, let me rather die than willingly incur thy displeasure; yea, than justly offend thy godly-wise, judicious, conscionable servants: but if humour or faction or causeless prejudice fall upon me for my faithful service to thee, let these bawling curs tire themselves and tear their throats with loud and false censures: I go on in a silent constancy; and if my ear be beaten, yet my heart shall be free.

XXIV. *Upon sight of a cock-fight.*

How fell these creatures out? Whence grew this so bloody combat? Here was neither old grudge nor present injury. What then is the quarrel? Surely, nothing but that which should rather unite and reconcile them; one common nature: they are both of one feather. I do not see either of them fly upon creatures of different kinds; but, while they have peace with all others, they are at war with themselves: the very sight of each other was sufficient provocation. If this be the offence, why doth not each of them fall out with himself; since he hates and revenges in another the being of that same which himself is?

Since man's sin brought debate into the world, nature is become a great quarreller. The seeds of discord were scattered in every furrow of the creation; and came up in a numberless variety of antipathies: whereof yet none is more odious and deplorable than those which are betwixt creatures of the same kind. What is this but an image of that woful hostility which is exercised betwixt us reasonables; who are conjoined in one common humanity, if not religion? We fight with and destroy each other, more than those creatures that want reason to temper their passions. No beast is so cruel to man as himself: where one man is slain by a beast, ten thousand are slain by man. What is that war which we study and practise but the art of killing? Whatever Turks and pagans may do, O Lord, how long shall this brutish fury arm Christians against each other? While even devils are not at enmity with themselves, but accord in

wickedness, why do we men so mortally oppose each other in good?

O thou that art the God of peace, compose the unquiet hearts of men to an happy and universal concord; and at last refresh our souls with the multitude of peace.

XXV. *Upon his lying down to rest.*

What a circle there is of human actions and events! We are never without some change; and yet that change is without any great variety. We sleep and wake; and wake and sleep; and eat and evacuate; labour, in a continual interchange: yet hath the infinite wisdom of God so ordered it that we are not weary of these perpetual iterations, but with no less appetite enter into our daily courses than if we should pass them but once in our life. When I am weary of my day's labour, how willingly do I undress myself, and betake myself to my bed! and ere morning, when I have wearied my restless bed, how glad am I to rise and renew my labour!

Why am I not more desirous to be unclothed of this body, that I may be clothed upon with immortality? What is this but my closest garment, which when it is once put off, my soul is at liberty and ease? Many a time have I lien down here in desire of rest; and, after some tedious changing of sides, have risen sleepless, disappointed, languishing. In my last uncasing my body shall not fail of repose, nor my soul of joy; and, in my rising up neither of them shall fail of glory.

What hinders me, O God, but my infidelity, from longing for this happy dissolution? The world hath misery and toil enough, and heaven hath more than enough blessedness to perfect my desires of that my last and glorious change. I believe, Lord, help my unbelief.

XXVI. *Upon the kindling of a charcoal fire.*

There are not many creatures but do naturally affect to diffuse and enlarge themselves. Fire and water will neither of them rest contented with their own bounds. Those little sparks that I see in those coals, how they spread and enkindle their next brands!

It is thus, morally, both in good and evil: either of them dilates itself to their neighbourhood: but especially this is so much more apparent in evil, by how much we are more apt to take it.

Let but some spark of heretical opinion be let fall upon some unstable, proud, busy spirit, it catcheth instantly, and fires the next capable subject: they two have easily inflamed a third; and now, the more society, the more speed and advantage of a public combustion. When we see the Church on a flame, it is too late to complain of the flint and steel. It is the holy wisdom of superiors to prevent the dangerous attritions of stubborn and wrangling spirits, or to quench their first sparks in the tinder. But why should not grace and truth be as successful in dilating itself to the gaining of many hearts? Certainly, these are in themselves more winning, if our corruption had not made us indisposed to good.

O God, out of an holy envy and emulation at the speed of evil, I shall labour to enkindle others with these heavenly flames: it shall not be my fault if they spread not.

XXVII. *Upon the sight of an humble and patient beggar.*

See what need can do! This man, who in so lowly a fashion croucheth to that passenger, hath in all likelihood as good a stomach as he to whom he thus abaseth himself; and, if their conditions were but altered, would look as high and speak as big to him whom he now answers with a plausible and dejected reverence.

It is thus betwixt God and us. He sees the way to tame us is to hold us short of these earthly contentments. Even the savagest beasts are made quiet and docible with want of food and rest.

O God, thou only knowest what I would do if I had health, ease, abundance: do thou, in thy wisdom and mercy, so proportion thy gifts and restraints as thou knowest best for my soul. If I be not humbled enough, let me want; and so order all my estate, that I may want any thing save thyself.

XXVIII. *Upon the sight of a crow pulling off wool from the back of a sheep.*

How well these creatures know whom they may be bold with! That crow durst not do this to a wolf or a mastiff. The known simplicity of this innocent beast gives advantage to this presumption.

Meekness of spirit commonly draws on injuries. The cruelty of ill natures usually seeks out those, not who deserve worst,

but who will bear most. Patience and mildness of spirit is ill bestowed, where it exposes a man to wrong and insultation Sheepish dispositions are best to others, worst to themselves. I could be willing to take injuries, but I will not be guilty of provoking them by lenity: for harmlessness, let me go for a sheep; but whosoever will be tearing my fleece, let him look to himself.

XXIX. *Upon the sight of two snails.*

There is much variety even in creatures of the same kind. See there two snails. One hath an house, the other wants it: yet both are snails; and it is a question whether case is the better. That which hath an house hath more shelter; but that which wants it hath more freedom. The privilege of that cover is but a burden: you see, if it have but a stone to climb over, with what stress it draws up that beneficial load; and, if the passage prove strait, finds no entrance. Whereas the empty snail makes no difference of way.

Surely it is always an ease, and sometimes an happiness, to have nothing. No man is so worthy of envy as he that can be cheerful in want.

XXX. *Upon the hearing of the street-cries in London.*

What a noise do these poor souls make in proclaiming their commodities! Each tells what he hath, and would have all hearers take notice of it: and yet, God wot, it is but poor stuff that they set out with so much ostentation. I do not hear any of the rich merchants talk of what bags he hath in his chests, or what treasures of rich wares in his storehouse: every man rather desires to hide his wealth; and when he is urged, is ready to dissemble his ability.

No otherwise is it in the true spiritual riches: he that is full of grace and good works affects not to make show of it to the world; but rests sweetly in the secret testimony of a good conscience, and the silent applause of God's Spirit witnessing with his own; while, contrarily, the venditation of our own worth or parts or merits argues a miserable indigence in them all.

O God, if the confessing of thine own gifts may glorify thee, my modesty shall not be guilty of a niggardly unthankfulness; but, for aught that concerns myself, I cannot be too secret. Let me so hide myself, that I may not wrong thee; and wisely distinguish betwixt thy praise and my own.

XXXI. *Upon the flies gathering to a galled horse.*

How these flies swarm to the galled part of this poor beast; and there sit, feeding upon that worst piece of his flesh, not meddling with the other sound parts of his skin!

Even thus do malicious tongues of detractors: if a man have any infirmity in his person or actions, that they will be sure to gather unto and dwell upon; whereas his commendable parts and well-deservings are passed by without mention, without regard. It is an envious self-love and base cruelty that causeth this ill disposition in men: in the mean time, this only they have gained; It must needs be a filthy creature that feeds upon nothing but corruption.

XXXII. *Upon the sight of a dark lantern.*

There is light indeed, but so shut up as if it were not; and when the side is most open, there is light enough to give direction to him that bears it, none to others: he can discern another man by that light which is cast before him, but another man cannot discern him.

Right such is reserved knowledge: no man is the better for it but the owner. There is no outward difference betwixt concealed skill and ignorance: and when such hidden knowledge will look forth, it casts so sparing a light as may only argue it to have an unprofitable being; to have ability, without will to good; power to censure, none to benefit. The suppression or engrossing of those helps which God would have us to impart, is but a thieves' lantern in a true man's hand.

O God, as all our light is from thee, the Father of lights; so make me no niggard of that poor rush candle thou hast lighted in my soul; make me more happy in giving light to others than in receiving it into myself.

XXXIII. *Upon the hearing of a swallow in the chimney.*

Here is music, such as it is, but how long will it hold? When but a cold morning comes in, my guest is gone without either warning or thanks. This pleasant season hath the least need of cheerful notes: the dead of winter shall want and wish them in vain.

Thus doth an ungrateful parasite: no man is more ready to applaud and enjoy our prosperity; but, when with the times our condition begins to alter, he is a stranger at least. Give me that bird which will sing in winter, and seek to my window in the

hardest frost. There is no trial of friendship but adversity. He that is not ashamed of my bonds, not daunted with my checks, not aliened with my disgrace, is a friend for me: one dram of that man's love is worth a world of false and inconstant formality.

XXXIV. *Upon the sight of a fly burning itself in the candle.*

Wise Solomon says, *The light is a pleasant thing;* and so certainly it is; but there is no true outward light which proceeds not from fire. The light of that fire then is not more pleasing than the fire of that light is dangerous; and that pleasure doth not more draw on our sight, than that danger forbids our approach. How foolish is this fly, that in a love and admiration of this light will know no distance, but puts itself heedlessly into that flame wherein it perishes! How many bouts it fetched, every one nearer than other, ere it made this last venture! and now that merciless fire, taking no notice of the affection of an overfond client, hath suddenly consumed it.

Thus do those bold and busy spirits who will needs draw too near unto that inaccessible light, and look into things too wonderful for them: so long do they hover about the secret counsels of the Almighty, till the wings of their presumptuous conceits be scorched, and their daring curiosity hath paid them with everlasting destruction.

O Lord, let me be blessed with the knowledge of what thou hast revealed: let me content myself to adore thy Divine wisdom in what thou hast not revealed. So let me enjoy thy light, that I may avoid thy fire.

XXXV. *Upon the sight of a lark flying up.*

How nimbly doth that little lark mount up, singing towards heaven in a right line! whereas the hawk, which is stronger of body and swifter of wing, towers up by many gradual compasses to his highest pitch. That bulk of body and length of wing hinders a direct ascent, and requires the help both of air and scope to advance his flight; while that small bird cuts the air without resistance, and needs no outward furtherance of her motion.

It is no otherwise with the souls of men in flying up to their heaven. Some are hindered by those powers which would seem helps to their soaring up thither: great wit, deep judgment, quick

apprehension, send men about with no small labour for the recovery of their own incumbrance; while the good affections of plain and simple souls raise them up immediately to the fruition of God. Why should we be proud of that which may slacken our way to glory? Why should we be disheartened with the small measure of that, the very want whereof may (as the heart may be affected) facilitate our way to happiness?

XXXVI. *Upon the singing of the birds in a spring morning.*

How cheerfully do these little birds chirp and sing out of the natural joy they conceive at the approach of the sun and entrance of the spring, as if their life had departed and returned with those glorious and comfortable beams!

No otherwise is the penitent and faithful soul affected to the true Sun of Righteousness, the Father of lights. When he hides his face it is troubled, and silently mourns away that sad winter of affliction; when he returns, in his presence is the fulness of joy, no song is cheerful enough to welcome him.

O thou, who art the God of all consolation, make my heart sensible of the sweet comforts of thy gracious presence, and let my mouth ever show forth thy praise.

XXXVII. *Upon a coal covered with ashes.*

Nothing appears in this heap but dead ashes: here is neither light nor smoke nor heat; and yet when I stir up these embers to the bottom, there are found some living gleeds which do both contain fire and are apt to propagate it.

Many a Christian's breast is like this hearth. No life of grace appears there for the time, either to his own sense or to the apprehension of others; while the season of temptation lasteth, all seems cold and dead; yet still, at the worst, there is a secret coal from the altar of heaven raked up in their bosoms, which, upon the gracious motions of the Almighty, doth both bewray some remainders of that divine fire, and is easily raised to a perfect flame. Nothing is more dangerous than to judge by appearances. Why should I deject myself or censure others for the utter extinction of that Spirit, which doth but hide itself in the soul for a glorious advantage?

XXXVIII. *Upon the sight of a blackamoor.*

Lo, there is a man whose hue shows him to be far from home: his very skin bewrays his climate. It is night in his face, while

it is day in ours. What a difference there is in men, both in their fashion and colour, and yet all children of one Father! Neither is there less variety in their insides; their dispositions, judgments, opinions differ as much as their shapes and complexions. That which is beauty to one is deformity to another; we should be looked upon in this man's country with no less wonder and strange coyness than he is here; our whiteness would pass there for an unpleasing indigestion of form. Outward beauty is more in the eye of the beholder than in the face that is seen. In every colour that is fair which pleaseth: the very spouse of Christ can say, *I am black, but comely.*

This is our colour spiritually; yet the eye of our gracious God and Saviour can see that beauty in us wherewith he is delighted. The true Moses marries a blackamoor; Christ, his Church. It is not for us to regard the skin, but the soul. If that be innocent, pure, holy, the blots of an outside cannot set us off from the love of him who hath said, *Behold, thou art fair, my sister, my spouse:* if that be foul and black, it is not in the power of an angelical brightness of our hide to make us other than a loathsome eyesore to the Almighty.

O God, make my inside lovely to thee: I know that beauty will hold, while weather, casualty, age, disease, may deform the outer man, and mar both colour and feature.

XXXIX. *Upon the small stars in the galaxy, or milky circle in the firmament.*

What a clear lightsomeness there is in yonder circle of the heaven above the rest! What can we suppose the reason of it but that the light of many smaller stars is united there, and causes that constant brightness? And yet those small stars are not discerned, while the splendour which ariseth from them is so notably remarkable.

In this lower heaven of ours, many a man is made conspicuous by his good qualities and deserts; but I most admire the humility and grace of those whose virtues and merits are usefully visible while their persons are obscure. It is secretly glorious for a man to shine unseen. Doubtless it is the height that makes those stars so small and invisible; were they lower they would be seen more. There is no true greatness without a self-humiliation. We shall have made an ill use of our advancement, if, by how much higher

we are, we do not appear less; if our light be seen, it matters not for our hiding.

XL. *Upon the sight of boys playing.*

Every age hath some peculiar contentment. Thus we did when we were of these years. Methinks I still remember the old fervour of my young pastimes. With what eagerness and passion do they pursue these childish sports! Now that there is a handful of cherry-stones at the stake, how near is that boy's heart to his mouth for fear of his playfellows' next cast, and how exalted with desire and hope of his own speed! Those great unthrifts who hazard whole manors upon the dice, cannot expect their chance with more earnestness, or entertain it with more joy or grief.

We cannot but now smile to think of these poor and foolish pleasures of our childhood. There is no less disdain, that the regenerate man conceives of the dearest delights of his natural condition. He was once jolly and jocund in the fruition of the world. Feasts, and revels, and games, and dalliance were his life, and no man could be happy without these, and scarce any man but himself; but when once grace hath made him both good and wise, how scornfully doth he look back at these fond felicities of his carnal estate! Now he finds more manly, more divine contentments, and wonders he could be so transported with his former vanity. Pleasures are much according as they are esteemed; one man's delight is another man's pain. Only spiritual and heavenly things can settle and satiate the heart with a full and firm contentation.

O God, thou art not capable either of bettering or of change; let me enjoy thee, and I shall pity the miserable fickleness of those that want thee, and shall be sure to be constantly happy.

XLI. *Upon the sight of a spider and her web.*

How justly do we admire the curious work of this creature! What a thread doth it spin forth! What a web doth it weave! Yet it is full of deadly poison. There may be much venom where is much art.

Just like to this is a learned and witty heretic. Fine conceits and elegant expressions fall from him, but his opinions and secretly-couched doctrines are dangerous and mortal. Were not that man strangely foolish, who, because he likes the artificial drawing out of that web, would therefore desire to handle or eat the spider that made it? Such should be our madness, if our

wonder at the skill of a false teacher should cast us into love with his person, or familiarity with his writings. There can be no safety in our judgment or affection without a wise distinction; in the want whereof we must needs wrong God or ourselves: God, if we acknowledge not what excellent parts he gives to any creature; ourselves, if, upon the allowance of those excellencies, we swallow their most dangerous enormities.

XLII. *Upon the sight of a natural.*

O God, why am not I thus? What hath this man done that thou hast denied wit to him? or what have I done, that thou shouldest give a competency of it to me? What difference is there betwixt us, but thy bounty, which hath bestowed upon me what I could not merit, and hath withheld from him what he could not challenge? All is, O God, in thy good pleasure, whether to give or deny.

Neither is it otherwise in matter of grace. The unregenerate man is a spiritual fool; no man is truly wise but the renewed. How is it that, while I see another man besotted with the vanity and corruption of his nature, I have attained to know God and the great mystery of salvation; to abhor those sins which are pleasing to a wicked appetite? Who hath discerned me?

Nothing but thy free mercy, O my God. Why else was I a man, not a brute beast? why right shaped, not a monster? why perfectly limbed, not a cripple? why well-sensed, not a fool? why well-affected, not graceless? why a vessel of honour, not of wrath? If aught be not ill in me, O Lord, it is thine. O let thine be the praise, and mine the thankfulness.

XLIII. *Upon the loadstone and the jet.*

As there is a civil commerce amongst men for the preservation of human society, so there is a natural commerce which God hath set amongst the other creatures for the maintenance of their common being. There is scarce any thing therefore in nature which hath not a power of attracting some other. The fire draws vapours to it, the sun draws the fire; plants draw moisture, the moon draws the sea; all purgative things draw their proper humours. A natural instinct draws all sensitive creatures to affect their own kind; and even in those things which are of imperfect mixtion, we see this experimented; so as the senseless stones and metals are not void of this active virtue: the loadstone draws

iron, and the jet, rather than nothing, draws up straws and dust. With what a force do both these stones work upon their several subjects! Is there any thing more heavy and unapt for motion than iron or steel? yet these do so run to their beloved loadstone, as if they had the sense of a desire and delight, and do so cling to the point of it, as if they had forgotten their weight for this adherence. Is there any thing more apt for dispersion than small straws and dust? yet these gather to the jet, and so sensibly leap up to it, as if they had a kind of ambition to be so preferred.

Methinks I see in these two a mere emblem of the hearts of men and their spiritual attractives. The grace of God's Spirit, like the true loadstone or adamant, draws up the iron heart of man to it, and holds it in a constant fixedness of holy purposes and good actions; the world, like the jet, draws up the sensual hearts of light and vain men, and holds them fast in the pleasures of sin.

I am thine iron, O Lord, be thou my loadstone. *Draw thou me, and I shall run after thee. Knit my heart unto thee, that I may fear thy name.*

XLIV. *Upon hearing of music by night.*

How sweetly doth this music sound in this dead season! In the daytime it would not, it could not so much affect the ear. All harmonious sounds are advanced by a silent darkness.

Thus it is with the glad tidings of salvation. The Gospel never sounds so sweet as in the night of persecution or of our own private affliction! It is ever the same; the difference is in our disposition to receive it.

O God, whose praise it is to *give songs in the night*, make my prosperity conscionable, and my crosses cheerful.

XLV. *Upon the fanning of corn.*

See how in the fanning of this wheat the fullest and greatest grains lie ever the lowest, and the lightest take up the highest place.

It is no otherwise in morality; those which are most humble are fullest of grace, and ofttimes those have most conspicuity which have the least substance. To affect obscurity or submission, is base and suspicious; but that man whose modesty presents him mean to his own eyes and lowly to others, is commonly secretly rich in virtue. Give me rather a low fulness than an empty advancement.

XLVI. *Upon herbs dried.*

They say those herbs will keep best and will longer retain both their hue and verdure which are dried thus in the shade, than those which are suddenly scorched with fire or sun.

Those wits are like to be most durable which are closely tutored with a leisurely education : time and gentle constancy ripens better than a sudden violence. Neither is it otherwise in our spiritual condition; a wilful slackness is not more dangerous than an overhastening of our perfection: if I may be every moment drawing nearer to the end of my hope, I shall not wish to precipitate.

XLVII. *Upon the quenching of iron in water.*

Hark how that iron, quenched in the water, hisseth, and makes that noise, which while it was cold or dry it would never make.

We cannot quench hot and unruly desires in youth without some mutiny and rebellious opposition. Corruptions cannot be subdued without some reluctation, and that reluctation cannot be without some tumult: after some short noise and smoke and bubbling the metal is quiet, and holds to the form whereinto it is beaten.

O God, why should it trouble me to find my good endeavours resisted for the little brunt of a change, while I am sure this insurrection shall end in an happy peace?

XLVIII. *Upon a fair-coloured fly.*

What a pleasant mixture of colours there is in this fly! and yet, they say, no fly is so venomous as this, which by the outward touch of the hand corrodes the inmost passages of the body.

It is no trusting to colours and shapes: we may wonder at their excellency without dotage upon their beauty. Homeliness makes less show, and hath less danger. Give me inward virtue and usefulness; let others care for outward glory.

XLIX. *Upon a glowworm.*

What a cold candle is lighted up in the body of this sorry worm! there needs no other disproof of those that say there is no light at all without some heat. Yet sure an outward heat helps on this cool light: never did I see any of these bright worms, but in the hot months of summer; in cold seasons, either they are not, or appear not, when the nights are both darkest and longest, and most uncomfortable.

Thus do falsehearted Christians: in the warm and lightsome times of free and encouraged profession, none shine more than they: in hard and gloomy seasons of restraint and persecution, all their former light is either lost or hid. Whereas true professors, either, like the sun, shine ever alike; or, like the stars, shine fairest in the frostiest nights. The light of this worm is for some show, but for no use: any light that is attended with heat can impart itself to others, though with the expense of that subject wherein it is; this doth neither waste itself nor help others. I had rather never to have light, than not to have it always: I had rather not to have light, than not to communicate it.

L. *Upon the shutting of one eye.*

When we would take aim, or see most exquisitely, we shut one eye.

Thus must we do with the eyes of our soul. When we would look most accurately with the eye of faith, we must shut the eye of reason; else the visual beams of these two apprehensions will be crossing each other, and hinder our clear discerning. Yea, rather let me pull out this right eye of reason than it shall offend me in the interruptions of mine happy visions of God.

LI. *Upon a spring-water.*

How this spring smoketh, while other greater channels are frozen up! this water is living, while they are dead. All experience teacheth us that well-waters, arising from deep springs, are hotter in winter than in summer; the outward cold doth keep in and double their inward heat.

Such is a true Christian in the evil day; his life of grace gets more vigour by opposition; he had not been so gracious if the times had been better. I will not say he may thank his enemies, but I must say he may thank God for his enemies.

O God, what can put out that heat which is increased with cold? How happy shall I be if I may grow so much more in grace, as the world in malice!

LII. *Upon gnats in the sun.*

What a cloud of gnats is here! Mark their motion: they do nothing but play up and down in the warm sun and sing, and when they have done, sit down and sting the next hand or face they can seize upon.

See here a perfect emblem of idleness and detraction. How many do thus miserably misspend their good hours who, after they have wasted the succeeding days in vain and merely unprofitable pastime, sit down and backbite their neighbours!

The bee sings too sometimes, but she works also, and her work is not more admirable than useful; but these foolish flies do nothing but play and sing to no purpose. Even the busiest and most active spirits must recreate; but to make a trade of sport is for none but lazy wantons.

The bee stings too, but it is when she is provoked; these draw blood unoffended, and sting for their own pleasure. I would be glad of some recreation, but to enable and sweeten my work. I would not but sting sometimes, where is just cause of offence. But God bless me from those men which will ever be either doing nothing or ill.

LIII. *Upon the sight of grapes.*

Mark the difference of these grapes. There you see a cluster whose grapes touch one another, well ripened: here you see some stragglers, which grow almost solitarily, green and hard.

It is thus with us. Christian society helpeth our progress, and *Woe to him that is alone.* He is well, that is the better for others; but he is happy, by whom others are better.

LIV. *Upon a corn field overgrown with weeds.*

Here were a goodly field of corn if it were not overlaid with weeds. I do not like these reds and blues and yellows amongst these plain stalks and ears. This beauty would do well elsewhere. I had rather to see a plot less fair and more yielding.

In this field I see a true picture of the world, wherein there is more glory than true substance; wherein the greater part carries it from the better; wherein the native sons of the earth outstrip the adventitious brood of grace; wherein parasites and unprofitable hangbyes do both rob and overtop their masters. Both field and world grow alike, look alike, and shall end alike; both are for the fire: while the homely and solid ears of despised virtue shall be for the garners of immortality.

LV. *Upon the sight of tulips and marigolds, &c. in his garden.*

These flowers are true clients of the sun: how observant they are of his motion and influence! At even they shut up, as mourning for his departure, without whom they neither can nor would

flourish: in the morning they welcome his rising with a cheerful openness, and at noon are fully displayed in a free acknowledgment of his bounty.

Thus doth the good heart unto God: *When thou turnedst away thy face I was troubled,* saith the man after God's own heart. *In thy presence is life, yea, the fulness of joy.* Thus doth the carnal heart to the world; when that withdraws his favour he is dejected, and revives with a smile. All is in our choice. Whatsoever is our sun will thus carry us.

O God, be thou to me such as thou art in thyself: thou shalt be merciful in drawing me, I shall be happy in following thee.

LVI. *Upon the sound of a cracked bell.*

What an harsh sound doth this bell make in every ear! The metal is good enough; it is the rift that makes it so unpleasingly jarring.

How too like is this bell to a scandalous and ill-lived teacher. His calling is honourable; his noise is heard far enough; but the flaw, which is noted in his life, mars his doctrine, and offends those ears which else would take pleasure in his teaching. It is possible that such a one even by that discordous noise, may ring in others into the triumphant church of heaven; but there is no remedy for himself but the fire, whether for his reforming or judgment.

LVII. *Upon the sight of a blind man.*

How much am I bound to God, that hath given me eyes to see this man's want of eyes! With what suspicion and fear he walks! How doth his hand and staff examine his way! With what jealousy doth he receive every morsel, every draught; and yet meets with many a post, and stumbles at many a stone, and swallows many a fly! To him the world is as if it were not, or as if it were all rubs and snares and downfalls; and if any man will lend him an hand, he must trust to his, however faithless, guide, without all comfort, save this, that he cannot see himself miscarry.

Many a one is thus spiritually blind, and because he is so, discerns it not; and not discerning, complains not of so woful a condition: *The god of this world hath blinded the eyes of the children of disobedience.* They walk on in the ways of death, and yield themselves over to the guidance of him who seeks for nothing but their precipitation into hell. It is an addition to the misery of this inward occæcation, that it is ever joined with a

secure confidence in them whose trade and ambition is to betray their souls.

Whatever become of these outward senses, which are common to me with the meanest and most despicable creatures, O Lord, give me not over to that spiritual darkness which is incident to none but those that live without thee, and must perish eternally, because they want thee!

LVIII. *Upon a beech tree full of nuts.*

How is this tree overladen with mast this year! It was not so the last, neither will it, I warrant you, be so the next. It is the nature of these free trees so to pour out themselves into fruit at once, that they seem after either sterile or niggardly.

So have I seen pregnant wits, not discreetly governed, overspend themselves in some one masterpiece so lavishly, that they have proved either barren or poor and flat in all other subjects. True wisdom, as it serves to gather due sap, both for nourishment and fructification, so it guides the seasonable and moderate bestowing of it in such manner, as that one season may not be a glutton while others famish. I would be glad to attain to that measure and temper, that upon all occasions I might always have enough, never too much.

LIX. *Upon the sight of a piece of money under the water.*

I should not wish ill to a covetous man, if I should wish all his coin in the bottom of the river. No pavement could so well become that stream; no sight could better fit his greedy desires; for there, every piece would seem double, every teston would appear a shilling, every crown an angel. It is the nature of that element to greaten appearing quantities: while we look through the air upon that solid body, it can make no other representations.

Neither is it otherwise in spiritual eyes and objects. If we look with carnal eyes through the interposed mean of sensuality, every base and worthless pleasure will seem a large contentment; if with weak eyes we shall look at small and immaterial truths aloof off, in another element of apprehension, every parcel thereof shall seem main and essential: hence, every knack of heraldry in the sacred genealogies, and every scholastical quirk in disquisitions of divinity, are made matters of no less than life and death to the soul. It is a great improvement of true wisdom to be able to see things as they are, and to value them as they are seen. Let me

labour for that power and staidness of judgment, that neither my senses may deceive my mind, nor the object may delude my sense.

LX. *Upon the first rumour of the earthquake at Lyme; wherein a wood was swallowed up, with the fall of two hills.*

Good Lord! how do we know when we are sure? If there were man or beast in that wood, they seemed as safe as we now are. They had nothing but heaven above them, nothing but firm earth below them; and yet, in what a dreadful pitfall were they instantly taken! There is no fence for God's hand. A man would as soon have feared that heaven would fall upon him as those hills. It is no pleasing ourselves with the unlikelihood of divine judgments. We have oft heard of hills covered with woods; but of woods covered with hills, I think never till now. Those that planted or sowed those woods intended they should be spent with fire; but, lo, God meant they should be devoured with earth. We are wont to describe impossibilities by the meeting of mountains; and, behold, here two mountains are met to swallow up a valley. What a good God it is, whose providence overrules and disposes of all these events! Towns or cities might as well have been thus buried, as a solitary dale or a shrubby wood. Certainly, the God that did this would have the use of it reach farther than the noise. This he did, to show us what he could, what he might do. If our hearts do not quake and rend at the acknowledgment of his infinite power, and fear of his terrible judgments, as well as that earth did, we must expect to be made warnings that would take none.

LXI. *Upon the sight of a dormouse.*

At how easy a rate do these creatures live that are fed with rest! So the bear and the hedgehog, they say, spend their whole winter in sleep, and rise up fatter than they lay down.

How oft have I envied the thriving drowsiness of these beasts, when the toil of thoughts hath bereaved me of but one hour's sleep, and left me languishing to a new task! And yet, when I have well digested the comparison of both these conditions, I must needs say, I had rather waste with work than batten with ease; and would rather choose a life profitably painful than uselessly dull and delicate. I cannot tell, whether I should say those creatures live which do nothing, since we are wont ever to notify life by motion: sure I am, their life is not vital. For me,

let me rather complain of a mind that will not let me be idle, than of a body that will not let me work.

LXII. *Upon bees fighting.*

What a pity it is to see these profitable, industrious creatures fall so furiously upon each other; and thus sting and kill each other in the very mouth of the hive! I could like well to see the bees do this execution upon wasps and drones, enemies to their common stock: this savours but of justice: but to see them fall foul upon those of their own wing, it cannot but trouble their owner, who must needs be an equal loser by the victory of either.

There is no more perfect resemblance of a commonwealth, whether civil or sacred, than in an hive. The bees are painful and honest compatriots; labouring to bring wax and honey to the maintenance of the public state: the wasps and drones are unprofitable and harmful hangbyes, which live upon the spoil of others' labours; whether as common barrators, or strong thieves, or bold parasites, they do nothing but rob their neighbours. It is an happy sight when these feel the dint of justice, and are cut off from doing further mischief: but to see well-affected and beneficial subjects undo themselves with duels, whether of law or sword; to see good Christians, of the same profession, shedding each other's blood upon quarrels of religion, is no other than a sad and hateful spectacle; and so much the more, by how much we have more means of reason and grace to compose our differences, and correct our offensive contentiousness.

O God, who art at once the Lord of Hosts and Prince of Peace, give us war with spiritual wickedness, and peace with our brethren!

LXIII. *Upon wasps falling into a glass.*

See you that narrowed-mouthed glass, which is set near to the hive? mark how busily the wasps resort to it, being drawn thither by the smell of that sweet liquor wherewith it is baited: see how eagerly they creep into the mouth of it; and fall down suddenly from that slippery steepness into that watery trap, from which they can never rise: there, after some vain labour and weariness, they drown and die. You do not see any of the bees look that way: they pass directly to their hive, without any notice taken of such a pleasing bait.

Idle and ill-disposed persons are drawn away with every tempt-

ation: they have both leisure and will to entertain every sweet allurement to sin; and wantonly prosecute their own wicked lusts, till they fall into irrecoverable damnation. Whereas the diligent and laborious Christian, that follows hard and conscionably the works of an honest calling, is free from the danger of these deadly enticements; and lays up honey of comfort against the winter of evil. Happy is that man who can see and enjoy the success of his labour: but however, this we are sure of, if our labour cannot purchase the good we would have, it shall prevent the evil we would avoid.

LXIV. *Upon a spring in the wild forest.*

Lo here the true pattern of bounty! What clear crystal streams are here! and how liberally do they gush forth, and hasten down with a pleasing murmur into the valley! Yet you see neither man nor beast that takes part of that wholesome and pure water. It is enough that those may dip who will: the refusal of others doth no whit abate of this proffered plenty.

Thus bountiful housekeepers hold on their set ordinary provision, whether they have guests or no. Thus conscionable preachers pour out the living waters of wholesome doctrine, whether their hearers partake of those blessed means of salvation or neglect their holy endeavours. Let it be our comfort that we have been no niggards of these celestial streams: let the world give an account of the improvement.

LXV. *Upon the sight of an owl in the twilight.*

What a strange melancholic life doth this creature lead! to hide her head all the day long in an ivy-bush; and at night, when all other birds are at rest, to fly abroad and vent her harsh notes!

I know not why the ancients have sacred this bird to wisdom, except it be for her safe closeness and singular perspicacity; that, when other domestical and airy creatures are blind, she only hath inward light, to discern the least objects for her own advantage. Surely, thus much wit they have taught us in her: That he is the wisest man that would have the least to do with the multitude: That no life is so safe as the obscure: That retiredness, if it have less comfort, yet less danger and vexation: lastly, That he is truly wise, who sees by a light of his own; when the rest of the world sit in an ignorant and confused dark-

ness, unable to apprehend any truth, save by the helps of an outward illumination.

Had this fowl come forth in the daytime, how had all the little birds flocked wondering about her, to see her uncouth visage, to hear her untuned notes! She likes her estate never the worse, but pleaseth herself in her own quiet reservedness.

It is not for a wise man to be much affected with the censures of the rude and unskilful vulgar; but to hold fast unto his own well-chosen and well-fixed resolutions. Every fool knows what is wont to be done; but what is best to be done is known only to the wise.

LXVI. *Upon an arm benumbed*

How benumbed, and, for the time, senseless, is this arm of mine become, only with too long leaning upon it! While I used it to other services, it failed me not: now that I have rested upon it, I find cause to complain.

It is no trusting to an arm of flesh: on whatsoever occasion we put our confidence therein, this reliance will be sure to end in pain and disappointment.

O God, thine arm is strong and mighty: all thy creatures rest themselves upon that, and are comfortably sustained. O that we were not more capable of distrust than thine omnipotent hand is of weariness and subduction.

LXVII. *Upon the sparks flying upward.*

It is a feeling comparison, that of Job, of man born to labour, as the sparks to fly upward. That motion of theirs is no other than natural. Neither is it otherwise for man to labour: his mind is created active, and apt to some or other ratiocination; his joints all stirring; his nerves made for helps of moving; and his occasions of living call him forth to action. So as an idle man doth not more want grace than degenerate from nature. Indeed, at the first kindling of the fire, some sparks are wont, by the impulsion of the bellows, to fly forward or sideward: and even so in our first age, youthly vanity may move us to irregular courses; but when those first violences are overcome, and we have attained to a settledness of disposition, our sparks fly up, our life is labour. And why should we not do that which we are made for? Why should not God rather grudge us our

being, than we grudge him our work? It is no thank to us that we labour out of necessity.

Out of my obedience to thee, O God, I desire ever to be employed. I shall never have comfort in my toil, if it be rather a purveyance for myself than a sacrifice to thee.

LXVIII. *Upon the sight of a raven.*

I cannot see that bird but I must needs think of Elijah, and wonder no less at the miracle of his faith than of his provision. It was a strong belief that carried him into a desolate retiredness, to expect food from ravens. This fowl, we know, is ravenous: all is too little that he can forage for himself: and the prophet's reason must needs suggest to him, that in a dry barren desert bread and flesh must be great dainties: yet he goes aside to expect victuals from that purveyance. He knew this fowl to be no less greedy than unclean: unclean, as in law, so in the nature of his feed; what is his ordinary prey but loathsome carrion? yet, since God had appointed him this caterer, he stands not upon the nice points of a fastidious squeamishness, but confidently depends upon that uncouth provision; and, accordingly, those unlikely purveyors bring him bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh in the evening. Not one of those hungry ravens could swallow one morsel of those viands which were sent by them to a better mouth. The river of Cherith sooner failed him than the tender of their service. No doubt, Elijah's stomach was often up before that his incurious diet came: when, expecting from the mouth of his cave, out of what coast of heaven these his servitors might be descried; upon the sight of them, he magnified, with a thankful heart, the wonderful goodness and truth of his God, and was nourished more with his faith than with his food.

O God, how infinite is thy providence, wisdom, power! We creatures are not what we are but what thou wilt have us; when thy turn is to be served we have none of our own. Give me but faith, and do what thou wilt.

LXIX. *Upon a worm.*

It was an homely expression which God makes of the state of his Church, *Fear not, thou worm Jacob.* Every foot is ready to tread on this despised creature. While it kept itself in that cold obscure cell of the earth wherein it was hidden, it lay safe, because

it was secret; but now that it hath put itself forth of that close cave, and hath presented itself to the light of the sun, to the eye of passengers; how is it vexed with the scorching beams, and wrings up and down in an helpless perplexity, not finding where to shroud itself! how obnoxious is it to the fowls of the air, to the feet of men and beasts!

He that made this creature such, and calls his Church so, well knew the answerableness of their condition. How doth the world overlook and contemn that little flock, whose best guard hath ever been secrecy! And if ever that despicable number have dared to show itself, how hath it been scorched and trampled upon, and entertained with all variety of persecution!

O Saviour, thy Spouse fares no otherwise than thyself. To match her fully, thou hast said of thyself, *I am a worm, and no man.* Such thou wert in thine humbled estate here on earth; such thou wouldest be. But as it is a true word, that He who made the angels in heaven made also the worms on earth; so it is no less true, that He who made himself and his Church worms upon earth hath raised our nature in his person above the angels; and our person, in his Church, to little less than angels. It matters not how we fare in this valley of tears, while we are sure of that infinite amends of glory above.

LXX. *Upon the putting on of his clothes.*

What a poor thing were man if he were not beholden to other creatures! The earth affords him flax, for his linen; bread, for his belly; the beasts, his ordinary clothes; the silkworm, his bravery; the back and bowels of the earth, his metals and fuel; the fishes, fowls, beasts, his nourishment. His wit indeed works upon all these to improve them to his own advantage; but they must yield him materials, else he subsists not. And yet we fools are proud of ourselves, yea, proud of the cast suits of the very basest creatures. There is not one of them that have so much need of us. They would enjoy themselves the more if man were not.

O God, the more we are sensible of our own indigence, the more let us wonder at thine all-sufficiency in thyself, and long for that happy condition wherein thou, which art all perfection, shalt be all in all to us.

LXXI. *Upon the sight of a great library.*

What a world of wit is here packed up together! I know not

whether this sight doth more dismay or comfort me; it dismays me, to think that here is so much that I cannot know; it comforts me, to think that this variety yields so good helps to know what I should. There is no truer word than that of Solomon, *There is no end of making many books.* This sight verifies it. There is no end; indeed it were pity there should. God hath given to man a busy soul, the agitation whereof cannot but through time and experience work out many hidden truths; to suppress these, would be no other than injurious to mankind, whose minds, like unto so many candles, should be kindled by each other. The thoughts of our deliberation are most accurate; these we vent into our papers. What an happiness is it, that without all offence of necromancy, I may here call up any of the ancient worthies of learning, whether human or divine, and confer with them of all my doubts! that I can, at pleasure, summon whole synods of reverend fathers and acute doctors from all the coasts of the earth, to give their well-studied judgments in all points of question which I propose! Neither can I cast my eye casually upon any of these silent masters, but I must learn somewhat. It is a wantonness to complain of choice. No law binds us to read all; but the more we can take in and digest, the better liking must the mind needs be. Blessed be God, that hath set up so many clear lamps in his Church; now, none but the wilfully blind can plead darkness. And blessed be the memory of those his faithful servants, that have left their blood, their spirits, their lives, in these precious papers, and have willingly wasted themselves into these during monuments to give light unto others.

LXXII. *Upon the red cross on a door.*

O sign fearfully significant! This sickness is a cross indeed, and that a bloody one; both the form and colour import death. The Israelites' doors, whose lintels were besprinkled with blood, were passed over by the destroying angel; here the destroying angel hath smitten, and hath left this mark of his deadly blow. We are wont to fight cheerfully under this ensign abroad, and be victorious; why should we tremble at it at home?

O God, there thou fightest for us, here against us. Under that, we have fought for thee, but under this, because our sins have fought against thee, we are fought against by thy judgments. Yet, Lord, it is thy cross, though an heavy one; it is ours by merit, thine by imposition. O Lord, sanctify thine affliction, and remove thy vengeance!

LXXIII. *Upon the change of weather.*

I know not whether it be worse that the heavens look upon us always with one face, or ever varying; for as continual change of weather causes uncertainty of health, so a permanent settledness of one season causeth a certainty of distemper. Perpetual moisture dissolves us; perpetual heat evaporates or inflames us; cold stupifies us; drought obstructs and withers us.

Neither is it otherwise in the state of the mind. If our thoughts should be always volatile, changing, inconstant, we should never attain to any good habit of the soul, whether in matter of judgment or disposition; but if they should be always fixed, we should run into the danger of some desperate extremity. To be ever thinking would make us mad; to be ever thinking of our crosses or sins would make us heartlessly dejected; to be ever thinking of pleasures and contentments would melt us into a loose wantonness; to be ever doubting and fearing were an hellish servitude; to be ever bold and confident were a dangerous presumption; but the interchanges of these in a due moderation keep the soul in health.

O God, howsoever these variations be necessary for my spiritual condition, let me have no weather but sunshine from thee. Do thou *lift up the light of thy countenance upon me, and stablish me ever with thy free Spirit.*

LXXIV. *Upon the sight of a marriage.*

What a comfortable and feeling resemblance is here of Christ and his Church! I regard not the persons; I regard the institution. Neither the husband nor the wife are now any more their own; they have either of them given over themselves to other; not only the wife, which is the weaker vessel, hath yielded over herself to the stronger protection and participation of an abler head; but the husband hath resigned his right in himself over to his feebler consort, so as now her weakness is his, his strength is hers. Yea, their very flesh hath altered property; hers is his, his is hers. Yea, their very soul and spirit may no more be severed in respect of mutual affection than from their own several bodies.

It is thus, O Saviour, with Thee and thy Church. We are not our own, but thine; who hast married us to thyself in truth and righteousness; what powers, what endowments have we, but from and in thee? And as our holy boldness dares interest ourselves in

thy graces, so thy wonderfully-compassionate mercy vouchsafes to interest thyself in our infirmities: thy poor Church suffers on earth; thou feelest in heaven; and, as complaining of our stripes, canst say, *Why persecutest thou me?* Thou, again, art not so thine own, as that thou art not also ours: thy sufferings, thy merits, thy obedience, thy life, death, resurrection, ascension, intercession, glory, yea thy blessed humanity, yea thy glorious Deity, by virtue of our right, of our union, are so ours as that we would not give our part in thee for ten thousand worlds.

O gracious Saviour, as thou canst not but love and cherish this poor and unworthy soul of mine, which thou hast mercifully espoused to thyself; so give me grace to honour and obey thee; and, forsaking all the base and sinful rivalry of the world, to hold me only unto thee while I live here, that I may perfectly enjoy thee hereafter!

LXXV. *Upon the sight of a snake.*

I know not what horror we find in ourselves at the sight of a serpent. Other creatures are more loathsome, and some no less deadly than it; yet there is none at which our blood riseth so much as at this. Whence should this be, but out of an instinct of our old enmity? We were stung in paradise, and cannot but feel it. But here is our weakness; it was not the body of the serpent that could have hurt us without the suggestion of sin; and yet we love the sin while we hate the serpent.

Every day are we wounded with the sting of that old serpent, and complain not: and so much more deadly is that sting, by how much it is less felt. There is a sting of guilt, and there is a sting of remorse; there is mortal venom in the first, whereof we are the least sensible; there is less danger in the second. The Israelites found themselves stung by those fiery serpents in the desert, and the sense of their pain sent them to seek for cure. The world is our desert; and, as *the sting of death is sin*, so the sting of sin is death. I do not more wish to find ease than pain. If I complain enough, I cannot fail of cure.

O thou, which art the true Brazen Serpent, lifted up in this wilderness, raise up mine eyes to thee, and fasten them upon thee. Thy mercy shall make my soul whole, my wound sovereign.

LXXVI. *Upon the ruins of an abbey.*

It is not so easy to say what it was that built up these walls, as what it was that pulled them down; even the wickedness of the

possessors. Every stone hath a tongue to accuse the superstition, hypocrisy, idleness, luxury of the late owners. Methinks I see it written all along in capital letters upon these heaps, *A fruitful land maketh he barren, for the iniquity of them that dwell therein.* Perhaps there wanted not some sacrilege in the demolishers. In all the carriage of these businesses, there was a just hand, that knew how to make an wholesome and profitable use of mutual sins. Full little did the builders or the indwellers think, that this costly and warm fabric should so soon end violently in a desolate rubbish.

It is not for us to be highminded, but to fear. No roof is so high, no wall so strong, as that sin cannot level it with the dust. Were any pile so close that it could keep out air, yet it could not keep out judgment where sin hath been foreadmitted. In vain shall we promise stability to those houses which we have made witnesses of and accessaries to our shameful uncleannesses; the firmness of any building is not so much in the matter as in the owner. Happy is that cottage that hath an honest master, and woe be to that palace that is viciously inhabited!

LXXVII. *Upon the discharging of a piece.*

Good Lord, how witty men are to kill one another! What fine devices they have found out to murder afar off, to slay many at once, and so to fetch off lives, that while a whole lane is made of carcasses with one blow, nobody knows who hurt him! And what honour do we place in slaughter! Those arms wherein we pride ourselves are such, as which we or our ancestors have purchased with blood; the monuments of our glory are the spoils of a subdued and slain enemy. Where, contrarily, all the titles of God sound of mercy and gracious respects to man; God the Father is the maker and preserver of men; God the Son is the Saviour of mankind; God the Holy Ghost styles himself the Comforter. Alas, whose image do we bear in this disposition but his whose true title is, *the destroyer!* It is easy to take away the life, it is not easy to give it. Give me the man that can devise how to save troops of men from killing, his name shall have room in my calendar. There is more true honour in a civic garland for the preserving of one subject, than in a laurel for the victory of many enemies.

O God, there are enow that bend their thoughts to undo what thou hast made: enable thou me to bestow my endeavours in

reprieving or rescuing that which might otherwise perish. O thou, who art our common Saviour, make thou me both ambitious and able to help to save some other besides myself.

LXXVIII. *Upon the tolling of a passing bell.*

How doleful and heavy is this summons of death! This sound is not for our ears, but for our hearts; it calls us not only to our prayers, but to our preparation; to our prayers, for the departing soul; to our preparation, for our own departing. We have never so much need of prayers as in our last combat; then is our great adversary most eager; then are we the weakest; then nature is so over-laboured that it gives us not leisure to make use of gracious motions. There is no preparation so necessary as for this conflict; all our life is little enough to make ready for our last hour. What am I better than my neighbours! How oft hath this bell reported to me the farewell of many more strong and vigorous bodies than my own, of many more cheerful and lively spirits! And now what doth it but call me to the thought of my parting? Here is no abiding for me; I must away too.

O thou, that art the God of comfort, help thy poor servant, that is now struggling with his last enemy. His sad friends stand gazing upon him and weeping over him, but they cannot succour him; needs must they leave him to do this great work alone; none but thou, *to whom belong the issues of death*, canst relieve his distressed and overmatched soul. And for me, let no man die without me; as I die daily, so teach me to die once; acquaint me beforehand with that messenger which I must trust to: *O teach me so to number my days that I may apply my heart to true wisdom.*

LXXIX. *Upon a defamation dispersed.*

Were I the first or the best that ever was slandered, perhaps it would be somewhat difficult to command myself patience. Grief is wont to be abated either by partners or precedents: the want whereof dejects us beyond measure, as men singled out for patterns of misery. Now while I find this the common condition of all that ever have been reputed virtuous, why am I troubled with the whisperings of false tongues?

O God, the devil slandered thee in paradise. O Saviour[a], men slandered thee on earth more than men or devils can reproach

[a] Si Christus Judam passus est, cur non ego patior Birrhichionem?—Dial. de S. Martino, Sever. Sulpit.

me. Thou art the best, as thou art the best that ever was smitten by a lying and venomous tongue. It is too much favour that is done me by malicious lips, that they conform me to thy sufferings: I could not be so happy, if they were not so spiteful. O thou glorious pattern of reproached innocence, if I may not die for thee, yet let me thus bleed with thee!

LXXX. *Upon a ring of bells.*

While every bell keeps due time and order, what a sweet and harmonious sound they make! All the neighbour villages are cheered with that common music; but when once they jar and check each other, either jangling together, or striking preposterously, how harsh and unpleasing is that noise! So that as we testify our public rejoicing by an orderly and well-tuned peal, so when we would signify that the town is on fire we ring confusedly.

It is thus in Church and Commonwealth. When every one knows and keeps their due ranks, there is a melodious concert of peace and contentment; but when distances and proportions of respects are not mutually observed, when either states or persons will be clashing with each other, the discord is grievous and extremely prejudicial. Such confusion either notifieth a fire already kindled, or portendeth it. Popular states may ring the changes with safety, but the monarchical government requires a constant and regular course of the set degrees of rule and inferiority, which cannot be violated without a sensible discontentment and danger. For me, I do so love the peace of the Church and State, that I cannot but, with the charitable apostle, say, *Would to God they were cut off that trouble them!* and shall ever wish either no jars or no clappers.

LXXXI. *Upon the sight of a full table at a feast.*

What great variety is here of flesh, of fish; of both, of either; as if both nature and art did strive to pamper us! Yet methinks enough is better than all this. Excess is but a burden, as to the provider, so to the guest. It pities and grieves me to think what toil, what charge hath gone to the gathering of all these dainties together; what pain so many poor creatures have been put to in dying for a needless sacrifice to the belly; what a penance must be done by every accumbent in sitting out the passage through all these dishes; what a task the stomach must be put to in the

concoction of so many mixtures. I am not so austerely scrupulous as to deny the lawfulness of these abundant provisions upon just occasions: I find my Saviour himself more than once at a feast; this is recorded as well as his one long fast. Doubtless our bountiful God hath given us his creatures, not for necessity only, but for pleasure; but these exceedings would be both rare and moderate; and when they must be, require no less patience than temperance.

Might I have my option, O God, give me rather a little with peace and love. He whose provision for every day was thirty measures of fine flour and threescore measures of meal, thirty oxen, an hundred sheep, besides venison and fowl, yet can pray, *Give me the bread of sufficiency.* Let me have no *perpetual feast* but *a good conscience;* and from these great preparations, for the health both of soul and body, let me rise rather hungry than surcharged.

LXXXII. *Upon the hearing of a lute well played on.*

There may be, for aught we know, infinite inventions of art, the possibility whereof we should hardly ever believe if they were forereported to us. Had we lived in some rude and remote part of the world, and should have been told that it is possible, only by an hollow piece of wood, and the guts of beasts stirred by the fingers of men, to make so sweet and melodious a noise, we should have thought it utterly incredible; yet now that we see and hear it ordinarily done, we make it no wonder.

It is no marvel, if we cannot foreimagine what kind and means of harmony God will have used by his saints and angels in heaven, when these poor matters seem so strange to our conceits, which yet our very senses are convinced of.

O God, thou knowest infinite ways to glorify thyself by thy creatures, which do far transcend our weak and finite capacities. Let me wonder at thy wisdom and power, and be more awful in my adorations than curious in my inquiries.

LXXXIII. *Upon the sight and noise of a peacock.*

I see there are many kinds of hypocrites. Of all birds, this makes the fairest show and the worst noise: so as this is an hypocrite to the eye. There are others, as the blackbird, that looks foul and sooty, but sings well: this is an hypocrite to the ear. There are others, that please us well, both in their show

and voice; but are cross in their carriage and condition; as the popinjay, whose colours are beautiful, and noise delightful, yet is it apt to do mischief, in scratching and biting any hand that comes near it: these are hypocrites both to the eye and ear. Yet there is a degree farther, beyond the example of all brute creatures, of them, whose show, whose words, whose actions are fair, but their hearts are foul and abominable. No outward beauty can make the hypocrite other than odious. For me, let my profession agree with my words, my words with my actions, my actions with my heart; and let all of them be approved of the God of truth.

LXXXIV. *Upon a penitent malefactor.*

I know not whether I should more admire the wisdom or the mercy of God in his proceedings with men. Had not this man sinned thus notoriously, he had never been thus happy. While his courses were fair and civil, yet he was graceless: now his miscarriage hath drawn him into a just affliction; his affliction hath humbled him. God hath taken this advantage of his humiliation for his conversion. Had not one foot slipped into the mouth of hell, he had never been in this forwardness to heaven.

There is no man so weak or foolish as that he hath not strength or wit enough to sin, or to make ill use of his sin: it is only the goodness of an infinite God that can make our sin good to us, though evil in itself.

O God, it is no thank to ourselves or to our sins that we are bettered with evil. The work is thine: let thine be the glory.

LXXXV. *Upon the sight of a lily.*

This must needs be a goodly flower that our Saviour hath singled out to compare with Solomon; and that, not in his ordinary dress, but in all his royalty. Surely the earth had never so glorious a king as he. Nature yielded nothing, that might set forth royal magnificence, that he wanted: yet he that made both Solomon and this flower says, that *Solomon in all his royalty was not clad like it.*

What a poor thing is this earthly bravery, that is so easily overmatched! How ill judges are we of outward beauties, that contemn these goodly plants, which their Creator thus magnifies; and admire those base metals, which he, in comparison hereof, contemns! If it be their transitoriness that embaseth them, what are we? *All flesh is grass; and all the glory of man as the*

flower of grass. As we cannot be so brave, so we cannot be more permanent.

O God, let it be my ambition to walk with thee hereafter in white. Could I put on a robe of stars here, with proud Herod, that glittering garment could not keep me from lice or worms. Might I sit on a throne of gold within an house of ivory, I see I should not compare with this flower: I might be as transitory; I should not be so beautiful. What matters it, whether I go for a flower or a weed here? whethersoever, I must wither. O thou, which art greater than Solomon, do thou clothe me with thy perfect righteousness: so shall I flourish for ever in the courts of the house of my God.

LXXXVI. *Upon the sight of a coffin stuck with flowers.*

Too fair appearance is never free from just suspicion. While here was nothing but mere wood, no flower was to be seen here: now that this wood is lined with an unsavoury corpse, it is adorned with this sweet variety. The fir, whereof that coffin is made, yields a natural redolence alone: now that it is stuffed thus noisomely, all helps are too little to countervail that scent of corruption.

Neither is it otherwise in the living: perpetual use of strong perfumes argues a guiltiness of some unpleasing savour. The case is the same spiritually: an over-glorious outside of profession implies some inward filthiness that would fain escape notice. *Our uncomely parts have more comeliness put on.* Too much ornament imports extreme deformity. For me, let my show be moderate: so shall I neither deceive applause nor merit too deep censure.

LXXXVII. *Upon the view of the world.*

It is a good thing to see this material world; but it is a better thing to think of the intelligible world. This thought is the sight of the soul, whereby it discerneth things like itself, spiritual and immortal; which are so much beyond the worth of these sensible objects, as a spirit is beyond a body, a pure substance beyond a corruptible, an infinite God above a finite creature.

O God, how great a word is that which the Psalmist says of thee, that thou *abasest thyself to behold the things both in heaven and earth!* It is our glory to look up even to the meanest piece of heaven: it is an abasement to thine incomprehensible

Majesty, to look down upon the best of heaven. O, what a transcendent glory must that needs be that is abased to behold the things of heaven! What an happiness shall it be to me, that mine eyes shall be exalted to see thee, who art humbled to see the place and state of my blessedness! Yea, those very angels that see thy face are so resplendently glorious, that we could not overlive the sight of one of their faces, who are fain to hide their faces from the sight of thine. How many millions attend thy throne above, and thy footstool below, in the ministration to thy saints! It is that thine invisible world, the communion wherewith can make me truly blessed. O God, if my body have fellowship here amongst beasts, of whose earthly substance it participates, let my soul be united to thee, the God of spirits, and be raised up to enjoy the insensible society of thy blessed angels. Acquaint me beforehand with those citizens and affairs of thine heaven, and make me no stranger to my future glory.

LXXXVIII. *Upon the stinging of a wasp.*

How small things may annoy the greatest! Even a mouse troubles an elephant; a gnat, a lion: a very flea may disquiet a giant. What weapon can be nearer to nothing than the sting of this wasp? yet, what a painful wound hath it given me! that scarce-visible point, how it envenoms and rankles and swells up the flesh! the tenderness of the part adds much to the grief.

And if I be thus vexed with the touch of an angry fly, Lord, how shall I be able to endure the sting of a tormenting conscience? As that part is both most active and most sensible, so that wound which it receives from itself is most intolerably grievous: there were more ease in a nest of hornets than under this one torture. O God, howsoever I speed abroad, give me peace at home; and whatever my flesh suffer, keep my soul free.

Thus pained, wherein do I find ease, but in laying honey to the part infected? that medicine only abates the anguish. How near hath nature placed the remedy to the offence! Whensoever my heart is stung with the remorse for sin, only thy sweet and precious merits, O blessed Saviour, can mitigate and heal the wound: they have virtue to cure me; give me grace to apply them: that sovereign receipt shall make my pain happy: I shall thus applaud my grief: *It is good for me that I was* thus *afflicted.*

LXXXIX. *Upon the arraignment of a felon.*

With what terror doth this malefactor stand at that bar! his hand trembles, while it is lift up for his trial: his very lips quake, while he saith, Not guilty: his countenance condemns him, before the judge; and his fear is ready to execute him, before his hangman. Yet this judge is but a weak man, that must soon after die himself: that sentence of death, which he can pronounce, is already passed by nature upon the most innocent: that act of death, which the law inflicteth by him, is but momentary: who knows whether himself shall not die more painfully?

O God, with what horror shall the guilty soul stand before thy dreadful tribunal in the day of the great assizes of the world: while there is the presence of an Infinite Majesty to daunt him; a fierce and clamorous conscience to give in evidence against him; legions of ugly and terrible devils waiting to seize upon him; a gulf of unquenchable fire ready to receive him: while the glory of the Judge is no less confounding than the cruelty of the tormentors; where the sentence is unavoidable, and the execution everlasting! Why do not these terrors of thee, my God, make me wise to hold a privy sessions upon my soul and actions; that, being acquitted by my own heart, I may not be condemned by thee; and being judged by myself, I may not be condemned with the world?

XC. *Upon the crowing of a cock.*

How harshly did this note sound in the ear of Peter; yea, pierced his very heart! Many a time had he heard this bird, and was no whit moved with the noise: now there was a bird in his bosom that crowed louder than this; whose shrill accent, conjoined with this, astonished the guilty disciple. The weary labourer, when he is awakened from his sweet sleep by this natural clock of the household, is not so angry at this troublesome bird, nor so vexed at the hearing of that unseasonable sound, as Peter was, when this fowl awakened his sleeping conscience, and called him to a timely repentance. This cock did but crow like others; neither made or knew any difference of this tone and the rest: there was a Divine hand that ordered this morning's note to be a summons of penitence. He that foretold it had foreappointed it: that bird could not but crow then; and all the noise in the high priest's hall could not keep that sound from Peter's ear.

But, O Saviour, couldest thou find leisure, when thou stoodest

at the bar of that unjust and cruel judgment, amidst all that bloody rabble of enemies, in the sense of all their fury and the expectation of thine own death, to listen unto this monitor of Peter's repentance; and, upon the hearing of it, to cast back thine eyes upon thy denying, cursing, abjuring disciple? O mercy without measure, and beyond all the possibility of our admiration! to neglect thyself for a sinner! to attend the repentance of one, when thou wert about to lay down thy life for all!

O God, thou art still equally merciful. Every elect soul is no less dear unto thee. Let the sound of thy faithful monitors smite my ears, and let the beams of thy merciful eyes wound my heart; so as I may go forth, and weep bitterly.

XCI. *Upon the variety of thoughts.*

When I bethink myself, how eternity depends upon this moment of life, I wonder how I can think of any thing but heaven: but, when I see the distractions of my thoughts, and the aberrations of my life, I wonder how I can be so bewitched, as, while I believe an heaven, so to forget it. All that I can do is, to be angry at mine own vanity. My thoughts would not be so many if they were all right. There are ten thousand by-ways for one direct. As there is but one heaven, so there is but one way to it; that living way, wherein I walk by faith, by obedience. All things, the more perfect they are, the more do they reduce themselves towards that unity which is the centre of all perfection.

O thou, who art one and infinite, draw in my heart from all these straggling and unprofitable cogitations; and confine it to thine heaven and to thyself, who art the heaven of that heaven. Let me have no life, but in thee; no care, but to enjoy thee; no ambition, but thy glory. O, make me thus imperfectly happy before my time; that, when my time shall be no more, I may be perfectly happy with thee in all eternity.

XCII. *Upon the sight of an harlot carted.*

With what noise and tumult, and zeal of solemn justice, is this sin punished! The streets are not more full of beholders than clamours. Every one strives to express his detestation of the fact by some token of revenge: one casts mire, another water, another rotten eggs, upon the miserable offender. Neither, indeed, is she worthy of less: but, in the mean time, no man

looks home to himself. It is no uncharity to say, that too many insult in this just punishment who have deserved more.

Alas! we men value sins by the outward scandal; but the wise and holy God, against whom only our sins are done, esteems them according to the intrinsecal iniquity of them, and according to the secret violation of his will and justice: thus, those sins which are slight to us are to him heinous. We, ignorants, would have rung David's adultery with basons[c]; but as for his numbering of the people, we should have passed it over as venial: the wise justice of the Almighty found more wickedness in this, which we should scarce have accused. Doubtless, there is more mischief in a secret infidelity, which the world either cannot know or cares not to censure, than in the foulest adultery. Public sins have more shame, private may have more guilt. If the world cannot charge me of those, it is enough that I can charge my soul of worse. Let others rejoice in these public executions; let me pity the sins of others, and be humbled under the sense of my own.

XCIII. *Upon the smell of a rose.*

Smelling is one of the meanest and least useful of the senses: yet there is none of the five that receives or gives so exquisite a contentment as it. Methinks, there is no earthly thing that yields so perfect a pleasure to any sense as the odour of the first rose doth to the scent.

It is the wisdom and bounty of the Creator so to order it, that those senses which have more affinity with the body, and with that earth whereof it is made, should receive their delight and contentation by those things which are bred of the earth; but those which are more spiritful, and have more affinity with the soul, should be reserved for the perfection of their pleasure to another world. There, and then only, shall my sight make my soul eternally blessed.

XCIV. *Upon a cancelled bond.*

While this obligation was in force, I was in servitude to my parchment: my bond was double; to a payment, to a penalty: now that is discharged, what is it better than a waste scroll; regarded for nothing but the witness of its own voidance and nullity?

No otherwise is it with the severe law of my Creator. Out of

[c] [Bassoons, or perhaps an allusion to what is vulgarly called "rough music."]

Christ, it stands in full force; and binds me over, either to perfect obedience, which I cannot possibly perform, or to exquisite torment and eternal death, which I am never able to endure. But now, that my Saviour hath fastened it cancelled to his cross, in respect of the rigour and malediction of it, I look upon it as the monument of my past danger and bondage: I know, by it, how much was owed by me, how much was paid for me. The direction of it is everlasting; the obligation by it unto death is frustrate. I am free from curse, who never can be free from obedience.

O Saviour, take thou glory; and give me peace.

XCV. *Upon the report of a great loss by sea.*

The earth and the water are both of them great givers, and both great takers: as they give matter and sustentation to all sublunary creatures, so they take all back again; insatiably devouring, at last, the fruits of their own wombs. Yet of the two, the earth is both more beneficial and less cruel; for as that yields us the most general maintenance and wealth and supportation; so it doth not lightly take aught from us, but that which we resign over to it, and which naturally falls back unto it. Whereas the water, as it affords but a small part of our livelihood, and some few knacks of ornament; so it is apt violently to snatch away both us and ours, and to bereave that which it never gave: it yields us no precious metals, and yet in an instant fetches away millions. And yet, notwithstanding all the hard measure we receive from it, how many do we daily see, that might have firm ground under them, who yet will be trusting to the mercy of the sea! Yea, how many, that have hardly crawled out from a desperate shipwreck, will yet be trying the fidelity of that unsure and untrusty element!

O God, how venturous we are where we have reason to distrust! how incredulously fearful where we have cause to be confident! Who ever relied upon thy gracious providence and sure promises, O Lord, and hath miscarried? yet here we pull in our faith, and make excuses for our diffidence. And if Peter have tried those waves to be no other than solid pavement under his feet while his soul trod confidently; yet, when a billow and a wind agree to threaten him, his faith flags, and he begins to sink.

O Lord, teach me to doubt, where I am sure to find nothing but uncertainty; and to be assuredly confident, where there can be no possibility of any cause of doubting.

XCVI. *Upon sight of a bright sky full of stars.*

I cannot blame Empedocles, if he professed a desire to live upon earth, only that he might behold the face of the heavens: surely, if there were no other, this were a sufficient errand for a man's being here below, to see and observe these goodly spangles of light above our heads; their places, their quantities, their motions.

But the employment of a Christian is far more noble and excellent. Heaven is open to him, and he can look beyond the veil, and see farther above those stars than it is thither, and there discern those glories that may answer so rich a pavement: upon the clear sight whereof, I cannot wonder if the Chosen Vessel desired to leave the earth in so happy an exchange.

O God, I bless thine infiniteness for what I see with these bodily eyes: but if thou shalt but draw the curtain, and let me by the eye of faith see the inside of that thy glorious frame, I shall need no other happiness here. My soul cannot be capable of more favour than sight here and fruition hereafter.

XCVII. *Upon the rumours of wars.*

Good Lord, what a shambles is Christendom become of late! How are men killed like flies, and blood poured out like water! Surely, the cruelty and ambition of the great have an heavy reckoning to make for so many thousand souls. I condemn not just arms: those are as necessary as the unjust are hateful. Even Michael and his angels fight; and the style of God is, *The Lord of hosts: but woe be to the man by whom the offence cometh.* Usurpation of others' rights, violation of oaths and contracts, and, lastly, erroneous zeal, are guilty of all these public murders. Private men's injuries are washed off with tears; but wrongs done to princes and public states are hardly wiped off but with blood. Doubtless, that fearful comet[d] did not more certainly portend these wars, than these wars presage the approach of the end of the world. The earth was never without some broils since it was peopled but with three men; but so universal a combustion was never in the Christian world since it was.

O Saviour, what can I think of this, but that, as thou wouldest have a general peace upon thy first coming into the world; so upon thy second coming, thou meanest there shall be a no less general war upon earth? That peace made way for thy meek appearance; this war, for thy dreadful and terrible.

[d] [1612.]

XCVIII. *Upon a child crying.*

It was upon great reason that the apostle charges us not to be children in understanding. What fools we all once are! Even at first we cry and smile, we know not wherefore: we have not wit enough to make signs what hurts us, or where we complain: we can wry the mouth, but not seek the breast; and if we want help, we can only lament and sprawl and die. After, when some months have taught us to distinguish a little betwixt things and persons, we cry for every toy, even that which may most hurt us; and when there is no other cause, we cry only to hear our own noise, and are straight stilled with a greater; and if it be but upon the breeding of a tooth, we are so wayward that nothing will please us; and if some formerly-liked knack be given to quiet us, we cast away that which we have, if we have not what we would seem to like. We fear neither fire nor water; nothing scares us, but either a rod or a feigned bugbear. We misknow our parents, not acknowledging any friend but the tailor that brings us a fine coat, or the nurse that dresses us gay. The more that our riper years resemble these dispositions, the more childish we are, and more worthy both of our own and others' censure.

But again, it was upon no less reason that the apostle charges us to be children in maliciousness. Those little innocents bear no grudge; they are sooner pleased than angry; and if any man have wronged them, let them but have given a stroke unto the nurse, to beat the offender, it is enough; at the same instant, they put forth their hand for reconcilement, and offer themselves unto those arms that trespassed. And when they are most froward, they are stilled with a pleasant song. The old word is, that "an old man is twice a child;" but I say, happy is he that is thus a child always. It is a great imperfection to want knowledge, but of the two, it is better to be a child in understanding than a man in maliciousness.

XCIX. *Upon the beginning of a sickness.*

It was my own fault if I looked not for this. All things must undergo their changes. I have enjoyed many fair days; there was no reason I should not at last make account of clouds and storms. Could I have done well without any mixtures of sin, I might have hoped for entire health; but since I have interspersed my obedience with many sinful failings and enormities, why do I

think much to interchange health with sickness? What I now feel, I know; I am not worthy to know what I must feel. As my times, so my measures, are in the hands of a wise and good God. My comfort is, he that sends these evils proportions them. If they be sharp, I am sure they are just: the most that I am capable to endure is the least part of what I have deserved to suffer. Nature would fain be at ease, but, Lord, whatever become of this carcass, thou hast reason to have respect to thine own glory—· I have sinned, and must smart. It is the glory of thy mercy to beat my body for the safety of my soul. The worst of sickness is pain, and the worst of pain is but death. As for pain, if it be extreme, it cannot be long; and if it be long, such is the difference of earthly and hellish torments, it cannot be extreme. As for death, it is both unavoidable and beneficial; there ends my misery and begins my glory; a few groans are well bestowed for a preface to an immortal joy.

Howsoever, O God, thy messenger is worthy to be welcome. *It is the Lord, let him do whatsoever he will.*

C. *Upon the challenge of a promise.*

It is true, an honest man's word must be his master. When I have promised, I am indebted; and debts may be claimed, must be paid. But yet there is a great deal of difference in our engagements: some things we promise, because they are due; some things are only due because they are promised. These latter, which are but the mere engagements of courtesy, cannot so absolutely bind us, that notwithstanding any intervention of unworthiness or misbehaviour in the person expectant, we are tied to make our word good, though to the cutting of our own throats. All favourable promises presuppose a capacity in the receiver; where that palpably faileth, common equity sets us free. I promised to send a fair sword to my friend; he is since that time turned frantic; must I send it, or be charged with unfaithfulness if I send it not?

O God, thy title is, *The God of truth.* Thou canst no more cease to be faithful than to be. How oft hast thou promised that no good thing shall be wanting to thine; and yet we know thy dearest children have complained of want! Is thy word therefore challengeable? Far, far be this wicked presumption from our thoughts. No, these thy promises of outward favours are never but with a subintelligence of a condition of our capableness, of our expedience.

Thou seest, that plenty or ease would be our bane; thy love forbears to satisfy us with an harmful blessing. We are worthy to be plagued with prejudicial kindnesses if we do not acknowledge thy wisdom and care in our want. It is enough for us that thy best mercies are our dues, because thy promises: we cannot too much claim that which thou hast absolutely engaged thyself to give, and in giving, shalt make us eternally happy.

CI. *Upon the sight of flies.*

When I look upon these flies and gnats and worms, I have reason to think, what am I to my infinite Creator more than these? And if these had my reason, why might they not expostulate with their Maker, why they are but such; why they live to so little purpose, and die without either notice or use? And if I had no more reason than they, I should be as they, content with any condition. That reason which I have is not of my own giving: he that hath given me reason might as well have given it to them, or have made me as reasonless as they. There is no cause why his greater gift should make me mutinous and malcontent. I will thank my God for what I am, for what I have; and never quarrel with him for what I want.

CII. *Upon the sight of a fantastical zealot.*

It is not the intent of grace to mould our bodies anew, but to make use of them as it finds us. The disposition of men much follows the temper of their bodily humours. This mixture of humours, wrought upon by grace, causeth that strange variety which we see in professions pretendedly religious. When grace lights upon a sad, melancholic spirit, nothing is affected but sullenness and extreme mortification, and dislike even of lawful freedom; nothing but positions and practices of severe austerity: when, contrarily, upon the cheerful and lively, all draws towards liberty and joy; those thoughts do now please best which enlarge the heart to mirth and contentation. It is the greatest improvement of Christian wisdom to distinguish, in all professions, betwixt grace and humour; to give God his own glory, and men their own infirmities.

CIII. *Upon the sight of a scavenger working in the kennel.*

The wise providence of God hath fitted men with spirits answerable to their condition. If mean men should bear the minds

of great lords, no servile works would be done; all would be commanders, and none could live. If, contrarily, great persons had the low spirits of drudges, there could be no order, no obedience, because there should be none to command. Now, out of this discord of dispositions, God hath contrived an excellent harmony of government and peace; since the use which each sort must needs have of other binds them to maintain the quality of their own ranks, and to do those offices which are requisite for the preservation of themselves and the public. As inferiors then must bless God for the graces and authority of their betters, so must superiors no less bless him for the humility and serviceableness of the meaner; and those which are of the mid rank must bless him for both.

CIV. *Upon a pair of spectacles.*

I look upon these, not as objects, but as helps; as not meaning that my sight should rest in them, but pass through them; and by their aid discern some other things which I desire to see.

Many such glasses my soul hath, and useth. I look through the glass of the creatures at the power and wisdom of their Maker: I look through the glass of the Scriptures at the great mystery of redemption and the glory of an heavenly inheritance: I look through God's favours, at his infinite mercy: through his judgments, at his incomprehensible justice. But as these spectacles of mine presuppose a faculty in the eye, and cannot give me sight when I want it, but only clear that sight which I have; no more can these glasses of the creatures, of scriptures, of favours, and judgments, enable me to apprehend those blessed objects, except I have an eye of faith whereto they may be presented. These helps to an unbelieving man are but as spectacles to the blind. As the natural eyes, so the spiritual, have their degrees of dimness. But I have ill improved my age, if, as my natural eyes decay, my spiritual eye be not cleared and confirmed; but at my best I shall never but need spectacles till I come to *see as I am seen.*

CV. *Upon motes in the sun.*

How these little motes move up and down in the sun, and never rest; whereas the great mountains stand ever still, and move not but with an earthquake!

Even so light and busy spirits are in continual agitation to little purpose; while great deep wits sit still, and stir not but upon ex-

treme occasions. Were the motion of these little atoms as useful as it is restless, I had rather be a mote than a mountain.

CVI. *Upon the sight of a bladder.*

Every thing must be taken in his meet time: let this bladder alone till it be dry, and all the wind in the world cannot raise it up; whereas now it is new and moist, the least breath fills and enlarges it.

It is no otherwise in ages and dispositions. Inform the child in precepts of learning and virtue while years make him capable, how pliably he yieldeth! how happily is he replenished with knowledge and goodness! Let him alone till time and ill example have hardened him; till he be settled in an habit of evil, and contracted and clung together with sensual delights; now he becomes utterly indocible. Sooner may that bladder be broken than distended.

CVII. *Upon a man sleeping.*

I do not more wonder at any man's art, than at his who professes to think of nothing; to do nothing; and I do not a little marvel at that man, who says he can sleep without a dream. For the mind of man is a restless thing; and though it give the body leave to repose itself, as knowing it is a mortal and earthly piece, yet itself, being a spirit, and therefore active and indefatigable, is ever in motion. Give me a sea, that moves not; a sun, that shines not; an open eye, that sees not: and I shall yield there may be a reasonable soul that works not. It is possible, that, through a natural or accidental stupidity, a man may not perceive his own thoughts; as sometimes the eye or ear may be distracted not to discern his own objects; but, in the mean time, he thinks that whereof he cannot give an account: like as we many times dream, when we cannot report our fancy, I should more easily put myself to school unto that man who undertakes the professsion of thinking many things at once. Instantaneous motions are more proper for a spirit than a dull rest. Since my mind will needs be ever working, it shall be my care that it may always be well employed.

CVIII. *Upon the sight of a death's head.*

I wonder at the practice of the ancient both Greeks and Romans, whose use was to bring up a death's-head in the midst of their feasts, on purpose to stir up their guests to drink harder,

and to frolic more: the sight whereof, one would think, should have rather abated their courage, and have tempered their jollity.

But however it was with them, who believed there was nothing after death; that the consideration of the short time of their pleasures and being, spurred them on to a free and full fruition of that mirth and excess which they should not long live to enjoy: yet to us that are Christians, and therefore know that this short life doth but make way for an eternity of joy or torment afterwards, and that after the feast we must account of a reckoning, there cannot be a greater cooler for the heat of our intemperate desires and rage of our appetites than the meditation of the shortness of life and the certainty of death. Who would over-pamper a body for the worms? Who would be so mad as to let himself loose to that momentary pleasure of sin, which ere long must cost him everlasting pain and misery? For me, methinks this head speaks no other language than this: "Lose no time: thou art dying: do thy best: thou mayest do good but a while, and shalt fare well for ever."

CIX. *Upon the sight of a left-handed man.*

It is both an old and easy observation, that, however the senses are alike strong and active on the right side and on the left, yet that the limbs on the right side are stronger than those of the left, because they are more exercised than the other: upon which selfsame reason it must follow, that a left-handed man hath more strength in his left arm than in his right.

Neither is it otherwise in the soul. Our intellectual parts grow vigorous with employment, and languish with disuse. I have known excellent preachers and pregnant disputants, that have lost these faculties with lack of action; and others, but meanly qualified with natural gifts, that have attained to a laudable measure of abilities by improvement of their little. I had rather lack good parts, than that good parts should lack me. Not to have great gifts, is no fault of mine; it is my fault not to use them.

CX. *Upon the sight of an old, unthatched cottage.*

There cannot be a truer emblem of crazy old age: mouldered and clay walls; a thin, uncovered roof; bending studs; dark and broken windows; in short, a house ready to fall on the head of the indweller.

The best body is but a cottage: if newer and better timbered, yet such as age will equally impair, and make thus ragged and

ruinous; or, before that, perhaps casualty of fire, or tempest, or violence of an enemy. One of the chief cares of men is, to dwell well. Some build for themselves; fair, but not strong: others build for posterity; strong, but not fair, not high: but happy is that man that builds for eternity; as strong, as fair, as high as the glorious contignations of heaven.

CXI. *Upon the sight of a fair pearl.*

What a pure and precious creature is this; which yet is taken out of the mud of the sea! Who can complain of a base original, when he sees such excellencies so descended? These shell-fishes, that have no sexes, and therefore are made out of corruption, what glorious things they yield, to adorn and make proud the greatest princesses!

God's great works go not by likelihoods. How easily can he fetch glory out of obscurity who brought all out of nothing!

CXII. *Upon a screen.*

Methinks this screen, that stands betwixt me and the fire, is like some good friend at the court, which keeps me from the heat of the unjust displeasure of the great, wherewith I might perhaps otherwise be causelessly scorched.

But how happy am I, if the interposition of my Saviour, my best Friend in heaven, may screen me from the deserved wrath of that great God *who is a consuming fire.*

CXIII. *Upon a burleaf* [*burdock*].

Neither the vine, nor the oak, nor the cedar, nor any tree that I know within our climate, yields so great a leaf as this weed; which yet, after all expectation, brings forth nothing but a bur, unprofitable, troublesome.

So have I seen none make greater profession of religion than an ignorant man; whose indiscreet forwardness yields no fruit, but a factious disturbance to the church wherein he lives. Too much show is not so much better than none at all as an ill fruit is worse than none at all.

CXIV. *Upon the singing of a bird.*

It is probable, that none of those creatures that want reason delight so much in pleasant sounds as a bird: whence it is, that

both it spends so much time in singing, and is more apt to imitate those modulations which it hears from men.

Frequent practice, if it be voluntary, argues a delight in that which we do; and delight makes us more apt to practise, and more capable of perfection in that we practise.

O God, if I take pleasure in thy law, I shall meditate of it with comfort, speak of it with boldness, and practise it with cheerfulness.

CXV. *Upon the sight of a man yawning.*

It is a marvellous thing, to see the real effects and strong operation of consent or sympathy, even where there is no bodily touch. So one sad man puts the whole company into dumps; so one man's yawning affects and stretches the jaws of many beholders; so the looking upon blear eyes taints the eye with blearness.

From hence it is easy to see the ground of our Saviour's expostulation with his persecutor, *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?* The Church is persecuted below; he feels it above, and complains. So much as the person is more apprehensive must he needs be more affected.

O Saviour, thou canst not but be deeply sensible of all our miseries and necessities: if we do not feel thy wrongs, and the wants of our brethren, we have no part in thee.

CXVI. *Upon the sight of a tree lopped.*

In the lopping of these trees, experience and good husbandry hath taught men to leave one bough still growing in the top, the better to draw up the sap from the root.

The like wisdom is fit to be observed in censures; which are intended altogether for reformation, not for destruction. So must they be inflicted, that the patient be not utterly discouraged, and stripped of hope and comfort: but that, while he suffereth, he may feel his good tendered, and his amendment both aimed at and expected.

O God, if thou shouldest deal with me as I deserve, thou shouldest not only shred my boughs, but cut down my stock, and stock up my root; and yet thou dost but prune my superfluous branches, and cherishest the rest. How unworthy am I of this mercy, if, while thou art thus indulgent unto me, I be severe and cruel to others, perhaps less ill-deserving than myself!

CXVII. *Upon a scholar that offered violence to himself.*

Had this man lien long under some eminent discontentment, it had been easy to find out the motive of his miscarriage. Weak nature is easily overlaid with impatience: it must be only the power of grace that can grapple with vehement evils, and master them. But here the world cannot say what could be guilty of occasioning this violence. This man's hand was full; his fame untainted; his body no burden; his disposition, for aught we saw, fair; his life guiltless: yet something did the tempter find to aggravate unto his feeble thoughts, and to represent worthy of a despatch.

What a poor thing is life, whereof so slight occasions can make us weary! What impotent wretches are we when we are not sustained! One would think this the most impossible of all motions. Naturally, every man loves himself; and life is sweet, death abhorred. What is it that Satan can despair to persuade men unto, if he can draw them to an unnatural abandoning of life, and pursuit of death? Why should I doubt of prevailing with my own heart, by the powerful overruling of God's Spirit, to contemn life and to affect death, for the sake of my Saviour, in exchange of a few miserable moments for eternity of joy; when I see men, upon an unreasonable suggestion of that evil spirit, cast away their lives for nothing, and so hastening their temporal death that they hazard an eternal?

CXVIII. *Upon the coming in of the judge.*

The construction of men and their actions is altogether according to the disposition of the lookers on. The same face of the judge, without any inward alteration, is seen with terror by the guilty, with joy and confidence by the oppressed innocent: like as the same lips of the Bridegroom drop both myrrh and honey at once; honey to the well-disposed heart, myrrh to the rebellious: and the same cup relishes well to the healthful and distastes the feverous: the same word is, though a sweet, yet a contrary savour to the different receivers: and the same sun comforts the strong sight, dazzles the weak.

For a man to affect either to do or speak that which may be pleasing to all men is but a weak and idle ambition, when we see Him that is infinitely good appear terrible to more than he appears lovely. Goodness is itself, with whatever eyes it is looked upon. There can be no safety for that man that regards more

the censure of men than the truth of being. He that seeks to win all hearts hath lost his own.

CXIX. *Upon the sight of a heap of stones.*

Under such a pile it was that the first martyr was buried: none of all the ancient kings had so glorious a tomb; there were many stones, and every one precious. Jacob leaned his head upon a stone, and saw that heavenly vision of angels ascending and descending: many stones light upon Stephen's head in the instant of his seeing the heavens opened, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God. Lo, Jacob resting upon that one stone saw but the angels: Stephen, being to rest for once under those many stones, saw the Lord of the angels. Jacob saw the angels moving; Stephen saw Jesus standing. As Jacob therefore afterwards, according to his vow, made there an altar to God; so Stephen now in the present gathers these stones together, of which he erected an holy altar, whereon he offered up himself a blessed sacrifice unto God. And if there be *a time of gathering stones, and a time of casting them away,* this was the time wherein the Jews cast, and Stephen gathered up these stones for a monument of eternal glory. O blessed saint, thou didst not so clearly see heaven opened as heaven saw thee covered: thou didst not so perfectly see thy Jesus standing, as he saw thee lying patiently, courageously, under that fatal heap. Do I mistake it? or are those stones not flints and pebbles, but diamonds and rubies and carbuncles, to set upon thy crown of glory?

CXX. *Upon sight of a bat and owl.*

These night-birds are glad to hide their heads all the day; and if by some violence they be unseasonably forced out of their secrecy, how are they followed and beaten by the birds of the day!

With us men it is contrary. The sons of darkness do, with all eagerness of malice, pursue the children of the light, and drive them into corners, and make a prey of them; the opposition is alike, but the advantage lies on the worse side. Is it for that the spiritual light is no less hateful to those children of darkness, than the natural night is to those cheerful birds of the day? or is it, for that the sons of darkness, challenging no less propriety [property] in the world than the fowl do in the lightsome air, abhor and wonder at the conscionable as strange and uncouth? How-

soever, as these bats and owls were made for the night, being accordingly shaped, foul and ill-favoured; so we know these vicious men, however they may please themselves, have in them a true deformity fit to be shrouded in darkness; and as they delight in the works of darkness, so they are justly reserved to a state of darkness.

CXXI. *Upon the sight of a well-fleeced sheep.*

What a warm winter coat hath God provided for this quiet innocent creature! As indeed how wonderful is his wisdom and goodness in all his purveyances! Those creatures which are apter for motion, and withal most fearful by nature, hath he clad somewhat thinner, and hath allotted them safe and warm burrows within the earth: those that are fit for labour and use, hath he furnished with a strong hide; and for man, whom he hath thought good to bring forth naked, tender, helpless, he hath endued his parents and himself with that noble faculty of reason, whereby he may provide all manner of helps for himself. Yet again, so bountiful is God in his provisions, that he is not lavish; so distributing his gifts, that there is no more superfluity than want; those creatures that have beaks have no teeth, and those that have shells without have no bones within; all have enough, nothing hath all. Neither is it otherwise in that one kind of man, whom he meant for the lord of all: variety of gifts is here mixed with a frugal dispensation: none hath cause to boast: none to complain: every man is as free from an absolute defect as from perfection.

I desire not to comprehend, O Lord: teach me to do nothing but wonder.

CXXII. *Upon the hearing of thunder.*

There is no grace whereof I find so general a want in myself and others, as an awful fear of the infinite majesty of God. Men are ready to affect and profess a kind of familiarity with God, out of a pretence of love; whereas if they knew him aright, they could not think of him without dread, nor name him without trembling. Their narrow hearts strive to conceive of him according to the scantling of their own strait and ignorant apprehension: whereas they should only desire to have their thoughts swallowed up with an adoring wonder of his divine incomprehensibleness. Though he thunder not always, he is always equally dreadful. There is none of his works which doth not bewray Omnipotency. I blush at the sauciness of vain men, that will be circumscribing the powerful acts of the Almighty within the compass of natural

causes, forbearing to wonder at what they profess to know. Nothing but ignorance can be guilty of this boldness. There is no divinity but in an humble fear, no philosophy but a silent admiration.

CXXIII. *Upon the sight of an hedgehog.*

I marvelled, at the first reading, what the Greeks meant by that proverb of theirs, "The fox knows many pretty wiles, but the hedgehog knows one great one:" but when I considered the nature and practice of this creature, I easily found the reason of that speech, grounded upon the care and shift that it makes for its own preservation. While it is under covert, it knows how to bar the foredoor against the cold northern and eastern blasts, and to open the backdoor for quieter and calmer air. When it is pursued, it knows how to roll up itself round within those thorns with which nature hath environed it: so as the dog, instead of a beast, finds now nothing but a ball of pricks to wound his jaws, and goes away crying from so untoothsome a prey.

He that sent the sluggard to school to the pismire, sends also in effect the careless and imprudent man to the hedgehog, while he saith, *If thou be wise, thou shalt be wise for thyself.* The main care of any creature is self-preservation; whatsoever doth that best is the wisest. These creatures, that are all body, have well improved the instincts of nature if they can provide for their bodily safety; man, that is a reasonable soul, shall have done nothing if he make not sure work for the better part.

O God, make me soul-wise; I shall never envy their craft that pity my simplicity.

CXXIV. *Upon the sight of a goat.*

This creature is in an ill name. It is not for any good qualities that God hath made choice of the goat to resemble the wicked and reprobate soul. It is unruly and salacious and noisome.

I cannot see one of them, but I presently recall to my thoughts the woful condition of those on the left hand whom God hath set aside to so fearful a damnation. They are here mixed with the flock; their colour differs nothing from the sheep; or if we do discern them by their rougher coat and odious scent, we sever ourselves from them; but the time shall come, when he shall sever them from us, who hath appointed our innocency to the fold, and their harmfulness to an everlasting slaughter. Onwards, if they climb higher than we, and feed upon those craggy cliffs, which we dare scarce reach to with our eyes; their boldness is not greater

than their danger, neither is their ascent more perilous than their ruin deadly.

CXXV. *Upon the sight of the blind and the lame.*

Here is a true natural commerce of senses. The blind man hath legs, the lame man hath eyes; the lame man lends his eyes to the blind, the blind man lends his legs to the lame; and now both of them move, where otherwise both must sit still and perish. It is hard to say whether is more beholden to other; the one gives strength, the other direction; both of them equally necessary to motion.

Though it be not in other cases so sensible, yet surely this very traffick of faculties is that whereby we live; neither could the world subsist without it: one man lends a brain; another, an arm: one a tongue; another an hand. He that knows wherefore he made all, hath taken order to improve every part to the benefit of the whole. What do I wish aught that is not useful? And if there be any thing in me that may serve to the good of others, it is not mine, but the Church's. I cannot live but by others: it were injurious, if others should not likewise share with me.

CXXVI. *Upon the sight of a map of the world.*

What a poor little spot is a country! A man may hide with his thumb the great territories of those that would be accounted monarchs. In vain should the great Cham, or the great Mogul, or Prester John, seek here for his court: it is well if he can find his kingdom amongst these parcels. And if we take all together these shreds of islands and these patches of continent, what a mere indivisible point they are in comparison of that vast circle of heaven wherewith they are encompassed!

It is not easy for a man to be known to that whole land wherein he lives: but if he could be so famous, the next country perhaps never hears of his name: and if he can attain to be talked of there, yet the remoter parts cannot take notice that there is such a thing: and if they did all speak of nothing else, what were he the better? O the narrow bounds of earthly glory! O the vain affection of human applause! Only that man is happily famous who is known and recorded in heaven.

CXXVII. *Upon the sight of hemlock.*

There is no creature of itself evil: misapplication may make

the best so: and there is a good use to be made of the worst. This weed, which is too well proved to be poisonous, yet to the goat is medicinal; as serving, by the coldness of it, to temper the feverous heat of that beast. So we see the marmoset eating of spiders, both for pleasure and cure.

Our ignorance may not bring a scandal upon God's workmanship; or if it do, his wisdom knows how to make a good use even of our injury. I cannot say but the very venom of the creatures is to excellent purpose: how much more their beneficial qualities! If aught hurt us, the fault is ours, in mistaking the evil for good: in the mean time, we owe praise to the Maker, and to the creature a just and thankful allowance.

CXXVIII. *Upon a flower-de-luce.*

This flower is but unpleasingly fulsome for scent; but the root of it is so fragrant, that the delicatest ladies are glad to put it into their sweet bags: contrarily, the rose tree hath a sweet flower, but a savourless root: and the saffron yields an odoriferous and cordial spire, while both the flower and the root are unpleasing. It is with vegetables as with metals; God never meant to have his best always in view; neither meant he to have all eminences concealed. He would have us to know him to be both secretly rich and openly bountiful. If we do not use every grace in its own kind, God loses the thanks, and we the benefit.

CXXIX. *Upon the sight of two trees, one high, the other broad.*

Those trees that shoot up in height are seldom broad; as, contrarily, those trees that are spreading are seldom tall: it were too much ambition in that plant which would be both ways eminent.

Thus it is with men. The covetous man, that affects to spread in wealth, seldom cares to aspire unto height of honour: the proud man, whose heart is set upon preferment, regards not, in comparison thereof, the growth of his wealth. There is a poor shrub in a valley, that is neither tall nor broad, nor cares to be either, which speeds better than they both. The tall tree is cut down for timber; the broad tree is lopped for firewood; besides, that the tempest hath power on them both: whereas the low shrub is neither envied by the wind nor threatened by the axe; but fostered rather, for that little shelter which it affords the shepherd. If there be glory in greatness, meanness hath security.

Let me never envy their diet that had rather be unsafe than inglorious.

CXXX. *Upon the sight of a drunken man.*

Reason is an excellent faculty, and indeed that which alone differenceth us from brute creatures; without which, what is man but a two-legged beast? And as all precious things are tender, and subject to miscarriage, so is this above others: the want of some little sleep, the violence of a fever, or one cup too much, puts it into utter distemper. What can we make of this thing? man, I cannot call him. He hath shape; so hath a dead corpse, as well as he: he hath life; so hath a beast, as well as he: reason, either for the time he hath not, or if he have it, he hath it so depraved and marred for the exercise of it, that brutishness is much less ill-beseeming. Surely, the natural bestiality is so much less odious than the moral, as there is difference in the causes of both: that is of God's making; this, of our own: it is no shame to the beast that God hath made him so; it is a just shame to a man that he hath made himself a beast.

CXXXI. *Upon the whetting of a scythe.*

Recreation is intended to the mind, as whetting is to the scythe, to sharpen the edge of it, which otherwise would grow dull and blunt. He therefore that spends his whole time in recreation, is ever whetting, never mowing, his grass may grow; and his steed starve. As, contrarily, he that always toils and never recreates, is ever mowing, never whetting; labouring much to little purpose: as good no scythe as no edge. Then only doth the work go forward when the scythe is so seasonably and moderately whetted, that it may cut; and so cuts, that it may have the help of sharpening. I would so interchange, that I neither be dull with work nor idle and wanton with recreation.

CXXXII. *Upon the sight of a looking-glass.*

When I look in another man's face, I see that man; and that man sees me, as I do him: but when I look in my glass, I do not see myself; I see only an image or representation of myself: howsoever it is like me, yet it is not I. It is for an ignorant child to look behind the glass, to find out the babe that he seeth: I know it is not there; and that the resemblance varies according to the dimness or different fashion of the glass.

At our best, we do but thus see God here below. One sees him more clearly; another, more obscurely: but all, in a glass. Hereafter we shall see him, not as he appears, but as he is: so shall we see him in the face as he sees us: the face of our glorified spirits shall see the glorious face of him who is the God of spirits. In the mean time, the proudest dame shall not more ply her glass to look upon that face of hers, which she thinks beautiful, than I shall gaze upon the clearest glass of my thoughts, to see that face of God which I know to be infinitely fair and glorious.

CXXXIII. *Upon the shining of a piece of rotten wood.*

How bright doth this wood shine! When it is in the fire, it will not so beam forth as it doth in this cold darkness. What an emblem is here of our future estate! This piece, while it grew in the tree, shone not at all; now that it is putrified, it casts forth this pleasing lustre.

Thus it is with us: while we live here, we neither are nor seem other than miserable; when we are dead once, then begins our glory: then doth the soul shine in the brightness of heavenly glory; then doth our good name shine upon earth, in those beams which before envy had either held in or overcast. Why are we so over-desirous of our growth when we may be thus advantaged by our rottenness?

CXXXIV. *Upon an ivy-tree.*

Behold a true emblem of false love. Here are kind embracements, but deadly: how close doth this weed cling unto that oak, and seems to hug and shade it! but in the mean time draws away the sap, and at last kills it.

Such is an harlot's love: such is a parasite's. Give me that love and friendship which is between the vine and the elm; whereby the elm is no whit worse, and the vine much the better. That wholesome and noble plant doth not so close wind itself about the tree that upholds it as to gall the bark or to suck away the moisture; and again, the elm yields a beneficial supportation to that weak though generous plant. As God, so wise men, know to measure love, not by profession and compliment, which is commonly most high and vehement in the falsest, but by reality of performance. He is no enemy that hurts me not; I am not his friend whom I desire not to benefit.

CXXXV. *Upon a quartan ague.*

I have known, when those things which have made an healthful man sick, have been the means of making a sick man whole. The quartan hath of old been justly styled the shame of physicians; yet I have more than once observed it to be cured by a surfeit. One devil is sometime used for the ejection of another.

Thus have I also seen it in the sickness of the soul. The same God, whose justice is wont to punish sin with sin, even his mercy doth so use the matter, that he cures one sin by another. So have we known a proud man healed by the shame of his uncleanness; a furious man healed by a rash bloodshed. It matters not greatly what the medicine be, while the Physician is infinitely powerful, infinitely skilful. What danger can there be of my safety, when God shall heal me, as well by evil as by good?

CXXXVI. *Upon the sight of a loaded cart.*

It is a passionate expression wherein God bemoans himself of the sins of Israel, *Ye have pressed me as a cart is pressed with sheaves.* An empty cart runs lightly away, but if it be soundly loaden it goes sadly, sets hard, groans under the weight, and makes deep impressions; the wheels creak, and the axletree bends, and all the frame of it is put unto the utmost stress.

He that is Omnipotent can bear any thing but too much sin; his justice will not let his mercy be overstrained. No marvel, if a guilty soul say, *Mine iniquity is greater than I can bear,* when the infinite God complains of the weight of men's sins. But let not vain men think that God complains out of the want of power, but out of the abundance of mercy. He cannot be the worse for our sins, we are. It grieves him to be overprovoked to our punishment. Then doth he account the cart to crack, yea to break, when he is urged to break forth into just vengeance.

O Saviour, the sins of the whole world lay upon thee: thou sweatedst blood under the load. What would become of me if I should bear but one sheaf of that load, every ear whereof, yea every grain of that ear, were enough to press down my soul to the nethermost hell?

CXXXVII. *Upon the sight of a dwarf.*

Amongst all the bounteous gifts of God, what is it that he hath equally bestowed upon all, except it be our very being while we are? He hath not given to all men the same stature of body, not the same strength of wit, not the same capacity of memory, not

the same beauty of parts, not the same measure of wealth or honour.

Thus hath he done also in matter of grace. There are spiritual dwarfs; there are giants. There are perfect men; children; babes; embryos. This inequality doth so much more praise the mercy and wisdom of the Giver, and exercise the charity and thankfulness of the receiver. The essence of our humanity doth not consist in stature: he that is little of growth is as much man as he that is taller. Even so also spiritually, the quantity of grace doth not make the Christian, but the truth of it. I shall be glad and ambitious to add cubits to my height; but withal it shall comfort me to know that I cannot be so low of stature as not to reach unto heaven.

CXXXVIII. *Upon an importunate beggar.*

It was a good rule of him that bade us learn to pray of beggars. With what zeal doth this man sue! with what feeling expressions! with how forcible importunity! When I meant to pass by him with silence, yet his clamour draws words from me. When I speak to him, though with excuses, rebukes, denials, repulses; his obsecrations, his adjurations draw from me that alms which I meant not to give. How he uncovers his sores and shows his impotence, that my eyes may help his tongue to plead! With what oratory doth he force my compassion! so as it is scarce any thank to me that he prevails.

Why do I not thus to my God? I am sure I want no less than the neediest: the danger of my want is greater; the alms that I crave is better; the store and mercy of the Giver infinitely more.

Why shouldest thou give me, O God, that which I care not to ask? O give me a true sense of my wants, and then I cannot be cool in asking; thou canst not be difficult in condescending.

CXXXIX. *Upon a medicinal potion.*

How loathsome a draught is this! How offensive both to the eye and to the scent and to the taste? Yea, the very thought of it is a kind of sickness; and when it is once down, my very disease is not so painful for the time as my remedy. How doth it turn the stomach and wring the entrails, and works a worse distemper than that whereof I formerly complained! And yet it must be taken for health; neither could it be so wholesome, if it were less unpleasing; neither could it make me whole, if it did not first make me sick.

Such are the chastisements of God and the reproofs of a friend—harsh, troublesome, grievous; but in the end they yield *the peaceable fruit of righteousness.*

Why do I turn away my head, and make faces, and shut mine eyes, and stop my nostrils, and nauseate and abhor to take this harmless potion for health, when we have seen mountebanks to swallow dismembered toads, and drink the poisonous broth after them, only for a little ostentation and gain?

It is only weakness and want of resolution that is guilty of this queasiness. Why do not I cheerfully take and quaff up that bitter cup of affliction which my wise and good God hath mixed for the health of my soul?

CXL. *Upon the sight of a wheel.*

The prophet meant it for no other than a fearful imprecation against God's enemies, *O my God, make them like unto a wheel:* whereby what could he intend to signify but instability of condition, and sudden violence of judgment? Those spokes of the wheel that are now up are sooner than sight or thought whirled down, and are straight raised up again on purpose to be depressed. Neither can there be any motion so rapid and swift as the circular.

It is a great favour of God that he takes leisure in his affliction, so punishing us, that we have respites of repentance. There is life and hope in these degrees of suffering, but those hurrying and whirling judgments of God have nothing in them but wrath and confusion.

O Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger. I cannot deprecate thy rebuke: my sins call for correction: but I deprecate thine anger. Thou rebukest, even where thou lovest. So rebuke me, that while I smart with thy rod, I may rejoice in thy mercy.

JOSEPHI EXONIENSIS HENOCHISMUS:

SIVE,

TRACTATUS

DE MODO AMBULANDI CUM DEO.

DOCTO AC CELEBRI CLERO DIOCESEOS EXONIENSIS;

PACEM ET GRATIAM.

VACABAT mihi pridem, uti nostis, per menses aliquot, durante Reverendissimi Archipræsulis Visitatione Metropolitica[a].

Non potui interea nihil agere. Meditatiunculas, igitur, meas vertendas non illibens suscepi: hunc etiam, præter alia quædam, meditatus insuper Henochismum; quo nihil cogitari potuit utilius, nihil salutarius.

Soluti nunc fere sunt calami omnes in polemicas quasdam *ζητήσεις*, *μωρὰς* quidem illas, plerasque, *καὶ ἀπαιδεύτους*, et, ubi nihil est litium, cum Plautinis leguleiis, lites serunt. Friget, interim, pietas! sancteque vivendi ratio, quasi *ἀπροσδιόνυσον* quiddam, vulgo negligitur!

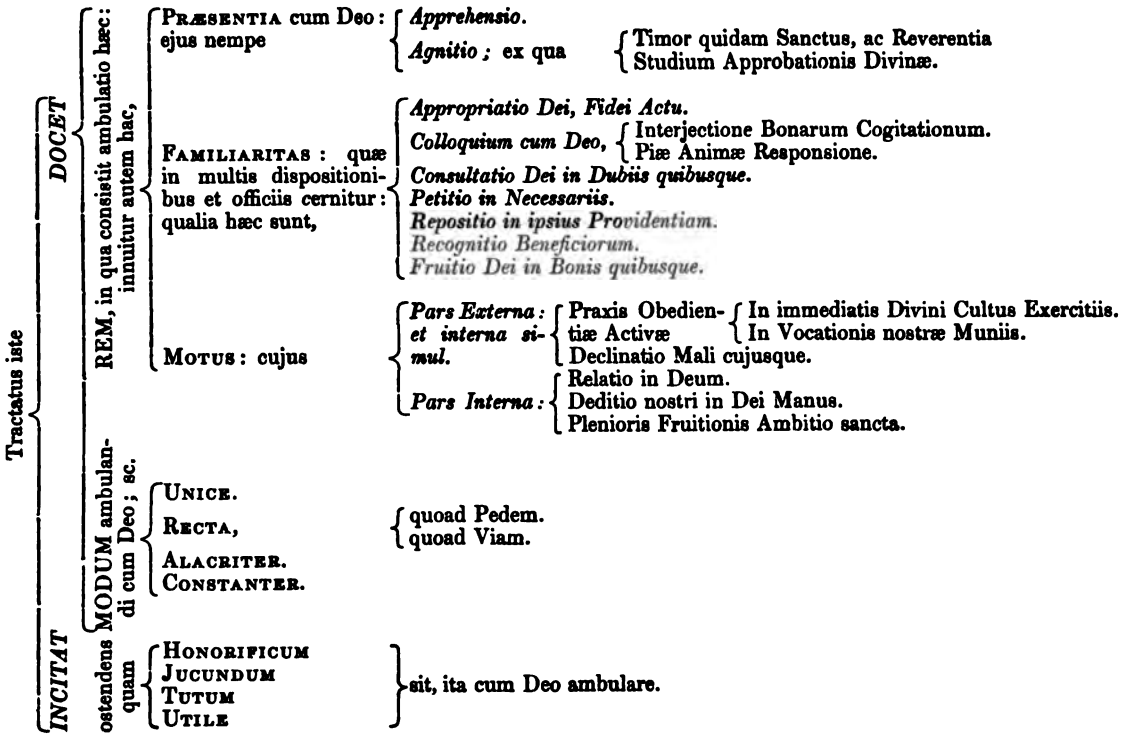
Tædet me plane miseretque harum turbarum, quibus misere agitatur orbis Christianus: utinam vero opis nostræ foret, illas, non dico, votis, suspiriis, lachrymis, sed quovis aut sudore aut sanguine, demum sedare!

Deus, Deus, qui solus potest, istoc accuret scilicet! Demus nos, interim, Fratres, quantum possumus, operam, ut ad verum practicæ pietatis studium, hominum animos, a vanis hisce vitilitigationibus, revocemus. Illud est, quod me istic videtis moliri; quodque, quamdiu superstitaverit mihi Deus hanc provinciam, moliturum deinceps sancte spondeo. Vos, quod olim suis commilitonibus Gideon, facite pariter, ac me fecisse cernitis.

Cœlum est, quod quærimus: illo autem non disputando quidem, sed credendo et bene vivendo, pervenitur. Pauca sunt illa fidei capita, quæ Christiano cuique ad salutem creditu necessaria sunt; nec vero difficilia. O, si in illis humiliter taciteque acquiescere disceret plebs Christiana; de reliquis haud nimis interim solicita: quodque superest temporis, piis officiis, bonisque operibus, feliciter impenderet!

Illud, Fratres Charissimi, strenue navemus operam, ut fiat: curemusque sedulo, ut sanctissimis probæ vitæ exemplis ita populo præluceamus, ut, vel sic, nostros cum Deo ambulare doceamus; cum ipso, demum, una æternum regnaturos.

[a] [Probably in 1635, in which year Abp. Laud commenced a visitatorial inquiry into the state of several dioceses, including the statutes of certain cathedrals.]


Tractatus iste
DOCET
INCITAT
REM, in qua consistit ambulatio hæc: innuitur autem hac,
MODUM ambulandi cum Deo; sc.
ostendens quam
PRÆSENTIA cum Deo: ejus nempe
Apprehensio.
Agnitio; ex qua
Timor quidam Sanctus, ac Reverentia
Studium Approbationis Divinæ.
FAMILIARITAS: quæ in multis dispositionibus et officiis cernitur: qualia hæc sunt,
Appropriatio Dei, Fidei Actu.
Colloquium cum Deo,
Interjectione Bonarum Cogitationum.
Piæ Animæ Responsione.
Consultatio Dei in Dubiis quibusque.
Petitio in Necessariis.
Repositio in ipsius Providentiam.
Recognitio Beneficiorum.
Fruitio Dei in Bonis quibusque.
MOTUS: cujus
Pars Externa: et interna simul.
Praxis Obedientiæ Activæ
In immediatis Divini Cultus Exercitiis.
In Vocationis nostræ Muniis.
Declinatio Mali cujusque.
Pars Interna:
Relatio in Deum.
Deditio nostri in Dei Manus.
Plenioris Fruitionis Ambitio sancta.
UNICE.
RECTA,
quoad Pedem.
quoad Viam.
ALACRITER.
CONSTANTER.
HONORIFICUM
JUCUNDUM
TUTUM
UTILE
sit, ita cum Deo ambulare.

HENOCHISMUS;

SIVE, TRACTATUS

DE MODO AMBULANDI CUM DEO.

Quid est, quod ambire debemus Christiani, nisi ut hic sancti simus, alibi felices?

Ecce istic utrumque nobis præit, nobile exemplar, Henochus. Sanctus, erat, ambulavit cum Deo; felix, abstulit eum ad se Deus. Sanctitatem illius consummavit felicitas; felicitati viam stravit sanctimonia. Finem non potest non assequi, quisquis ingreditur viam.

Non est quod in virum inquiramus curiosius. Illud unum meditemur, quod et arguere sanctum potuit, et præstare felicem; ambulationem intelligo cum Deo; summam terrenæ sanctitatis, spiritualis rei fastigium.

Agedum igitur: et directionis ergo et solatii, quid sit, ambulare cum Deo, serio disquiramus.

Ambulare vero cum Deo, quid aliud innuit, nisi præsentiam, familiaritatem, motum? Persona non variat modum: illud nempe suggerit nobis ratio, quisquis fuerit qui nobiscum ambulaverit, necesse fore ut præsto nobis sit, ut familiari quadam ratione sit præsens, ut vestigia nobiscum pariter commutet commetiaturque.

A præsentia ordiamur.

Ambulavit Abrahamus coram Deo; cum Deo Henochus: præsentiam certissimam præsupponit utrumque.

Præsentem sane nobis semper adesse Deum, dubitari non potest: ubique is est: nec quo loco exclusus, nec inclusus mundi ambitu, terram cœlumque infinita majestate implet ac complectitur.

De nostra cum illo præsentia nunc agitur. Jubemur nos scilicet non semel appropinquare Deo; quasi ab ipso nimis, et mente et affectibus, elongati.

Ut nos igitur sancte sistamus Deo, duo requiruntur: recta imprimis Divinæ Majestatis Apprehensio; ac vera dein Præsentis Agnitio.

Et primo quidem in loco, illud expedit, ut animis nostris intime imprimatur debita quædam, pro captus nostri modulo, *immensissimæ Deitatis apprehendendæ ratio:* sine qua, merum profecto imaginationis nostræ idolum pro vero Deo adorabimus. *Ubi evigilavero,* inquit Psaltes, *imagine tui satiabor.* Ps. xvii. 15.

Ecce, procul omni idololatria, imaginem Numinis Divini; sacram illam quidem, et, pro natura Dei, spiritualem; quæ nihil aliud est quam simplicissima quædam Idea, et abstractissima animis nostris infigenda Divinæ Majestatis recognitio. Puræ nempe oportet constanterque admirabundæ menti nostræ usque insideant de Deo cogitationes; quales tantam decent gloriæ immensitatem. Representemusque, non tam intellectui nostro, quam fidei, Infinitum Spiritum, Spirituum Deum; essentia unum, distinctum gloriosissimis personis; actum purissimum; lucem spiritualem; principium entitatis omnis æternum; vitæ motusque authorem incomprehensibilem; Omnipotentem Opificem Moderatoremque Universi; totum potentiam, totum sapientiam, totum justitiam, bonitatem totum; bonitatem vero, justitiam, sapientiam, potentiam, essentialem vivamque: a certa lucidaque notione gloriosæ Humanitatis Divinissimi Mediatoris, assurgentes ad contemplationem Infinitæ Deitatis, cui illa sacro-sanctissima natura adunitur.

Nimirum hæc ipsissima basis est omnis veræ pietatis; neque tam dux viæ est, quam ipse oculus quo dirigimur, ipsum solum cui insistimus: sine quo, ambulamus quidem; sed, quod dicitur ἐκτος ὁδου, ambulamus; sed cum phantasmate nostro, non cum Deo.

Vereor equidem, ne istinc nimis multi, qui magnos in re Christiana se progressus fecisse autumant, vel constitisse plane, vel haud parum certe aberrasse tandem deprehendantur.

Unum, profecto, libere ausim accusare: memet ipse comperio vel justo hujusce apprehensionis modo nimis imparem, errori proclivem admodum: difficillimum quidem sentiens, cogitationes animi vel recte collocare; vel, sic locatas, figere demum ac stabilire. Nunc, sane, necesse habeo queri de nimia cordis angustia; qua fit ut Deitatem Immensam, intra quosdam quasi terminos impotenter coercere videar; nunc vero, de inerti quadam animi vacuitate, tristique incogitatione; nunc, de nescientiæ tenebris; nunc, denique, de falsa vani intellectus luce, perperam mihi Deum referente. Quæ omnia sedulo cavere debet, quisquis cum Deo ambulare studet.

Quod, si quis, propriæ intellectionis lumine, salutares hasce

notiones acquirere speraverit; næ, ille frustra fuerit, operamque luserit miserrime. E cœlo, a Patre Luminum, petenda expectandaque est divina hæc irradiatio. Qui pedes largitur, ut moveamus, et oculos largiatur oportet, quibus inaccessæ lucis habitatorem quadamtenus adspiciamus. Sine ipso, ut cum ipso ambulemus impossibile est.

Apprehensionem quandam habitualem immotamque Deitatis necessario comitatur præsentis agnitio: non minus certa quidem illa et ocularis, quam cujuspiam hominum, quicum sensibili modo palam et aperte conversamur. Nempe, hoc est videre invisibilem illum; ipsumque, mentis acie, non minus clare adstantem intueri, quam quodcunque visibile objectum, quam cœlum terramve, corporeis oculis usurpamus.

Illud satis constat e materiali spiritualique substantia, corpore et animo, conflatum esse quod nos hominem appellamus. Utrique partium sui sunt sensus, objecta sua. Nimium vero nobis deerimus, nisi, dum corpusculum hoc rebus corporeis, similibus sui, occupatur, et spiritus itidem nostri cum purissimis spiritibus, præsertim vero Spirituum Domino, commercium exerceant. Felicitatem nobis olim perficiet illud unum, videre ipsum uti est; videre eum ut is nos videt, mutua quadam fruitione nostri. Debilis ergo fidei obtusa acie præsentem contueri, non potest non felicitatem nobis, interea, suaviter inchoare. Visibilem quemque ipsæ cernunt bestiæ, quarum aliquæ longe sunt hominibus perspicaciores; Spiritum vero simplicissimum conspicari, nobis semper obversantem, oculi est illuminati divinitus. Interno fit hoc et sensu et lumine; non hoc, quod nobis cum brutis animalibus commune est. Etiam cæcus ille Didymus[a] Alexandrinus hoc, suo tempore, fecisse non parum gestiit; et, omni ævo, quo quis sanctior fuit, eo clarius præsentem sibi Deum conspexisse perhibetur. Venditant nobis historicorum fabulæ quosdam mira præditos spirituum videndorum facultate; sed et collyria quædam fingunt sibi aniculæ quibus hoc posse fieri somniant: ecce! quod superstitiosuli isti perperam delirant, reapse certissime indies factitatum: nemo non regenitorum Deum ipsum sibi præsentem, non minus clare certoque quam suam ipsius carnem, contuetur.

Neque vero præsentem modo nobiscum agnoscimus Deum, sed et in ipso vivere nos semper et movere persentiscimus. Vere suos Athenienses docuit Paulus, *οὐ μακρὰν*, non procul ab unoquoque

[a] See, concerning Didymus of Alexandria, Socrates, Eccl. Hist. b. iv. ch. 25. Theodoret, Eccl. Hist. b. iv. ch. 29.

nostrum abesse quem non cernimus, Deum. Imo, ne nos quidem ita nobis intimi sumus ac nobis ipse. Quis nostrum vitam sibi indulsit, creator sui? quis sibi, vel tantillum, intra fauces continere animam potest? quis motricem indidit animæ facultatem? quis dedit exercere?

Aliter tamen homo ψυχικὸς Deum in se, se in Deo viventem motitantemque sentit, aliter regenitus. Renatus quidem vitam agnoscit motumque, spiritualem ac divinum; carnalis vero naturalem prorsus, indolique suæ congruum. Qui duplicem ergo in Deo vitam motumque sortimur, et naturæ et gratiæ, quin ipsum in quo bis sumus, fideliter usque agnoscimus; et sine quo nec esse nec movere possumus, cum ipso constanter ambulamus.

Agnitam hanc Omnipotentis Dei præsentiam necessario sequetur, primo in loco, humilis quædam reverentia et sanctus tremor. Nec cui vero sistimur principi viro, quin venerabundo quodam timore nos affici sentimus; quanto magis, ubi verendissimam Dei majestatem nobis præsentem cernimus!

Visa cœlesti illa angelorum scala, evigilans Patriarcha, *Quam tremendus est, inquit, iste locus!* Ecce sanctum Jacobum, ad ipsius loci, in quo se Deus repræsentari voluit, conspectum, pie contremiscentem; vixque se continentem, quin solum ipsum, in quo machina illa angelica figi visa est, pronus adorarit. Quo demum stupore, divinæ illius gloriæ, quæ in summitate scalæ resplenduit, radiis, perculsum judicabimus! Certe, uti semper nobiscum Deus est, ita nunquam non aliter adest, quam incomprehensibiliter gloriosissimus: neque agnosci a nobis unquam potest, nisi sacro quodam metu concussis, quasique adorabunda tantæ majestatis admiratione plane absorptis.

Ego vero non parum vereri mihi videor, ne hic affectus animi non ita, uti par est, apud Christianorum plerosque obtinere soleat. De magno illo et omnipotente Cœli Numine, et sentire et loqui assolent non pauci, stupido quodam neglectu, temeraque et incuriosa familiaritate: haud unquam, nisi ubi tonuerit, ad potentiam ipsius pertrementes; nec quo metu Infinitæ Deitatis unquam confusi, nisi cum insigni aliquo judiciorum suorum specimine sese terribilem exhibuerit. Ecce, seraphici illi spiritus faciem sibi abscondunt alis; fulgorem Præsentiæ Divinæ intueri parum sustinentes: quorum tamen unusquisque, ita totus gloria ac majestate splendet, ut merito quidem Manoah, horum uno semel conspecto, de vita sua subinde desperaverit. Nos vero, cinis ac pulvisculus, faciem gloriosissimam illius, qui horum

Spirituum Deus est, audaci fronte, negligentibus oculis, secura mente, intueri non dubitabimus? Difficile, profecto, judicatu est, pejusne fuerit, Deum præsentem non agnoscere, vel agniti præsentia parum affici reverenter: quorum, illud stupidæ cujusdam negligentiæ est, hoc impii cujusdam stuporis: quædam certe in utroque atheismi species delitescit.

Secundo in loco, sanctum obedientiæ studium, Divinæque approbationis ambitiosa quædam Cura ac Solicitudo. Enimvero, qui tam potentem Deum sibi perpetuo præsentem agnoverit, næ ille parum ausus fuerit quicquam præstare, quod tanto Numini displiceat; quinimmo dabit operam sedulo, ut a Summi Judicis misericordi manu fidelitatis suæ lauream reportare mereatur. Quicquid vero agendum susceperit, ex animo suo anxie sciscitabitur clanculum; "Quomodo hoc Deo meo arridebit?"

Mandavit olim Abrahamo Deus, *Ambula coram me, et rectus esto.* Præcepti pars una subinfert alteram: non potest non esse rectus, quisquis coram Deo ambulaverit. Gnaviter oportet sit impudens, qui coram viro, coram puerulo peccare ausit: sed, ubi justissimus potentissimusque Vindex adstare cernitur, atque ἔκδικον in nos ὄμμα conjicere; quis non illud usurpet Josephi, *Quomodo faciam malum hoc grande, ut peccem contra Deum?* Gen. xxxix. 9.

Et de Præsentia quidem hactenus. Altera sequitur ambulationis hujusce statio, familiaritas.

Præterire solemus ignotos: superiores a tergo insequimur: cum solis amicis ac familiaribus ambulamus. Henochus igitur, et quilibet vere Christianus, non post Deum modo, uti assecla, sed cum Deo, uti socius, honorifice coambulat. Amicus Dei salutatur Abrahamus. Eodem plane titulo, excelso quidem illo, et qui vix mortali cuiquam competere posse videretur, discipulos suos compellat Christus. *Talem honorem sortiuntur omnes sancti ejus.*

Ambulare igitur cum Deo quid aliud innuit, quam cum ipso, velut amicorum intimo, blanda tremulaque quadam familiaritate, conversari? Familiaris vero hæc cum Deo conversatio in multis quidem consistit piis dispositionibus ac officiis; quæ, in sacrosancta hac ambulationis hujusce statione, totidem quasi stadia merito dixerimus.

Quorum primum illud est jus nostrum (ut cum leguleiis loquar) ad Deum in Deo firmiter nobismet stabilire. Quid enim, quæso, juverit apprehendisse Deum infinito plane essentialique modo sa-

pientem, potentem, justum, misericordem; quid, præsentem nobiscum agnovisse; nisi ipsum et nostrum insuper esse persenserimus? Certe absque hoc omnia illa gloriosissima Dei attributa nihil aliud nisi terrorem nobis et incuterent et aggravarent; absque hoc foret, ambularemus Deo a longe: cum Deo ambulare nec ausi quidem; a longe, ut alieno, ut inimico; non cum ipso, ut amico, ut Deo. Quid mihi demum profuerit alterius Deus? Væ mihi, nisi Deum habuero de proprio. Nihil mihi profecto vel tutaminis esse potest vel solatii, donec dicere possim cum Didymo illo, jam feliciter restaurato, *Dominus meus, Deus meus*; et, cum Propheta, *Jehovah justitia mea.* Et hoc quidem fidei stadium est, late sese porrigens: cum ad apprehensionem illam agnitionemque Dei, quam modo pertransivimus; tum ad reliquas actiones dispositionesque sacras, quas deinceps sumus tractaturi.

Fidelem hanc Dei appropriationem sequitur perpetua quædam mutui cum Deo colloquii familiaritas. Neque vero existimare debemus ambulationem hanc plane mutam prorsusve taciturnam: sed suavissimis dialogismis plenam. Piam animam alloquitur semper Deus, anima Deum. Deus animam, continua gratiæ excitatione, sanctarumque motionum injectione frequentissima; anima Deum, assidua meditatione, gratiæ acceptillatione, repromissione obedientiæ. Suggerit Deus, *Quærite faciem meam;* regerit anima, *Faciem tuam quæremus, O Deus.* Ilicet hæc spirituum lingua est. Sic se solent illi, gratiosis divinisque rejaculationibus, mutuo excipere; et hoc illud est Bernardi dulce susurrium cum Deo; quo posito, impossibile plane est ut fidelis quisquam vel solus sit vel otiosus. Et hoc quidem stadium secundum esto.

Familiaris hujusce collocutionis gratiam ultro sequetur certissima libertas, et consulendi Deum in dubiis, et rogandi in necessariis. Quicquid occurrerit, ad Ephodis oraculum recurrisse semper Davidem constat: sed et pius ille Jehosaphatus, ubi de re modo militari, expugnanda Ramothe, questio incidisset, non tam belli duces, quam sanctos Dei prophetas, censet adeundos. Teraphim suos percontatur Laban: Endorem petit illico, pythonissam consulturus, impius quispiam Saulus: cordatus quisque ac bonus unum scitatur Deum; et is nobis adstat, et verbum illius nobis ad manus est. Non est quod enthusiasmos fanaticasque revelationes cogitemus. Æternum præsens est consiliarius Davidis, pariter et nostri: *Testimonia tua,* אַנְשֵׁי עֲצָתִי, *viri consilii mei;* Ps. cxix. 24. Quicunque demum casus, quem appellant, conscien-

tiæ, necessarius ad Christiani hominis salutem obtigerit, is, Spiritu, suo, per vocem verbi sui nobis respondente ac definiente, clare certoque determinat.

Consulendi facultatem comitatur liberrima quædam supplicandi licentia, praxisque assidua. Illud est, quod, Apostoli manu, jubet Deus; *Orare semper.* Non ita cordi fuisset Deo Propheta ille Regius, nisi hoc fecisset perpetim: *Venio,* inquit, *ante te in ipso crepusculo, ut vociferer.* Ps. cxix. 147: *Sed et elevatio manuum mearum ut munus vespertinum.* Ps. cxli. 2. Quid ego mane loquor ac vesperam? septies hoc factitatum in die; Ps. cxix. 164. Sed quid adhuc vices numero? *Invoco te,* inquit, *Jehova, totum diem;* Ps. lxxxviii. 9. *Gratiam fac mihi, Domine, quia te inclamo toto die.* Ps. lxxxvi. 3. Breviculum adhuc est lucis spatiolum; *O Jehova, Deus salutis meæ, interdiu clamo et noctu coram te.* Ps. lxxxviii. 1. Scilicet sic factum oportuit. Quo demum stylo alio compellarit mendicus regem? mendicus miserrimus, rerumque omnium egentissimus; regem munificentissimum ditissimumque, qui rogari largirique cupit maxime, qui quod donat possidet interea, et cui quanto plus decesserit nihil suppetit minus? Eximium vero est hoc ambulantis cum Deo privilegium; posse se, in quibuscunque periculis ac angustiis, in sinum Dei libere conjicere; ab ipsoque et opem expectare et solatium.

Huic igitur rogandi libertati proxime adjacet *fiduciæ nostræ exercitium,* qua pro nobis nostrisque in Dei providentiam, parum anxie, recumbimus. Hoc se, ab ipsis matris suæ uberibus, usque fecisse profitetur charus Deo Psaltes. Quam illustre erat illud sanctæ confidentiæ specimen! Ziklagum et spoliarat hostis, et absumpserat incendio; uxores cum supellectile tota, prædæ loco, abduxerat; magnumque ducem Israelis non minus nudum reliquerat, quam, cum pedo instructus et baculo, paternis olim ovibus invigilaverat. Quid vero ad hæc vir sanctissimus? *At David roboravit se in Domino Deo suo.* 1 Sam. xxx. 6. Illud est quod suadet Apostolus, *solicitudinem nostram omnem in Deum conjicere, cui curæ sumus;* Et sane, frustra cum Deo ambulare simulaverit, qui se totum Deo concredere, sicque fidei vitam degere detrectaverit. Apage nostram sive diffidentiam, sive *αὐτοτιμωρίαν,* dum nos crudeliter torquemus curarum illarum equuleis, a quibus Miserationum Deos liberos esse voluit. Quin reponimus nos alacres in *εὐδοκίαν* boni Dei; quovis eventu probe contenti; eodem vultu manuque eadem, et bonum

et malum ab ipso recipere paratissimi. *Dominus est : faciat quicquid ipsi visum ;* vox erat digna sancto sene. Quam lubenter placideque, jubente Deo, montem ascendit mitissimus piissimusque Moses, ibidem moriturus ! Non alio profecto animo, nec pede alio, conscenderat ille prius montem sacrum, legem a Deo recepturus, quam modo mortem. Par illi visum est utrumque, vocante, quicum ambulaverat, Domino.

Fidelis vero in Deum repositionis certæque fiduciæ successum nemo Christianus senserit, quin illico gratam beneficiorum Dei recognitionem vovendam ipsi retribuendamque censuerit. Ex altari, igitur, puri cordis, merito quidem offert Deo sanctus quisque juge sacrificium laudis. Recens quisque beneficentiæ sensus renovare nobis debet animi gratitudinem ; elicereque novas gratiarum ejaculationes, secretasque læti cordis ad munificum in cœlis benefactorem elevationes. A somno, mane primo, expergiscimur ? quin sublatis in cœlum animo, oculis, manibus, benedicimus Deo nostro ; qui nobis et quietem indulsit, et reddidit lucem ? Discumbimus mensæ, saturive assurgimus ? quin laudamus magnum Mundi Patremfamilias ; qui nobis et cibum et stomachum concesserit ? Ubi jam advesperascit, lectulo decumbimus ? quin celebramus summam Dei benignitatem ; qui præteritum nobis diem faustum præstiterit ? Eximus tantillum, prospicimusque vastum cœli fornicem nos a longe ambientem, immensumque pavimentum terræ pedibus nostris protensum ? quin potentiam sapientiamque illius, qui molem tam stupendam fabricaverit, veneramur ? Peregrinus profecto est, cum Deo, tum ipsi sibi, qui non omnem arripit ansam laudandi Creatoris sui Redemptorisque ; parumque senserit sibi animum novæ cujusque beneficentiæ radiis incalescere.

Denique, ubi omnia quæ perceperimus beneficia divinæ munificentiæ accepta lubenter retulerimus, illud unum restat ad sacram hanc familiaritatis stationem plene perficiendam ; ut bonis quibusque receptis in Deo fruamur, Deoque in bonis, vice versa ; non autem bonis in se : quæ, dum in ipsis mens tota acquiescit, naturam suam mutant illico, bonitatemque priorem prorsus abdicant. Ecce modo, quantum renatus homo Epicureum quodque sensuum mancipium, præcellit : hic nempe, non ultra meram respiciens creaturam, uti totus est caro, rebus in se solis, non sine angusta quadam incertaque voluptate, perfruitur ; ideoque, ubi prospere succedunt omnia, falsa delectatione delinitur forte nimis : verso demum fortunæ pollice, malis obruitur miser. Nimi-

rum, quî potest ullam sibi certitudinem polliceri, qui rebus innititur incertis caducisque? Ille vero, qui mundo utitur fruiturque Deo, nec prosperis efferri, nec dejici adversis, unquam potest: siquidem Deus suus sibi semper similis sit, supraque modum transcendat illud, quicquid fuerit, quod creatura vel infligere potest vel impertire. Magnus proculdubio vir erat, suo ævo, Henochus; et, prout tunc ferebant tempora, nobilis, dives, potens: sed et ille edebat, bibebat, dormiebat, relaxabat animum vicissim, conjugalique societate modeste usus erat, prout solebant alii. Neque tamen efficere potuerunt hæc omnia, quo minus ambularet Henochus cum Deo: nimirum, ita se ille rebus hujusce seculi commodavit, ut in illis interea Deo suo frueretur.

Ut paucis ergo rem contraham: si jus nostrum ad Deum, in Deo, stabilierimus; si mutuis illum exceperimus alloquiis; si in dubiis omnibus consuluerimus; si sollicitaverimus precibus assiduis; si in illum fidenter recubuerimus; si beneficia ipsius universa grato animo recoluerimus; si, denique, ipso in bonis quibuscunque fructi fuerimus; sancta quadam familiaritate Deo nostro conversabimur, atque ita cum ipso ambulabimus.

Ultima sequitur statio, quæ motu absolvitur. Ambulare enim, quid, nisi moveri est? Neque vero dicitur Henochum Deo adstitisse, assedisseve; sed cum Deo ambulasse. Certe igitur motu quodam continuo exercebatur Henochus. Sane vero Peripatetici sunt fideles quique. Quæ ipsis via est? non alia quam mandatorum Dei. Qui gressus? non alii quam actus obedientiæ.

Ἔπος εἰπεῖν, Externa omnis cœlicæ hujus ambulationis motio in actione consistit. Quæ vero illa, nisi boni cujusque a Deo præcepti observatio sedula; malique omnis prohibiti solicita declinatio? Sed et bonum hoc a Deo nobis injunctum, et pietatis officia, et justitiæ insuper charitatisque, ac in vocationibus nostris diligentiæ, exercitia complectitur.

Scilicet agendum nobis Christianis est, non speculandum. Quæ hactenus percurrimus sancti hujusce ambulacri stadia, cognitio Deitatis, præsentiæ agnitio, offensæ metus, studium approbationis, appropriatio quædam Dei, colloquium, consultatio, petitio, fiducia, beneficiorum recognitio, ac Dei denique fruitio, ejusmodi sunt, quæ, quoniam et intimo profitentis sensu solo judicentur, et voce externa facillime exprimi ac venditari possint, non raro nec vero difficulter simulari solent. Arrogant sibi vulgo pias hasce dispositiones hypocritæ illi, qui actionibus interea suis haud ægre discerni sese patiuntur. *Ex fructibus cognoscetis eos*, inquit

Christus: non ex cortice quidem professionis externæ; non ex verborum foliis; sed ex fructibus solis ferendum de arboribus hisce judicium; non nostrum modo, sed et Supremi illius Rerum Arbitri, pro tribunali novissimo. Coram hominibus et Deo silent verba, facta loquuntur, imo clamant. Justus ille Paterfamilias neminem ferre potest desidiosum et inertem. Iracunda erat illa olim expostulatio, *Quid statis toto die otiosi?* Movendæ sunt manus, pedes movendi; nisi cum Deo nolumus ambulare.

Praxis vero hæc ambulatoria, non modo immediata, quibus Deum colimus, officia; sed et opera vocationum nostrarum complectitur. Etenim, ut bonarum illarum dispositionum, quas modo transegimus, ratione, semper conversamur Deo, neque unquam ab ipso nos abesse sinimus; ita aliquando quodam intimiore, ut ita loqui fas sit, modo, illi sistimur et cum ipso agimus: ubi propriis cultus divini exercitiis toti occupamur; precatione nempe solenni, verbi sacrosancti auditione lectioneque, sacramentorum communicatione, ac jugi meditatione, denique; in quorum quidem singulis, quilibet vere Christianus et frequentissime et devotissime versari et solet et debet. Alibi semper cœlum in nobis est; atqui, ista dum fiunt, nos in cœlo sumus. Nemo vero interea cogitet, dum necessaria quæque vocationis nostræ munia soliciti obimus, abesse nos tantillum a Deo, parumque cum ipso, tunc temporis, ambulare: vana sunt hæc cerebrosorum hominum deliria. Apage imaginarias hasce inter nos et Deum inimicitias: non ita nobis profecto inter nos disconvenit, quin ut, eadem opera, utrisque vacare liceat. Si negotiis quibusque secularibus necessario renunciandum illi fuerit, qui Deo servire voluerit; quin totus orbis unum fit monasterium? qui in Euchitarum[d] hæresin ruimus omnes boni? Dic mihi, sancte Paule, quid tibi cum consuendis tentoriis, si pellibus una operam dare non potueris et Deo? Ubi estis, Monachi sanctiores prisci ævi, qui, labore manuum vultusque sudore, victum comparastis; cumque votis opera, suis vicibus, commutanda censuistis? Certe non est quod pietas nos faciat negligentes; aut vero frugalis diligentia, impios: debitus Deo cultus, vocationisque

[d] [This sect is said to have taken its rise in the fourth century, and its name from εὔχη, to signify their habit of prayer pursued to the abandonment of all other duties. Mosheim identifies it with the Massalians of the twelfth century, deriving the name of the latter from what he takes to be the Hebrew equivalent מָשָׁל, but this latter word never, so far as I know, signifies *prayer*, but *similitude, parable, proverb, maxim.*]

nostræ cura, ita non possunt non consistere, ut nisi horum utrique incubuerimus, cum Deo ambulare nequierimus. Vix finita est illa farrago officiorum, quæ charitas et justitia a nobis exposcunt: nolo Decalogi analysin ullam instituere: a suis ista classibus petenda sunt: illud modo monuerim, omnia quæ in illa Lege uspiam occurrunt virtutum exercitamenta, totidem esse in sacro hoc stadio, seu passus, seu vestigia; quæ, suo quidem tempore ac loco, metiri tenetur quisquis ambulat cum Deo.

Universalem hanc sanctæ obedientiæ praxin assiduam, necessario comitabitur solicita quædam, mali omnis, quod tanto Numini displicere possit, declinatio. Quisquis, ergo, cum Deo velit ambulare, fœdus secum facultatibusque suis omnibus et ineat oportet, et renovet jugiter, se nihil admissurum unquam, quod Deo suo offensam præbeat: cum mente quidem, nihil quicquam se cogitaturum mali; cum voluntate, se malo nulli assensurum unquam; cum sensibus, se nihil uspiam mali animo intromissuros: breviter, omnes et animæ potentiæ et partes corporis, districtissimæ obedientiæ legibus una coercendæ sunt. Quod si demum, post vigilantissimam cordis viarumque nostrarum custodiam, obtigerit aliquando, nos, sive tentationis impetu, sive impotenti quadam naturæ nostræ perfidia, in peccatum abreptum iri; sequetur illico irrequietum studium conatusque, redintegrandæ sanctitatis, Deique redipiscendi: neque unquam acquiescet animus, donec, vera festinaque pœnitentia suavissimum divini favoris sensum recuperaverit. Frustra quidem sperabimus, sic ambulare cum Deo ut parum peccemus. Resipiscentiæ nostræ fuerit, infecta quasi reddere quæ fecimus male; offensasque nostras ita penitus abolere, ut non omnino fuisse videantur.

Atque hæc sancti hujusce motus pars quasi exterior est. Est illi quiddam adhuc magis Intrinsecum, quodque, animæ loco, praxin hanc totam quasi actuat movetque.

Illud vero est divina quædam animæ dispositio, quæ efficit, ut, primo in loco, nos nostrasque actiones quaslibet ad Deum sincere referamus; ad solam ipsius gloriam, simplici semper oculo, collimantes: quod si nostra seu dignitas, seu utilitas, voluptasve sese aliquando interposuerit, operamque nostram flagitaverit; per hæc tamen omnia citraque, prospiciamus finem illum supremum, cui ista merito subordinari gestiunt.

Secundo, ut dedamus nos totos Deo, nostraque universa, ad ipsius solius arbitrium, seu stare seu cadere paratissimi: susque

deque habentes humanum diem[e]; donec præstitutum mutationi nostræ tempus advenerit, patienter fideliterque expectantes.

Tertio, ut pleniorem Dei fruitionem, perfectioremque cum ipso conjunctionem, vehementer usque sitiamus: neque vero possibile est, ut quis semel gustaverit quam suavis sit Dominus, quin et flagrantissimo insuper proprioris cum ipso unitionis desiderio teneatur.

Atque hæc quidem summa sit eorum, in quibus consistit omnis nostra cum Deo ambulatio; præsentiæ, nimirum, familiaritatis, motus.

Restat adhuc modus ratioque sancti hujus itineris peragendi. Requiritur nempe, nisi frustra pedes movere velle videamur, ut cum Deo nostro, *unice, recta, alacriter, constanterque* ambulemus.

Unice, imprimis; socium admittentes præterea neminem. Ingerit se quidem mundus satis importune, comitatusque istius honorem ambitiose efflagitat; nequit vero tolerare hoc Deus. Licet quidem illi, bona cum Dei venia, nos uti a tergo sequatur, pro more servi: nobiscum ut sodalis instar obambulet, parum licebit unquam. Fatuitas nostra fortasse non inutile judicaverit, utrumque sibi comitem adjungere, et Deum et seculum: dedignatur vero hoc merito Deus; cui odio est mundi hujusce malignitas universa. Boni autem siquid mundo forsan inest, licebit nobis illo sic uti, ut non fruamur; imo, sic uti, quasi non utamur interim. Audite, igitur, quicunque seculi hujus sive clientes sive comites indivulsi et esse et vocari mavultis; reclamastis interea Deo; qui mammonis societatem æque fastidiose respuit ac vestram.

Recta; non pede claudicantes; non errantes de via: etenim, si æquos cum Deo passus metiri possemus, misere interea claudicantes, (quod tamen prorsus impossibile est,) ejusmodi certe comitatus ignominiam Deus jure bono abominatur. Indignabunda erat illa olim Eliæ cum Israelitis expostulatio; *Usquequo claudicatis vos in cogitationes duas?* 1 Reg. xviii. 21. Absque honesta probi cordis sinceritate, frustra quis cum Deo ambulare speraverit. Neque vero cum ipso ambulare possumus, nisi et semitæ nostræ non minus rectæ sint, quam pedes: nullam sane, nisi rectam viam, incedere potest Deus; nos si devia sectari malumus, ambulamus soli. Omnes quidem justitiæ calles, recta quadam linea,

[e] In Decade vi. Epistle v. the reader will find the same use of the phrase, which the bishop has here employed, [the same probably as *ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας*, 1 Cor. iv. 3:] "we pass very little to be judged of them, or of man's day;" meaning, doubtless, of man's judgment. —PRATT.

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tendunt ad cœlum; ubi peccatorum semitæ curvæ sunt et anfractuosæ, perque mille cæcos viarum meandros ad mortis usque cubicula tandem deducunt: utriusque profecto viæ, ita sibi prorsus adversæ, nunquam convenire, nedum intersecare, poterunt. Non potest non fieri, quin ut optimi cujusque pedes dilabantur aliquando, declinentque tantillum a sacro hoc tramite; qui tamen illico recòlligit sese, priorem*que* stationem recuperat, et, sancta quadam indignatione percitus, ex hoc lapsu melioresc*it*: quod si quis sit, cujus vestigia continuo incessu callem sibi in noto quovis peccato triverint, perduraverintque; is se cum Diabolo, humani generis hoste, ambulare noverit.

Alacriter. Neque vero expedit, ut tristi quis corde ac vultu ambulet cum omnis Consolationis Deo, quasi ægra quadam angariatione impulsus: neque potest fieri, ut ejusmodi comitis præsentia non animos nobis indat, addat, excitet. Illud est, quod sæpe jubet Apostolus, *πάντοτε χαίρειν*, *In Domino lætari semper*, Et certe, si quis rem æque perpenderit, ecquis mortalium est, cui par lætitiæ causa possit oboriri, ac vere Christiano? qui Deum sibi cernit comitem, viam salutarem, finem gloriosum? cui Pater Deus, Redemptor Christus, Consolator Spiritus, ministri angeli, mundus mancipium, cœlum patrimonium? cui hostes benefici sunt, mala medicinæ, mors denique lucrum? Sunt quædam animi dispositiones, pro varia etiam humorum temperie, aliis hebetiores, naturalique cuidam mœstitiæ magis obnoxiæ: sed et istæ, ubi valere cœperit gratia, Deo leniter saltem arrideant oportet, quantumlibet se tristes torvasque habuerint seculo. *Eleva super nos*, inquit Psaltes, *O Domine, lucem vultus tui. Dedisti mihi inde plus gaudii, quam illis a tempore frumenti vinique multiplicati obtigerit.* En messis, en vindemia cujusque fidelis; solatium illud certissmum, quod a divini favoris lumine exoriri solet.

Constanter denique; Neque enim intermitti debet ambulatio hæc, sed ita indesinenter continuari, ut a virtute in virtutem usque procedamus, donec tandem coram Deo in cœlesti Sione fœliciter comparuerimus. Odit nempe Deus matutinos quosque rores pietatis; illaque nimis violenta devotionis initia, quæ, furiosi cujusdam zeli œstro perciti, fecerunt quidam, statim postmodo desituri. Non est aut Saulus, aut Herodes, aut Judas quispiam, quin cum Deo, aliquot saltem passibus, ambulaverit, perdideritque operam. Perpetuus quidam sanctorum affectuum ardor ille est, qui aut Deo gratus, aut nobis esse potest salutaris: *Oculi mei ad Dominum semper*, inquit Propheta Regius; Ps. XXV. 15: *semper*,

absque diversione, absque intermissione ulla. Quod si intervenerit forte tentatio aliqua, beatificique hujus objecti adspectum pro tempore interceperit: eclipsis tamen illa non ita vel universalis est, ut totam Dei faciem a nobis prorsus abscondat; vel ita obscura, ut toto nos privet ipsius lumine; vel ita demum diuturna, ut causam nobis ullam præbeat, de præsentaneo luminis pristini reditu quicquam dubitandi. Etiam dum nictare solemus, cernimus tamen; neque, dum vel somno distringimur, vel phantasmate aliquo illudimur, virtutis ullius titulum deposuimus. Vidimus zelotas quosdam præcociores, qui adeo animose strenueque quadamtenus ambulaverint, ac cæteros omnes in hoc stadio facile præcursuri; quorum affectus ubi tempore ac tentatione paululum deferbuerint, remiserunt illi statim hunc impetum; et, languida post se crura ægerrime trahentes, sociis longe a tergo fuerunt derelicti. Paulina quidem virgula excitandi sunt hi scilicet: *Cucurristis bene; quis impediit.* Raro admodum constans ac durabilis est nimia studii cujusvis vehementia; quinimmo, in pigra quadam tarditate ac ignominiosa lassitudine vulgo desinit. Ut indefessa nobis semper est Dei benignitas; ita nostra qualiscunque bonitas fallit plane, nisi fatigari nesciat.

Sic nunc se habet nostra cum Deo ambulatio, cum quoad rem, tum quoad modum. Quippini modo putem solam divinæ hujusce conversationis mentionem lectoris cujusque pectus accendisse fervido quodam desiderio, et tam sacræ provinciæ obeundæ, et acquirendæ tam certæ felicitatis? Certe formæ hujus sive pretium sive elegantia nemine indiget parario, aut licitatore: ipsa una sufficit attrahendis omnium oculis, omnium pectoribus inflammandis. Quoniam tamen, quod suis olim discipulis Christus, *πνεῦμα πρόθυμον, σὰρξ ἀσθενής*; non abs re quidem fuerit, paucula quædam illicii loco, adtexere, quibus ad cœlestem hanc vitæ instituendæ rationem excitemur.

Illud vero imprimis seri o pensitemus, ambulationem hanc cum Deo, præter intrinsecam ipsi virtutem bonitatemque, quæ exacuendis quibusque affectibus abunde sufficit, maximo nobis honori esse.

Etiam inter principum famulos asseclasve numerari non mediocris esse dignitatis arbitramur; familiari autem modo cum magnatum quopiam incedere, eximium quiddam videtur, dignumque elatiore supercilio: quantum igitur, quamque supra modum honorificum fuerit, cum magno Terræ ac Cœli Rege ac Domino, sociali quodam consortio, jugiter ambulare! Privilegio quidem illud

non vulgari erat duodecim Apostolis, selectos fuisse e reliquo orbe, Christi domesticos, qui ipsum, in humili hac servilique conditione, quaqua in terris iret, usque sectarentur: majus tamen quiddam illud erat, Petro, Jacobo, Joanni, e consociorum reliquis evocari, qui cum Domino suo montem Taborem conscenderent, divinæ ipsius transfigurationis testes, sed et hortum Gethsemani cum ipso demum ingrederentur, tristissimæ etiam agoniæ testes insuper futuri; non hoc quidem indultum cæteris. Oh, quam sortem omnem humanam longe exuperans, prærogativa nobis obtingit, qui, e mundo, potentissima Dei gratia, eximimur ut Omnipotentem et Gloriosissimum Cœli Creatorem ac Dominum semper comitemur! Quod illis centum quadraginta quatuor millibus sanctorum, redemptorum a terra, Deique nomine inscriptorum, summæ præeminentiæ loco, concessum est, *Sequi Agnum quacunque demum proficisceritur*, nostrum plane est, ni nobis ipsi defuerimus: nempe nos cum Agno Dei Jesu Christo, cum Patre ipsius Coæterno, cum Spiritu ejus Sanctissimo indesinenter ambulamus. Quid nos nunc cum bestiis versari malumus, homines miselli, quibus optio liberrime facta est ambulandi cum Deo?

Neque vero plus est in ambulatione ista honoris, quam solatii.

Tristis res est solitudo. *Væ soli*, inquit concionator maximus. Est tamen, ubi et societas (qui nobis obvenire possunt comites) displiceat magis. In sodalem incidisse honestum, alacrem, disertum, non minimi beneficii loco haberi solet: contrahit hic talis nobis viam, laboremque minuit. Quam ergo jucundum nobis fuerit, cum illo semper versari, cui titulus est Consolator! Certe, nisi foret ipsi inexhausta consolationis certissimæ copia; nisi nulla, præterquam ab ipso, dimanare posset vera consolatio; parum illi competere posset is, quem sibi soli meritissimo vindicat, stylus Paracleti. Etiam illa qualiacunque solamina, quæ vel a naturali ratiocinatione, vel a resolutione quadam morali oriuntur, non alia sunt, quam communes[f] quædam Consolatorii hujusce Spiritus influxus; sine cujus inoperatione, pectus nullum solido quidem gaudio ullo incalescere potest. Qui cum seculo ambulat, quam miseras sibi affingit vanæ consolationis rationes! Plaudit hic sibi domi, dicitque apud se; "Attamen robustum mihi corpus est, firma valetudo:" alter; "Illæsa mihi fama est, et non vulgaris inter meos existimatio:" alius; "Est mihi magnus quidam in aula amicus ac patronus:" alius, denique; "Sat mihi domi nummo-

[f] [Read *quidam* or omit "quædam."]

rum est." At, at, ubi atra calamitatis dies advenerit, quid tandem fit hisce omnibus? *Miserrimi consolatores estis vos omnes,* inquiet prægravata dolore anima; cogeturque demum sero forte nimis fateri, nullum verum quidem solatium, nisi a miserationum omnium Patre Consolationisque omnis Deo, posse unquam sperari: quicum ubi ambulare didicerimus, hilares canemus, cum regio pastore Israelis; *Dominus mihi Pastor: nullius rei indigebo. In florentibus pascuis accubare me faciet, perque aquas quietas ducet;* Ps. xxiii. 1, 2.

Neque plus honoris solatiique ambulationi huic inest, quam certi etiam tutaminis.

Quanta quamque secura est ejusmodi comitis protectio! *Quisque in secreto Altissimi habitaverit, sub umbra Omnipotentis commorabitur;* Ps. xci. 1. Quicunque es, qui cum Deo ambulas, dicisque Domino, *Spes mea, mea munitio; liberabit ille te a laqueo venatoris, a peste contritionum. Alis suis obumbrabit te, et sub pennis ejus sperabis: veritas ejus scutum tibi erit et clypeus.* Haud immunis est a periculo, quisquis solus proficiscitur: ubi in foveam ceciderit, jacet impotens; ubi inciderit in latronem, vulneratus spoliatur: comitem nactus, e puteo eripitur, a prædone liberatur. Non possumus certe non cadere, sicubi non ambulamus cum Deo; neque quisquam est qui jacentes erigere possit: non possumus ab inferno illo grassatore non spoliari sauciarique, sicubi cum Deo parum ambulamus; nec quis est qui nos possit tutos conservare. Quod si cum Deo ambulaverimus, aut non cademus quidem, aut non jacebimus: eriget ille nos e peccati fovea, e pulvere mortis. *Si* vero *Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos?* Ringantur tyranni, fremat mundus, frendat Orcus, rugiat Diabolus; nos, sub tali comite, in tuto sumus: cumque illo, qui ursum, leonem, Goliam straverat, cantabimus, *Non timebo a decem millibus, qui circumquaque ambierunt me.* Ps. iii. 6.

Neque plus denique tutelæ istinc oboritur, quam utilitatis.

Ecquod enim boni poterit benignissimus ille Deus, quicum ambulamus, nobis denegare? Nunquid cupis divitias? *Domini est terra, et plenitudo ejus;* Ps. xxiv. 1. *Repones aurum ut pulverem, aurum Ophir instar petræ torrentium;* Job. xxii. 24. Honorem mavis? *Honorantes me honorabo,* inquit Deus. Vis utrumque? *Divitiis et honore saturabo te.* Quicquid lubet vis, denique? *Voluntatem timentium se faciet;* Ps. cxlv. 19. Quid vero deesse potest illi, cui suppetit possessor om-

nium Deus? *Ego sum merces tua magna valde,* inquit Deus Abrahæ. Ecce, qui *αὐτάρκης* est, ipse suis merces; aliam tamen a se mercedem adhuc pollicetur: *Longitudine dierum saturabo eum, et ostendam ei salutem meam;* Ps. xci. 16. En modo felicissima desideriorum omnium periodus. Quanti foret longitudo dierum in hac valle lachrymarum, absque salute deinceps secutura? Scilicet, ambulemus cum Deo in terris, non possumus ab ipso in cœlis separari: ambulemus cum illo istic per justitiæ innocentiæque semitas, ambulabimus cum ipso olim *ἐν λευκοῖς* supercœlestis gloriæ. Cogita jam serio, quisquis ista legis, quam et tutum, et jucundum, et utile demum animæ tuæ fuerit, ubi decubueris jam modo moriturus, nescius an proximum quemque spiritum ultimo exhalaturus sis, vitam respicere præteritam, idque tibi conscire, ambulasse te pridem cum Deo illo, qui te nunc proximiore quodam modo secum versaturum ad se vocat. Non mirum profecto est, si alieni quique ac peregrini de receptione sua haud parum dubitent: tua vero familiaritas prior confidere te nunc jubet; nihilque spectare aliud, nisi gratiæ perfectionem, æternitatem gloriæ.

Recolligamus ista modo summatim. Sane illectamenta hæc, etiam singula, valere apud nos plurimum solent. Certe ea, quibus aliquid honoris indipisci speramus, quanquam nihil, quicquam solatii, tutaminis, beneficii polliceantur interim, audaciore animo aggredimur. Quot se indies bello parum justo, illicitisque prorsus monomachiis, falso honoris prætextu, ingerunt periculosissime; vixque, cum sanguinis membrorumque dispendio, abscedunt denique! Rursus, quæ voluptatem nobis delectationemque afferre posse putamus, quantovis interim cum dedecore, periculo, damno conjuncta, quam avide audacterque suscipimus! Quot ubique sunt, qui libidinis suæ pœnas miserrime luerunt! Sunt et alii, qui tutas incedere vias mavelint; etiam ubi nihil honoris, jucunditatis, beneficii senserint speraverintve. Plures, tamen, utilia quæque prosequuntur, quantumlibet dedecorosa, injucunda, intuta. Jam vero, ubi omnia hæc unanimiter conspirarint, ambulantem cum Deo summe æternumque beatura; qualem nobis vim inferre debent universa, ut, a bestiis hominibusque tandem abrepti, cum Deo vivo ambulare incipiamus! Ita nobis ergo maximus, qui in hominem cadere potest, obtingat honor: ita, summa, cujus anima capax est, delectatio. Ut ita a malis omnibus immunes, bonorum omnium præsentium futurorumque participes, esse velimus, demus operam sedulo, ut cum Deo ambulemus: sicque instituamus animum, ut et rite ipsum

apprehendamus, et perpetuo agnoscamus præsentem; non sine sancto tremore, solicitoque divinæ approbationis studio. Ipsum nobis vera fide appropriemus: cum ipso colloquamur assidue: ipsum in dubiis quibusque consulamus; in necessariis, exoremus: in ipsius providentiam securi recumbamus: beneficia ipsius, grato recolamus animo: in bonis omnibus, ipso fruamur uno. Exerceamus piam quandam sanctæ obedientiæ praxin: cum in sacris quibusque, cultum ejus immediate spectantibus, officiis; tum in vocationis nostræ muniis, obeundis: quicquid ei displicere quovismodo possit, studiose declinantes; festinaque resipiscentia, subinde recuperantes, quem peccando merueramus perdidisse. Ad ipsius gloriam, nos nostrasque actiones sincere referamus. Dedamus nos ipsi nostraque omnia; sive censuræ ergo, sive dispositionis liberrimæ. Pleniorem ipsius fruitionem expetissere nunquam desinamus; sed, et cum ipso ambulemus solo; mundi consortium rejicientes fastidiosus. Progrediamur cum ipso, pede recto, recta via: alacriter denique, constanter, perseveranterque cum Salutis nostræ Deo ambulemus. Ita motus iste Henochi feliciter nos aliquando perducet ad Henochi requiem, gloriam nempe sempiternam. Amen.

REVERENDISSIMO VIRO,

D°. MARCO ANTONIO DE DOMINIS, ARCHIEPISCOPO SPALATENSI[a],

EPISTOLA

DISCESSUS SUI AD ROMAM DISSUASORIA.

*** Mark Anthony de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, [Spalatro] in Dalmatia, was born at Arba, in the Gulf of Quarnero, about the year 1561. He wrote a variety of treatises on philosophical and theological matters, both in the Italian and Latin languages, including several that relate to the subject of the ensuing letter; among the rest, "De Pace Religionis, Epistola ad Josephum Hallum, Archipresb. Vigorn." On his departure from England, the Archbishop was kindly entertained at Rome by Pope Gregory XV.; at whose decease, however, he was thrown into prison, and died soon after, not without suspicion of poison. Some days afterward, his body was disinterred, and, with his work "De Republica Ecclesiastica," burnt, by sentence of the Inquisition.—H.

Noli gravate ferre, Reverendissime Præsul, candidam hanc, et animi et calami, devotissimi tibi utriusque, libertatem. Sane expressit mihi, vel renitenti, verba hæc prius sincerus quidam et religionis zelus, et tui.

Fama est, te discessum a nobis meditari; neque tam loco cedere velle, quam fide.

Strenua profecto suspicione non caret hoc ipsum proficisci. Neque enim cujusquam subire mentem potest, hominem senem velle animi causa peregrinari. Deferbuit, proculdubio, jamdiu juvenilis ille ardor relictas pridem oras curiose revisendi: nec ita crassi sumus insulares, ut credere possimus cœlum te mutare velle, nisi animum prius quadamtenus mutare decrevisses; multo vero minus Septem illos, invisos Cœlo, totiesque tuo fulmine ictos, Colles repetere.

Novimus et nos sat bene ingenium Romæ. Ecquem latere potest, nedum hominem cordatum, quam infida sit illa statio su-

[a] [See an allusion to him in vol. V. Sermon XXII. p. 351.]

perbæ Hierarchiæ expugnatori? Moneat te olim vester Fulgentius, quam nihil ita tutum sit pontificiæ majestatis tantillo violatori; etiam post fidem, si qua famæ fides, sancte datam, post promissa munera, post benignissimæ invitationis blanditias. Viderit tua prudentia, ut te vel propudiosissima palinodia, tactæque, quas dejerasti prius, aræ liberaverint.

O tuam, si, quem modo profiteris, sanus et orthodoxus Romam remeare audeas, miram animi confidentiam, piamque martyrii sitim, dignam stupore nostro, dignam immortalitate! Quin nobis istic liceret et hanc tibi gloriam invidere, et gratulari felicitatem; sed quam te parum provehat ambitio, est quod non immerito timeamus.

Quid, ergo? ægre profecto monuerim, opus esse novas profectionis tuæ rationes exponat reverentia vestra. Quas vero tandem illas? Si ex fassis liceat, uti plebeis semper licuit, conjectari, sanctum quoddam uniendæ Ecclesiæ studium te Romam, discordiæ hujusce sacerrimam sedem, propellit; machinaturum demum aliquid, quo funestissimæ Christiani Orbis lites aliquando sopiantur: ad quod quidem opus instructiorem te aliis omnibus produxisse, visus est ille Pacis Author.

Animus certe quam non desit, memini te alicubi palam profiteri. Alicubi inquis; "A primis clericatus mei annis, in me innatum pene desiderium videndæ unionis omnium Christi Ecclesiarum. Separationem Occidentis ab Oriente, in rebus fidei, Austri ab Aquilone, æquo animo ferre nunquam poteram. Cupiebam anxie tot tantorumque schismatum causam agnoscere ac perspicere; num possit aliqua excogitari via omnes Christi Ecclesias ad veram antiquam unionem componendi. Idque videndi ardebam desiderio; dolore interno animi, ex tot dissidiis inter Christianæ religionis professores, ex odiis acerrimis inter nobilissimas Ecclesias inflammatis, ex tunica Christi fœde scissa et lacerata, concepto, excruciabar. Qui me dolor et nimia tristitia mirum in modum conficiebat, (et indies magis conficit!) indeque ad fervens studium invitabat."

Dignam sane piissimo præsule, lapsoque e cœlis, pacis *φιλοτιμίαν*! Quis non hunc una et animi candorem et ardorem zeli pronus exosculetur? Pereat certe, quisquis est; pereat pessume, qui discerptissimæ Ecclesiæ redintegrationem suo ipsius sanguine redemptam iri noluerit!

Sed parce, si me audis, colendissime præsul, parce huic labori. Novimus nos istic, quid possint humanæ vires. Votis nos una

tecum, si lubet, usque contendemus, ut, Dei beneficio, beet aliquando Christianam rempublicam pax alma; respiciensque ab alto dissipet tandem omnes errorum inimicitiarumque procellas, quibus hodierno die miserrime conflictamur.

Sed mortalium quisquis se hoc effectum dare posse sperat, nimio quam frustra est! Aut enim exuat se prorsus oportet Romana Ecclesia, (quod quis hominum suadere se posse autumet?) aut hoc profecto nullo modo fieri potest.

Non negarim equidem, (dedimus enim et nos strenue, quantum potuimus, operam huic instituto) penes utramque litigantium partem esse sacra pacis limina, quæ aliquanto propius liceret, absque ullo fidei damno, salutare. Nam et leviculæ quædam sunt, quæ tuto liceret alterutrique, si opus foret, indulgere; neque quid impedit, quo minus in tractandarum, quæ necessario obveniunt, controversiarum modo, plus utrinque moderationis Christianæ possit adhiberi. Sed, ut unanimem in summis religionis capitibus (quæ nunc est Romæ indoles) concordiam ineamus, dolens edico, haud minus impossibile est, quam lucem tenebris, Beliali Deum consociari.

Quam infamis audit hodie Johannis Sturmii media, non secus ac lata illa, quæ ad imum usque barathrum deducit, via! Quam vapulat etiamnum bonus ille Cassander; Friciusque; et quisquis moderatioris ingenii theologus pacis ausus est meminisse! Quin et tepidos hæreticis suis connumerandos censuit pridem, nec nemo Gallicanorum patrum, Gualterus. Quis vero te melius novit, quam mordicus olim tenuerunt Tridentini patres vel minimas quasque quisquilias; stipulamque suæ, quam vocant, fidei? quibus orbem Christianum penitus conflagrare maluerunt Romani rerum domini, quam ut tantillum suo qualicunque jure cedere viderentur.

Ecqua nunc spes est, post tot annorum pertinaciam, profusiores veri pontificios charissimis erroribus ultro abrenunciaturos? Nimia profecto fide sit oportet, qui istud crediderit.

Eat nunc quis probus monitor, et suggerat ista, cujus in pectore conclusa delitescit Ecclesia, Pontifici Summo. "Sine me modo suadere tibi, obsecro, Sancte Pater, ut fastuosum hunc papatum, monarchicumque in Ecclesias Dei imperium, abdicare velis. Noli cathedram tuam, quod soles, *ἀναμάρτητον* venditare. Desine tibi, post tam apertam tuorum hominum erubescentiam, arrogare gladium illum alterum potestatis secularis. Cave tui ipsius præcepta divinis æquiparanda censeas edicasque. Insigne illud commentum

transubstantiationis, sacrificii missatici, purgatorii ignis, fatere tandem et exsibila. Noli Ecclesiam Christianam deinceps ludos facere lucrosis indulgentiarum nundinationibus. Jubeas ne sanctorum effigies reliquiæve in idola convertantur." Quid, quæso, aliud a magno Romuli nepote, nisi facem crucemve reportabit?

Quid, ergo? ubi steterit palam errorum parentibus simul et patronis, quidvis aut agere aut pati potius, quam ut a sententia sua, quamlibet impia ac prodigiosa, discedere velint; quid a nobis tandem putat Paternitas vestra, primævæ veritatis asseclis, posse expectari, ut conclamatissimis erroribus dare manus, et plus quam servili jugo Pontificiæ Tyrannidis colla subdere, jam sero animum inducamus? Non ita sane et Deum et hominem exuere possumus, ut hac tam insana lege pacem colere mavelimus. Alterum profecto horum, si quando convenire lubitum, plane necesse est; ut aut illi errare, aut nos recta ire desinamus: illud, ipsi valde nolunt; hoc, Deus.

Quod si, qui olim Cæsari animus fuisse dicitur, non nisi difficillima quæque obeundi, idem hodie sacratum Deo pectus insideat promoveatque; cave tibi, Tyrrhenum mare ingressuro, a Duodecim Scopulis, plebi quidem nautarum forsitan incognitis, tibi vero peritissimo naviculatori exploratissimis. Minitantur illi scilicet exitium non cymbis modo quotidianis, seu onerariis, seu actuariis; sed, ubi eo transfretaveris, sane aut impingat tua navis necesse est, aut subsidat.

Dicam planius; ne te salus ipsa servare poterit, ubi Romam accesseris, quin aut damnatos a te pridem errores, mutata velificatione, revoces resorbeasque; aut damneris vivicomburio. Durum utrumque omen; nec, ulla alia ratione nisi prudenti, quod cautus usque fecisti, profugio, avertendum. Potestne fieri, ut adeo sis prodigus totius tui, horum uti alterutrum tuto placideque vitam istic agenti arrideat? Certa mors imminet utrinque reduci; corporis quidem, si verum fateri audes; si dejerare, animæ.

At, at siquidem animo jampridem discessum a nobis anteverteris, non erit ut de diuturniore aliqua molis extimæ retentione solliciti simus. Nolo ego de te, tanto theologo, mali quicquam opinari. Levis cujusdam inconstantiæ, si te tuum ipsius factum palam alligarit, est quod tibi succenseas.

Dic mihi vero, per Deum immortalem, magne præsul, quid tandem est, quod te nobis, post aliquot annorum moram, jam de subito abripere, Romamque pellicere potuit?

Numquid inhospita tibi visa est gens nostra; minusve, quam forte speraras, virtutibus tuis indultum?

Causari profecto istud non potes; in quem larga benignissimi Regis manus tam ampla, tam opima congessit ultro munera; majora insuper, si foret opus, largitura; quem Aula, Urbs, Academia utraque, plebs denique universa, ita suspicere solita est et venerari! Quin et hæc ipsa, qua jam, Serenissimi Regis beneficio, frueris, discedendi libertas, quam ingenue tecum istic actum fuerit, satis clamitat. Non ea patet ubique nobis plenissima eundi qua lubet, redeundique facultas. Fuere e nostris, quibus Romam vidisse capitale pridem fuit: sunt, qui, ubi sævæ urbis limina infelici pede tetigerint, cesserint illico lictori, jamque septendecim plus minus annos, modo usque superesse licuerit, carcere Inquisitorio crudelissime detenti sunt. Non ita nos tractamus hostes; non perduelles nostros; nedum advenas: æque patent istuc cœlum et terra: pessimeque de Britannia nostra meriti, hospitium nimis hercle benignum sibi pollicentur.

Num tibi ergo parum placuere mores nostri?

Paulo forsan depravatiores solutioresque, quam par est, vivendi rationes. Obrepent certe vel sanctissimo populo sæculi sui vitia; neque nostros omnes immunes venditamus ab illa malorum illuvie, cujus bonos quosque et piget et pudet serio. *Venient scandala;* vetus verbum est Servatoris. Atqui, teipsum appello testem judicemque; quicquid sumus, non adhuc Italiam impietate exæquavimus. Cedemus profecto, non inviti, genti Pontificiæ; neque illi diram hanc inhonestamque palmam invidebimus. Finge nos, si placet, multo adhuc improbiores: justificabit nos tamen Roma, ipsa Delos Pontificii Apollinis, Itali Vice-Dei cœlum; de qua merito, quod olim, dixerit Deus, *Vivo ego, dicit Dominus Deus; quia non fecit Sodoma soror tua, ipsa et filiæ ejus, sicut fecisti tu et filiæ tuæ.* Etiam inter purpuratos Ecclesiæ illius moderatores comperies, a quibus turpissimi inter nostros ganeones facile se victos fatebuntur.

Quid ergo, demum? Num displicet, quam nos istic profitemur, religio?

Absit, absit ut grandævus Antistes, tam eximiis animi dotibus imbutus, recidivam patiatur! Apage mendacem famam! Non possum ego tam iniquis rumusculis aurem præbere: quicquid ogganniat vulgus, nolo ego istoc credere, nolo suspicari.

Quod si quis, tui similis, tam male consulet et suæ et aliorum saluti, eum sic audacter compellare non dubitarem.

Displicetne ergo religio? Non ea nunc primulum innotescit: diu est, ex quo utriusque Ecclesiæ dogmata serio soliciteque pensiculaveris; ac notam a te probe sententiam nostram denique amplexus, solam veritati divinæ consonam orbi propinaveris, veracique calamo palam consignaveris. Ecquod vero nunc novi luminis tibi improviso obortum sic illustravit oculos, ut quæ solertissima viginti fere annorum indagine frustra perquisiveris, clarissime demum cerneres? Res eadem est: tu si sis alius, videris quod te numen mutarit.

Certe qui religionem nostram odio habent plusquam Eteocleo, fatentur nos verum dicere; sed totum non dicere criminantur. Quicquid est positivæ, quam appellant, apud nostros theologiæ, etiam adversariis perplacet. Negationum solummodo quarundam paulo atrociorum graviter accusamur. Nempe, audacem illam impiamque novæ fidei farraginem ferre nec posse nos, nec debere profitemur. Nihil quicquam addimus: nihil immutavimus. Non aut formosior est, quam fuit olim, Romanæ Ecclesiæ facies; aut reformatæ, turpior.

Dic mihi nunc, cur quæ intoleranda tibi primum visa sunt religionis assumenta, placere incipiant? cur, jam sero, primigenia nostræ simplicitatis forma tibi sordescere videatur? Obsecro te, amplissime Domine, immo adjuro per Dominum Jesum Christum, redeas ad cor tuum, velisque animæ tuæ misereri.

Senex nunc es: moneant te cani tui, (flores illi cœmiteriales, qui nunc caput tuum gravi quodam decore obtegunt,) non longe abesse fatalem illum diem, quo tremendo Summi Judicis tribunali sisteris, rationem demutatæ sententiæ redditurus. Cogita jam serio, quid responsi daturus sis illi, illi falli nescio, vivorum mortuorumque arbitro. Quicquid certe fiat cæcæ plebeculæ, cui perfida doctorum tyrannide, cœlestis doctrinæ jubar intercludi solet; fieri non potest, quin ut tu, quem tam insigni eruditione rerumque omnium scientia instruxit Deus, pœnam a veritatis agnitæ prius abnegatæque acerrimo Vindice reportes.

Assurgent contra te, in illo verendo die, scripta tua egregia orthodoxias quondam tuæ monumenta æviterna; testabunturque, et quis olim fueris, et quam solidis rationum nixus firmamentis ad nostras partes accesseris; turpemque tibi lapsum coram Deo et angelis exprobrabunt.

Interim, vero, cœlum et terra nobis attestentur, ecquid sit, in quo nos sacris indubiisque Dei eloquiis non firmissime adhæreamus: ecquid, in quo sanctorum Patrum Conciliorumque au-

thoritate destituamur: ecquid, in quo nos a Romanis discessionem fecerimus; nisi ubi illos a se, a Deo, discessisse constiterit.

O pios salutaresque nostros errores! Ecquis bonus est, qui cum beatis Patribus, cum gloriosis Martyribus, cum sanctissimis Apostolis, cum Deo denique ipso, errare dubitaverit? Aliam profecto semitam qui sibi calcandam eligerit; erret, cadat, pereat, necesse est!

Fige ergo, si sapis, venerande Præsul, fige istic pedem. Mane usque nobiscum; et fruere Deo, fruere Evangelio, fruere suavissima bonæ conscientiæ pace.

Quod si te ista parum moveant, age orna hanc modo, et abripe, quandoquidem ita vis, fugam ab hoc asylo pacis simul et religionis; daque aurem noctuis illis, si quæ sint, Loyoliticis, quæ tibi istæc suaserint olim. *Vivit Dominus*; sera duceris facti pœnitentia; Britanniamque nostram aut nunquam vidisse, aut nunquam dereliquisse, frustra exoptabis. Quod ex animo deprecor,

Reverentiæ vestræ humillime deditissimus,

JOSEPH. HALLUS,

Archipresb. Wigornien.

INURBANITATI PONTIFICIÆ

RESPONSIO JOSEPHI EXONIENSIS.

AN ANSWER

TO POPE URBAN'S INURBANITY:

EXPRESSED IN A

BRIEF SENT TO LEWIS, THE FRENCH KING,

EXASPERATING HIM AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS OF FRANCE.

WRITTEN IN LATIN BY THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOSEPH, LORD BISHOP OF EXETER,

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY HIS SON, ROBERT HALL, MASTER OF ARTS, IN EXETER COLLEGE, IN OXFORD.

*** The first edition of this piece was printed in 1629, in 4to. In this edition the title-page says, "Translated into English by B. S.;" and the following couplet is given:

"Pardon the faults this English style affords,
"A Child interpreted the Father's words."

The next edition appears to have been that printed in the Second Folio, in 1634: in this the translation is said to be by the Bishop's Son, as expressed above. The translation of the "Answer," and of the "Letter to Dr. Primrose," is, in this edition, a great improvement on that of the 4to.: but the translation of the "Brief" is the same in both editions.—PRATT.

URBANO VIII. PONTIFICI ROMANO,

JOSEPHUS EXONIENSIS

SANAM MENTEM ET CHARITATEM.

Quidni vero Pontificem Maximum compellare ausit minimus Episcoporum? Non peto veniam; nec opus est: prisca utor licentia. Non ita nimium distabat, olim, ab Eugubio Roma; aut Isca meus a Tiberi.

Audi, modo, Pontifex Urbane, quod brevi pro tremendo Christi tribunali pallidus exaudies. Pastorem Christiani gregis parum decent hæ sanguineæ liturræ. Tune, ut ad arma, tristis præco, conclames? Tune, ut Christianos principes, nimio quam plenos cruoris, ad profligationem suorum clademque horrendam acriter instiges? Ideone tibi creditæ Claves, ut ferratas belli portas eburneasque Ditis inferni aperires? Euge, Petri Umbra, numquid hi tibi Malchi videntur, quibus, dum aures præcidere voluisti, levi errore in guttura incidisti? Aut nunquid de quadrupedibus hisce in Gallia stabulantibus dictum tibi pridem cœlitus, "Occide et manduca?" Tune, pacifice Rector Ecclesiæ, ut coruscantes galeas, hastas, gladios loquaris? Qualem vero sonum edere potuisset Lupa tui Romuli, si ista Petri caulam non dedecet truculenta vox?

Conspue quantum lubet, et comminge cineres infelicis Rupellæ, et diffla superbo spiritu conculcatissimum miserrimæ urbis pulverem: recognosce interim paululum, quam non multa transierunt secula, ex quo, hæreditarium Ludovici, jam tui, sceptrum Romæ portas confregerit, comminuerit mœnia, cives dissiparit, præcessoremque tuum, sannis dirisque onustum, cæco carcere mulctarit.

Sed neque tot deinceps excurrent anni, nisi me præsaga futuri mens nimium fefellerit, antequam *cecidisse Babylonem*, et clama-

bit Angelus, et gratulabundus orbis obstupescet. Tuæ erunt aliquando hæ vices, urbium perditissima. *Felicem sane illum, qui paria tibi quæque retulerit, quique parvulorum tuorum capita saxis identidem illiserit.*

Fruere tu, interea, miseriis hisce nostris, arride lacrymis, exhilarare suspiriis, ejulatibus accine, applaude cruciatibus: est, qui de cœlo suo prospicit, Justus Ultor; cujus nos una et exosculamur virgam, et inhiamus vindictæ.

Causam tu nostram age, o Deus; imo, tuam, tuam solius. Quidni te provocet Arbitrum audax innocentia? Si quid uspiam est in toto hoc Sacrosanctæ quam profitemur hactenus Religionis negotio, quod ex humani cerebri impurissimo fonte prodierit, pereat sane nobiscum; pereat penitissime, et ad inferos suos merito relegetur: quod, si nos nihil unquam Christiano orbi propinare ausi, nisi quod tu prophetis tuis Apostolisque inspiraveris, perque illos (fallere nescios) amanuenses populo tuo fidelissime traditum volueris; scilicet quin aut nos tecum felicissime erramus, o Deus Veritatis, aut tu nobiscum æternam hanc et unice Evangelicam religionem tueris.

Fallimur, vero, miselli! pietas est, ilicet, quam nos crudelitatis insimulamus. Zelus est Domus Dei, quo, bonus Pontifex, ita totus accenderis; ut hæreticorum ad unum omnium in Gallia stabulantium extirpationem et optaveris et suaseris importunius!

O frontem! O viscera! Deum, Angelos, Sanctos, testes appellamus hujus tam atrocis contumeliæ. Nempe, quos tu hæreseos stigmate falso inuris, audies demum ubi Ecclesia filios, Christus membra salutaverit.

Ecquid enim, per Deum immortalem, docemus nos, quod non Scriptura, non Concilia, non Patres, non Ecclesiæ, Cathedræque Christianæ unanimiter semper tenuerunt? Nimirum, quæ nos profitemur, vestri ipsorum probatissimi authores tenent universa.

Quid, ergo, rei est? Sunt revera quædam nupera opinionum assumenta, quæ vos avitæ fidei superadjecta voluistis: ista nos piissime rejicimus, et constanter usque recusamus. Humana sunt: vestra sunt: denique, aut dubia sunt, aut iniqua. Ideone vero ut Christianæ animæ ex Ecclesiæ gremio ejiceremur? ut ferro flammisque absumendi traderemur illico? ut in barathrum Diaboli, fulmine Anathematis devoluti, arderemus æternum? Ideone belluis et stabulum paratur et laniena?

Justitiam, Deus Bone, et misericordiam pontificiam! mera hæc temporis injuria est: non fuit ea olim hæresis, quæ nunc est. Si priscis Ecclesiæ temporibus nasci nobis contigisset, antequam Pri-

matus iste Romanus, Iconolatria, Transubstantiatio, Sacrificium Missaticum, Purgatorium, Communio sive Singularis sive Dimidiata, Indulgentiarum Nundinatio, et hujus farinæ reliqua orbi Christiano innotuissent; patuisset, profecto, nobis cœlum, non minus quam cæteris piis simplicioris illius ævi animabus, quæ in vera Christi fide feliciter evolarunt. Jam, vero, in eam nos servatos fuisse mundi senectam, in qua nova quædam suboriretur articulorum soboles, letale nobis erit, neque minore pœna quam perpetuis Gehennæ cruciatibus luendum!

Cogitate hoc, quotquot uspiam terrarum agitis Christiani, quam sit ab omni justitia et charitate alienum, ut nova subinde humano arbitrio creetur fides, priscis seculis inaudita, quæ morti æternæ devoveat incredulos nepotes, quos antiqua veritas cœlo adscivisset. Recentes hi scilicet politicæ religionis apices illi sunt, qui orbem universum, quaqua patet Christi nomen, immane quantum conturbarunt. Hi sunt, qui committunt inter se pacatissimos (absque hoc foret) terræ dominos: scindunt regna; populos distrahunt; dirimunt societates; seditiones fovent; florentissimas regiones vastant; urbes denique opulentissimas in cineres redigunt. Siccine vero fieri oportuit? Putamusne hanc justam funestissimi belli internecionisque causam, pro summi Judicis tribunali, aliquando probatam iri?

Evigilate, Christiani Principes, tuque inprimis, Ludovice Rex, cui ista tam inurbane crudeliterque insusurrata sunt. Evigila demum; et vide quam tibi, sub prætextu pietatis, dira feritas pessimis modis imponere studuerit. Tui sunt isti, quos ad cædem deposcunt alienigenæ: Christi sunt. Tune vero ut manum gladiumve imbueres illorum sanguine, pro quibus Christus profudit suum? qui suum, pro te ac magno parente tuo, lubentissime prodegerunt?

Audi tu, quæso, qui "Justus," audire soles apud tuos monarcha. Si nos alium a tuo Deum, Christum alium coleremus; si aliud ambiremus Cœlum, si Symbolum aliud, aliud Baptisma, si novam denique aliis innixam fundamentis Ecclesiam profiteremur; esset profecto cur hæreticos, in Gallia stabulantes, flammis ultricibus destinares.

Si quid populus tuus vel a communi Deo sancitum, vel a te legitime institutum violarit, non deprecamur hercle vindictam: vapulent, qui meruerunt: æquum est. Noli, interim, sævire in Dei tui servos, in cives tuos, quos ipsa religio præstat fideles. Noli sinere, ut, propter hesterna quædam planeque superflua humani

ingenii adjectamenta, meramque *ἐθελοθρησκείαν*, pereant ii, qui tuam patrisque tui salutem ac gloriam, summo vitæ suæ discrimine, redimere voluerunt. Sine per te vivant illi, per quos tu modo regnas.

Quod si tui non essent, memento tamen quo te titulo maxime insignire solent tui, Christianos esse; eodem et fonte lotos, et emptos sanguine, et Spiritu renatos; Cœlestis, denique, quicquid vanus intonet furor, Sponsæ filios, Sponsi fratres.

"At errant hi scilicet a Fide:"—Qua tandem? Non Christiana certe, sed Pontificia. Quid vero hoc monstri est! Non damnat hos Christus: damnat Pontifex. Si superesset modo magnus ille tuus Cancellarius Parisiensis, doceret is libere Sorbonam, quod olim fecit, suam, quam non sit penes Pontificem, propositionem aliquam, verbo utar suo, hæreticare. "Atqui Concilium fecit insuper hoc Œcumenicum:"—quodnam vero? Tridentinum. Fallor, si hoc in Galliis obtinere potuerit hactenus, meruerit ve. Consule tuos integerrimæ pridem fidei authores: dicent illi tibi quam iniquum, quam nullum fuerit. Unius erat Pontificis, quicquid a Cœtu illo, multicipiti Romæ mancipio, factum sanctitumve.

Cogita, denique, obsecro, quam non alio in loco sint reformati Pontificiis, quam Pontificii reformatis: atque acriter exprobrari solet hæresis utrinque. Siccine vero agitur apud nos Romanæ Religionis asseclis? Unquamve gladio aut incendio sævitum istic in Fidem Pontificiam? Eccui unquam capitale fuit hoc misere hallucinantis conscientiæ crimen? Est ubi comperies, raro tamen admodum, audacem forte aliquem Sacrificum, legum publicarum contemptorem, seditionis flabellum, pœnam luisse meritissimam: sed meræ religionis causam, fidenter dico, nemo unquam Pontificiorum, aut capite luit aut membro. Quin tu, clementissimi Henrici fili, pariter te geris erga tuos, qui Reformatam religionem innocentissime profitentur? Quin faxis, nemini ut fraudi siet secundum Scripturam Sacram, veterisque Ecclesiæ *πράξιν*, Deum coluisse? Liceat tuis esse vere pios.

Tu vero redi ad te demum, Urbane Pontifex; et recole quam hæc purpuram tuam probe deceat atrox sententia. Non pedum profecto, sed ensem gestarit oportet, qui istud exaraverit: neque piscatorium est hoc rete, sed theatricum et myrmillonicum. *Speciosi pedes evangelizantium pacem*, inquit Propheta: nos hic de te paulo aliter, "Odiosæ manus præconizantium bella." Si qua tibi sors Evangelio Jesu Christi obtigisset, facile sentires pacem

istic sonare omnia, lenitatem, mansuetudinem, concordiam: non nisi ex Inferno missa est dira Erinnys. Ne levissimus quidem mallei sonus exauditur in Templo Dei: tu vero, o Bone, Ecclesiam Dei sanctam impleri vis clangore tubarum, ictibus cædentium, morientium ejulatibus. Audi ergo demum, tu, qui mortalium omnium judicia superbe refugis. Quod olim Robertus noster, sanctus pariter et doctus Lincolniensis Episcopus, præcessori tuo fecisse dicitur, id ego tibi nunc facio. Fas mihi sit indicere tibi verendum Omnipotentis Dei tribunal, pro quo tremens horrensque tibi anima brevi sistetur, sanguinolenti istius consilii rationem redditura. Interim, si valere mavelis, Resipisce.

REVERENDISSIMO IN CHRISTO PATRI, VIRO INCOMPARABILI,

JOSEPHO HALL,

EPISCOPO EXONIENSI,

GILBERTUS PRIMEROSIUS, S.P.D.

Heu, quantum potuit terræ pelagique parari,
Hoc quem civiles fuderunt sanguine dextræ

Gallorum! Sed paci intercedit, inurbanæ frontis homo, Urbanus VIII. Pontifex Romanus; qui,

Exhalans fœdos fœdo de pectore ructus,

bullante diro cruore Bulla, ferocibus minaciis venosa, et sæva adulatione tumente, optimo Regi, sed præpropero ac fervido in Martem ingenio, in fidissimos cives (qui nisi fuissent, non esset ipse) funesta inflat classica; Brevique grandiloquo et cruento, sub Annulo Piscatoris, asperrimam studiis belli gentem iterum in brevia et Syrtes civilis, hoc est, creperi et periculosissimi belli, cerebrosus et imperitus Nauclerus adigit et impingit: nulla Regis, nulla Regionum omnium facile Reginæ,

Quas sol exoriens curru fugiente vaporat,

nulla Religionis majore cura; sed magis, ut Regi et regno anxias et inexplicabiles sollicitudines conficiat; ut humanissimos cives, non in piscatoria Petri navicula,

lentos incurvans gurgite remos,

Evangelici hami felici piscatu ex undoso turbarum civilium salo Piscator Hominum humaniter ducat ad salutem; sed, in Antichristi prætoria navi gubernacula tenens, Bullarum et Brevium enormi harpagone pirata nefarius Christianos inhumaniter prædetur ad cædem: ut, solenni Pontificum Romanorum more, quod in urbium densis vicis a grassatoribus nocturnis fieri amat, belli facem accensam in vicina regna conjiciat; ut, bonis civibus ad eum restinguendum undique discurrentibus, ille impune trahat, rapiat, populetur, fœdet, conculcet omnia; et, ardente Christi Ecclesia, immanissimi Neronis decessoris sui instar, lætificum cum spintriis suis Trojæ pereuntis excidium canat:

sic sua quemque inscribit facies.

Verum,

Ut multos mensesque diesque,
Non tamen ætatem tempestate hac scelerosi
Lætabuntur.

Nam ecce, quam opportune Tu, Præsul Amplissime, cœlestis et infracti pectoris fervente robore, Romanum illum *miserandæ sortis onagrum* in arce Tarpeia stabulantem, et sono intempestivo rudentem styli tui acumine, veluti *clavis et fustibus*, compescis. Tu bestiæ bipedis, e limo et e fimo erepentis, lunata cornua elegantis libelli malleo retundis. Tu rufo Draconi

Ære ciere viros, Martemque accendere cantu

nimis quam bono, incestum et clamosum os suggillas. Tu Papam superbientem, et sublime caput cælo audaci nisu inferentem, cujus ad nutum

Intereunt, labuntur, eunt rursum omnia vorsum,

modestissimo scripto humilitatem et modestiam doces. Tu marculum, qui *duri robora ferri*, in Orthodoxorum perniciem,

Multorum magnis tuditantium ignibu' tundit,

Cyclopum Polyphemo extorques, et pausam tuditandi facere jubes. Tu trepidantia jampridem Babylonis mœnia, a cœnosis magni illius exitialium mendaciorum architecti congesta cæmentariis,

> Qui nihil amplius unquam,
> Quam commune lutum e paleis, cœnumque aceratum
> Rugosi passique senes eadem omnia quærunt,

variorum librorum multis vigiliis feliciter elucubratorum, velut oscillo penduli impetus, hactenus arietasti, vexasti, dissipasti. Tandem, optimæ notæ libello, non ad ostentationem sed ad utilitatem composito, et mitissima responsione, sulphureas omnium calamitatum fornaces, quas Nebuchadnetsar Romanus adversus Christi Confessores immitissimo edicto accendi jubet, pro virili tua parte a Christi Ecclesia prohibes et depellis. Tu leonum famelicorum dentes, quos indomitæ illius belluæ consiliarii atque administri in Danieles nostros exacuunt, Verbi Divini forfice comprehendis, concutis, et confringis.

> Quos ille indocilis pacisque bonique,

omnium malorum Fecialis et Pater Patratus, principes rerum potentes in arma feralia exequiali et tragico carmine movet et protrudit; tu, pacis æternæ præco, ab armis discordibus revocas; et ad piam Christi pacem, Christianæque Charitatis tranquillum portum fortiter occupandum, suavissimæ scriptionis dulci et docto celeusmate. Fidus celeustes provocas.

Frustra omnia, illum si spectes, qui,

> Nequam et magnus homo, laniorum immane canes ut,

distento et fulmineo rictu Christianorum sanguini inhiat, cuique cibus cadavera, potus cruor est: quibus, dum se ingurgitat, toto orbe Christiano tristibus ululante plangoribus, ille lætis ululat triumphis, *Io Pœan, Io Triumphe*, nobis obganniens, velut

> Gallinaceu' cum victor se gallus honeste
> Sustulit in digitos, primoresque erigit ungues,

Coquelico canora voce in fimeto occinit. Ut illa meretrix purpurata, Martyrum sanguine ebria, quæ reges, quos philtris suis intoxicavit, Bullarum aculeatarum majoribus stimulis in cruda adversum Christum prælia suscitat; ut ille desperatæ salutis homo, peccati et perditionis Filius, tuum illud "Resipisce" discat, spes nulla superest.

Nam si Tu hos fluctus undasque e gurgite salso
Tollere decreris, ventum prius hæmaticum Tu,
Ventum, inquam, tollas.

Illi enim neque est cor quo paveat, neque jecur quo amet, neque fel quo sibi irascatur, neque frons qua erubescat. Illi Ganeæ, illis ingluviosis quibus cingitur raso capite ministris,

. . . . . solis vivere fas est
Occipiti cæco,

et edictis vetare,

ne quisquam hic faxit oletum,

et sacra capita reprehendat.

Nam vos Romulidæ vobis ignoscitis, et quæ
Turpia Cerdoni, Papam sacrosque decebunt
Presbyteros.

At Tu, Antistes dignissime, eos libera ad Urbanum responsione liberas doces audire voces, et ingratiis discere, in Anglia et mutire fas esse, et sine scrobe alta voce exclamare, auriculas asini Papam et Cardinales habere.

Quantum autem ego fideli erga me amicitiæ tuæ debeam, Reverende pater, quod mihi, homini privato, tantus eruditione, pietate, dignitate præsul, Responsionem illam inscribere voluisti; nec rudi calamo exprimere, nec lingua inexplanata expromere, nec impari mente consequi possim: scilicet, ut Episcopum decet, tui semper similis es, id est optimus: honores novos adeptus, veterem amicitiam non deponis; et, magnus licet sis, omniumque bonorum votis minor, ad minima te demittis.

Quod vero electissimum scriptum meo arbitrio stare aut cadere, prodire aut latere, maligna ignis flamma extingui, aut præclara doctorum luce frui, publici juris, aut in mei solius bonis esse jubes; id vero modestiæ est tuæ, quæ, inter multas et claras virtutes, quæ in te maximæ sunt et clarissimæ, in scriptis, in voce, in vultu, in oculis, in composito mentis habitu, in tota vita tua, fulgentibus micat radiis,

. . . . . *velut* inter ignes
Luna minores.

Macte ista morum suavitate, qua, aperto vivens ostio, facta tua omnia ad pietatis et rectæ rationis obrussam exigis. Macte isto viri boni charactere, qui,

> Index[f] ipse sui, totum se explorat ad unguem,
> Quid proceres, vanique ferat quid opinio vulgi,
> Securus.

Teque ipsum semper verens, omnium quotquot te novere, quique tuos in scriptis et nitida oratione pellucentes mores videre, amorem tibi conciliasti. Macte iterum atque iterum præclaræ eruditionis gloria, altissima rerum divinarum et humanarum scientia, literatissimis variarum disciplinarum monumentis, quibus tibi jure merito jucundi et nervosi oratoris, Christiani Senecæ, clarissimi et doctissimi theologi, nomen comparasti;

> Quod vivet seclis innumerabilibus.

Sed age, eat

> Qui dono meus est bonus libellus,
> Qui auro est carior aureus libellus[g]:

Eat pedibus celer, per Alpium æternis horrentium nivibus invias rupes, per Apennini ardua et prærupta juga viam sibi faciat, arcem Sanctangeli velox conscendat: angelo Satanæ, urbi ἑπταλόφῳ, secure procul extra teli jactum incubanti, in faciem narret, esse in Anglia Episcopos haud paucos, qui inhumanæ et infestæ pecori lupæ, sub ovina pelle regibus et populo Christiano Romæ horrendæ lac ferinum immulgenti, personam alienam detrahere; bestiam, ovium sanguinis sitientem, a Christi caulis arcere; Ecclesiæ læta et pura pascua a turpi spumantium aprorum dente, et fœdo lutulentarum suum rostro pura et intemerata conservare; Æsopicam corniculam Petri et Pauli plumis insolescentem furtivis coloribus nudare; cuculi Romani, qui Christianos omnes pro currucis habet, ova in ipso Dei Templo posita pertundere; meretricem Babylonicam, Christiani nominis cerussa et minio fucatam, traducere; et possint, quia doctissimi, et velint, quia integerrimi, et faciant, quia vigilantissimi[h]. Atque, ut odor illa morte in mortem sit, quia "Resipiscere" dedidicit, denunciet ut tota mente atque omnibus artubus contremiscat, appetente jam die illo decretorio, quo ardebit Babylon; meretricis magnæ negotiatores et adulteri omnes lugebunt; Diabolus mundi seductor, Bestia et Pseudopropheta, in stagnum ignis et sulphuris præcipites abi-

[f] "*Judex:*" quarto.—PRATT.

[g] "*Qui auro est nobilior novus libellus:*" quarto.—PRATT.

[h] "Et faciant, quia vigilantissimi," is not in the quarto.—PRATT.

bunt, æternas juste irato Numini pœnas daturi; Filiumque Perditionis

Dignus principio exitus exodiumque sequetur.

Interea temporis, veni, Domine Jesu, veni. Antichristum, se truci in unctos tuos rabie efferentem, comprime. Hostibus tuis, qui asperum paternæ castigationis tuæ vinum nobis plenis cyathis educendum dedere, acinosas et pannosas indignationis tuæ fæces plenis doliis exhauriendas invitis et reluctantibus porrige. *Captivam Sionis Filiam*, ferreo Ægyptiacæ servitutis jugo oppressam, liberali causa manu assere. Ludovici Regis fulgentes hastas, coruscantes enses, arma mortali fulgore crispantia, tormentorum bellicorum horrisona fulmina, in ipsum Pseudoprophetam et lutosos Babylonis muros converte; ut fatidicum vatem, veri nescium, sua sibi mala læva mente vere profatum esse pudeat et pœniteat. Ecclesiis transmarinis solidam pacem, subdolis ereptam astibus, restitue. Damna nos voti: et hanc, qua Major Britannia tuo solius beneficio fruitur, pacem et tranquillitatem nobis fidam, posteris vero nostris perpetuam præsta. Huic autem aureo libello da, ut vivat vigeatque, Antichristo Principum invidiam conflaturus, Ecclesiæ tuæ almam pacem coagmentaturus: ejusque auctori largire Beneficus, ut, vita honestissime et sanctissime in terris acta, cœlo potiatur; ubi tecum

Immortali ævo summa cum pace fruatur.

AMEN.

A BRIEF

OF POPE URBAN THE EIGHTH,

SENT TO LEWIS, THE FRENCH KING, UPON THE TAKING OF ROCHELLE.

OUR most dear son in Christ, we send you greeting and apostolical benediction. The voice of rejoicing and salvation is in the tabernacles of the righteous: let the wicked see this, and fret; and let the synagogue of Satan consume away. The most Christian king fighteth for religion: the Lord of Hosts fighteth for the king. We verily, in this mother-city of the world, triumph with holy joy: we congratulate this your majesty's victory, the trophies whereof are erected in heaven, the glory whereof the generation that is to come shall never cease to speak

of. Now, at the length, this age hath seen the tower of Rochelle, no less impregnable by the obstinacy of treachery than strength of nature, surrendered to the king and St. Peter. Neither is any so foolish as to ascribe this glorious victory rather to happiness than to virtue. By your long siege of many months, you have taught us that Europe oweth your French legions no less commendation for their constancy than for their expedition. Your army, going clear away with the victory over your enemies, by slighting all dangers and enduring all hardness, devoteth their life unto you, and promiseth you an absolute triumph of conquered heresy. The waters of the ocean made a noise and were troubled, fighting for the besieged rebels. They made choice of death rather than a surrender; undermining treachery approaching even to your majesty's tents. Hell all opened her mouth; vomiting out troops of mischiefs and dangers, to the end so rich a fort might not be taken away from their impiety. The Lord stood on thy right hand: thou hast not only overcome the forces of thine enemies, but thou wert able also to put a bridle upon the ocean aiding them. Let us all give thanks to Almighty God, who hath delivered thee from the contradictions of the unbelieving people. Howbeit, sith you are not ignorant with what care the fruits of victories ought to be preserved, lest they perish; there is no doubt, but that in a short time all the remainder of the heretics that have got stable-room in the French vineyard shall by you be utterly discomfited. The Church desireth that this diadem of perfect renown be put upon that helmet of salvation, wherewith the Lord, mighty in battle, seemeth to cover the head of your majesty. For we believe, shortly, that all tumults being appeased in France, the glistering ensign of Lewis the Conqueror shall shine to the captive daughter of Sion, rehearsing the French trophies, and beholding the brightness of your lightning lance. God, who performeth the desire of them that fear him, prosper our desires, and the prayers of the Catholic Church! Our Nuncio, who was an eyewitness of your princely glory in your tents, will be a faithful interpreter of our Pontifical gratulation to your majesty, on whom we most lovingly bestow our apostolical benediction.

Given at Rome, at St. Mary the Greater, under the Seal of the Fisher, the eight and twentieth day of November, in the year of our Lord 1628, and the sixth year of our Pontificate.

TO MY MUCH RESPECTED FRIEND,

MR. DOCTOR PRIMROSE,.

PASTOR OF THE FRENCH CHURCH IN LONDON, AND CHAPLAIN TO HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

Sir:

Our friend Mr. Tourvall, a Frenchman, showed me, erewhile, a Latin printed epistle of Pope Urban; written, as their manner is, in a swelling and bloody style; and lately sent to Lewis, the French king: wherein, after the good Pope had loudly chaunted forth a song of triumph for his majesty's victory over Rochelle, abundantly congratulating both the king and nation, he thence proceeds, in most barbarous manner, to that bloody word, Παῖε, βάλλε, "Smite, cast down;" earnestly urging and enforcing the utter extirpation of all the heretics, as he calls them, stabling in France. When I had read it, I could not contain myself, but must suddenly vent mine indignation in these few lines. I take up pen in hand, therefore, and do not meditate, but pour forth this answer. Such as it is, receive it, reverend Sir, and peruse it; and, at your discretion, give it either light or fire. Farewell,

From your friend,

JOS. EXON.

TO POPE URBAN THE EIGHTH,

JOSEPH, BISHOP OF EXETER,

WISHETH RIGHT WITS AND CHARITY.

Why may not the meanest bishop be bold to expostulate with a pope? I crave no leave, neither need I; I take our ancient liberty. I wis there was no such distance, of old, betwixt Roman and Eugubium; or between my Exe and the channel of Tiber.

Hear now, therefore, pope Urban, that which ere long thou shalt hear with horror and confusion of face before that dreadful tribunal of Christ. These bloody blots of thine little beseem the shepherd of a Christian flock. What! is it for thee, like a grim herald, to give the summons to war? Is it for thee to excite Christian princes, already too much gorged with blood, to the profligation and fearful slaughter of their own subjects? Were the keys for this cause committed to thy charge, that thou shouldest open the iron gates of war and the pale gates of death? Tell me, thou shadow of St. Peter, didst thou take these French protestants for Malchus, whose ears while thou wouldest have cut off, thy sword, by a light mistake, glanced upon their throats? Or was it lately voiced to thee from heaven concerning these wretched animals stabling in France, "Arise, pope Urban, kill and eat?" Art thou the pilot of the Church's peace, and talkest of nothing but glittering helmets, swords and spears, instruments of war and bloodshed? What noise could the howling of the she-wolf of thy Romulus have made, if this direful note of thine become the belwether of St. Peter's fold.

Well, since thou wilt bespawl, bedribble the ashes of unhappy Rochelle, and scatter with thy disdainful breath the despised dust of that forlorn city: yet, withal, call to mind a little, how not many ages are past, since the time was, that the hereditary sceptre of this, thy now, Lewis broke open the gates of Rome, demolished the walls, dispersed and slew the inhabitants, and shut up thy great predecessor, laden with bitter scoffs and execrations, in his blind dungeon.

Neither shall many years run on again, unless my presaging thoughts too much deceive me, before the angel shall shout forth, and the amazed world shall congratulate the fall of thy Babylon. Rochelle's case shall ere long be thine own, O thou most accursed city. *Blessed shall he be that rewardeth thee, as thou hast rewarded us; yea, happy he that shall take thy little ones and dash out their brains against the stones.*

In the mean time sport thyself at our miseries, laugh at our tears, make merry at our sighs, sing at our groans, and applaud our torments; but know for all this there is a just Avenger, that looks down from his heaven upon us, whose rod we at once kiss, and expect his vengeance.

Plead thou our cause, O God; yea, thine own, only thine. Why should not our confident innocence appeal to thy judgment? If

there be any thing in the whole composure of our most sacred religion hitherto professed by us, that hath issued out of the impure fountain of man's brain, let it even perish with the authors; yea, let it utterly perish, O Lord, and be banished into that hell whence it came: but, if we never dared to obtrude any doctrine upon the Christian world but that alone wherewith thou didst of old inspire thy prophets and apostles, and by those thine infallible penmen didst faithfully deliver over to thine own people; surely then, either it must be our happiness to err with Thee, the God of Truth, or thou dost and wilt still ever maintain with us this thine only true and evangelical religion.

But alas, poor souls, we are mistaken all this while! It is nothing else but pure piety, forsooth, which we ignorantly condemn for cruelty. 'Tis the zeal of God's house wherewith, good prelate, thou art so inflamed, that thou hast hereupon both wished and importuned the utter extirpation of all those heretics stabling in the French territories!

O forehead! O bowels! For us, we call God, angels, saints, to witness of this foul calumniation. I wis, those whom thou falsely brandest for heretics thou shalt one day hear when the Church shall embrace them for her children; Christ, for the spiritual members of his mystical body.

For what, I beseech, you do we hold, which the Scriptures, Councils, Fathers, Churches, and Christian professors have not, in all ages, taught and published? To say the truth, all that which we profess, your own most approved authors have still maintained.

Whence, then, is this quarrel? Shall I tell you? There are indeed certain new patches of opinion which you would needs add to the ancient faith; these we most justly reject, and do still constantly refuse. They are human; they are your own; briefly, they are either doubtful or impious. And must we now be cast out of the bosom of the Church, and be presently delivered up to fire and sword? must we for this be thunderstricken to hell by your anathemas, there to fry in perpetual torments? Is it for this that a stall and shambles are thought good enough for such brutish animals?

Good God! see the justice and charity of these popelings! This is nothing but a mere injury of the times. It was not wont to be heresy heretofore that is so nowadays. If it had been our hap-

piness to have lived in the primitive times of the Church's simplicity, before ever that Romish transcendency, image-worship, transubstantiation, sacrifice of the mass, purgatory, single or half communion, nundination of pardons, and the rest of this rabble were known to the Christian world; surely heaven had been as open to us as to other devout souls of that purer age, that took their happy flight from hence in the orthodox faith of Christ Jesus. But now that we are reserved to that dotage of the world wherein a certain new brood of articles are sprung up, it is death to us, forsooth, and to be expiated by no less punishment than the perpetual torments of hell fire!

Consider this, O ye Christians, wheresoever dispersed upon the face of the whole earth; consider, I say, how far it is from all justice and charity, that a new faith should come dropping forth at men's pleasure, which must adjudge posterity to eternal death for misbelievers whom the ancient truth had willingly admitted into heaven. These new points of a politic religion are they indeed that have so much disturbed the peace of Christendom. These are they that set at variance the mighty potentates of the earth, who otherwise perhaps would sit down in a happy peace: these are they that rend whole kingdoms, distract people, dissolve societies, nourish faction and sedition, lay waste the most flourishing kingdoms, and turn the richest cities to dust and rubbish. But should these things be so? Do we think this will one day be allowed for a just warrant of so much war and bloodshed before the tribunal of that Supreme Judge of heaven and earth?

Awake therefore now, O ye Christian princes, and you especially, king Lewis, in whose ears these wicked counsels are so spitefully and bloodily whispered. Rouse up yourself, and see how cruel tyranny seeks to impose upon your majesty in a most mischievous manner, under a fair pretence of piety and devotion. They are your own native subjects whom these malicious foreigners require to the slaughter; yea, they are Christ's. And will you imbrue your hand and sword in the blood of those for whom Christ hath shed his? yea, who have willingly lavished their own in the behalf of you and your great father?

Hear, I beseech thee, O king, who art wont, amongst thine own, to be instiled "Lewis the Just." If we did adore any other God, any other Christ but thine; if we aspired to any other heaven, embraced any other creed, any other baptism; lastly, if we

made profession of a new church built upon other foundations, there were some cause indeed why thou shouldest condemn such heretics, stabling in France, to the revenging fury of thy flames.

If this thy people have wilfully violated any thing established by our common God, or lawfully commanded by thee, we crave no pardon for them: let them smart that have deserved; it is but just they should. But do not, in the mean time, fall fiercely upon the fellow servants of thy God, upon thine own best subjects, whose very religion must make them loyal. Suffer not those poor wretches to perish for some late upstart superfluous additions of human invention and mere *will-worship*, who were always most forward to redeem thine and thy great Father's safety and honour, with the continual hazard of their own most precious lives. Let them but live then by thy gracious sufferance, by whose valour and fidelity thou now reignest.

But suppose they were not yours, yet remember that they are Christians, a title wherewith your style is wont most to be honoured; washed in the same laver of baptism, bought with the same price, renewed by the same Spirit; and whatsoever impotent malice bawl to the contrary, the beloved sons of the Celestial Spouse; yea, the brethren of that Spiritual Bridegroon, Christ Jesus.

"But they err," you will say, "from the faith:"—from what faith? I beseech you. Not the Christian surely, but the Romish. What a strange thing is this! Christ doth not condemn them, the pope doth. If that great chancellor of Paris were now alive, he would freely teach his Sorbonne, as he once did, that it is not in the pope's power, that I may use his own word, to hereticate any proposition. "Yea, but an Œcumenical Council besides hath done it:—what Council? That of Trent. I am deceived if that were hitherto received in the churches of France, or deserved to be so hereafter. Consult with your own late authors of most undoubted credit: they will tell you plainly how unjust that Council was; yea, how no council at all. It was only the pope's act, whatsoever was decreed or established by that packed conclave, envassalled to the Seven Hills.

Consider lastly, I beseech you, how the reformed Christians stand in no other terms to the papists than the papists do to the reformed: heresy is with equal vehemency upbraided on both sides. But do we deal thus roughly with the followers of the Roman religion? Did we ever rage against the popish faith with

fire and sword? Was ever the crime of a poor misled conscience capital to any soul? You may find perhaps, but very seldom, some audacious mass-priest, some firebrand of sedition and contemner of our public laws, to have suffered condign punishment: but no papist, I dare boldly say, ever suffered loss, either of life or limb, merely for his religion. Why dost not thou then, the son of that gracious and merciful Henry, carry thyself alike toward thy faithful subjects, who most innocently profess the reformed religion? Why should it prejudice any of them with thee to have served their God according to the holy Scriptures and the practice of the ancient Church? To conclude then, Let it be but lawful for thy people to be truly religious.

And thou, Pope Urban, return at last to thyself, and consider how well this bloody advice of thine suits with those thy purple robes. A sword rather than a sheephook would become that hand that should write thus: neither is this a net for the holy fisherman of Rome, but rather for the bloody prizes of the theatre. *Beautiful are the feet of them that preach peace,* saith the Prophet: but we may say far otherwise of thee, "Cursed are the hands of them that denounce war." The least noise of an hammer must not be heard in God's temple: but you, good man, would fill the holy Church of God with loud alarms, clashing of bloody weapons and fearful groans of dying men. Give ear therefore now at last, thou who proudly scornest the sentence of any mortal judge. That which once our famous Robert, the holy and learned bishop of Lincoln, is said to have done to thy predecessor, the same do I now unto thee. Let me summon thee to that dreadful tribunal of Almighty God, before which thy wretched soul shall one day appear, to give an account of this thy bloody advice. In the mean time, if thou hadst rather to flee from the wrath to come, and to fare well hereafter, Repent.

EPISTOLÆ TRES:

HÆC, AD D. BALTASAREM WILLIUM;

ALTERA, AD D. LUDOVICUM CROCIUM;

TERTIA, AD D. HERMANNUM HILDEBRANDUM;

SCRIPTORE JOS. EXON.

EPISTOLA I.

CLARISSIMO VIRO

D. BALTASARI WILLIO,

S. THEOLOGIÆ D.

ET IN BREMENSI ECCLESIA PROFESSORI CELEBERRIMO;

GRATIAM AC PACEM.

SI, quam mihi misisti schedulam, censores tui perlegissent, Frater admodum reverende, non opus fuisset, ut ego judicium hoc meum qualecunque interponerem. Facile profecto illi, si quis pudor, quam tibi temere objectarunt calumniam, et ultro revocassent. Tanto, enim, cum candore animi, tamque irrefragabilibus indiciis, te ab illis sive criminationibus, seu vero impactæ hæreseos suspicionibus quibuscunque, in hisce chartis liberasti; ut, post hujusmodi apologiam, ipsa non habeat invidia, quod tibi deinceps objicere possit. Ede literas tuas: responso meo parces.

Quandoquidem, tamen, meam de quibusdam Commentariorum tuorum locis sententiam ita ardenter desideras, non possum non tibi in re tantilla satisfacere.

Hoc, vero, inprimis ora obturet cavillantium: quod ejusmodi elegeris operis tui patronos. Alios profecto quæsivisses, si in Arminii, nedum Socini, castra transfugere voluisses: non D. Poliandrum, Walæum, Thysium, Triglandum, sidera pridem in Dor-

draceno cælo conspicua; quorum insuper censuris ista tua tam modeste subjeceris, aut probanda, aut, si foret opus, corrigenda.

Loca, quæ offendiculo fuisse ais, examinavi sedulo. Nihil prorsus est in prima præfatione tua, quod vel obtorto collo trahi possit ad heterodoxam aliquam gratiæ divinæ universalitatem stabiliendam. Sed et illa in Zechar. iv. ejusdem omnino sensus, nihil habent errori alicui affine: ostendunt tantum manifestum gratiæ divinæ, succedentibus seculis, erga Ecclesiam suam, in luminis salvifici expansione ampliore clarioreque, specimen et incrementum: quo quid verius cogitari potest? Conquirunt profecto et fingunt istic errores malevoli, non inveniunt.

Absolutam prædestinationem negat præfatio posterior; sed, eo sensu, quo clarissimus collega tuus, D. Lud. Crocius, Syntagmatis p. 987: non sine respectu ad ipsam decreti executionem. Decreti, inquis, electionis, fundamentum Christus est; conditio salvandis implenda, fides: et salvandis, dixisti, implenda; non, in eligendis, prævisa et prærequisita. Quis sanus aliter dixerit?

Quæ de reprobatione definiisti, non alia sunt quam quæ a theologis Dordracensis ex professo tradita sunt. Nec enim aliud est, Deum ex absoluta voluntate neminem excludere a gratia, et æterno exitio destinare, quam, Deum neminem absque intuitu peccati damnare voluisse. Culpam ergo reprobationis in mortalium pertinacia et incredulitate hærere, tutissime verissimeque determinasti. Analysin quod spectat loci illius celeberrimi ad Rom. ix. norunt Dordraceni omnes, me non monuisse modo, sed et pro concione publica obnixe etiam efflagitasse, ut ad hoc ipsum examen tota de prædestinatione controversia revocaretur. Ab utraque authorum litigantium parte tentatum est hoc palam, subque prelo non uno: quo autem successu, silere mavelim. Certe, dum alii rigidiorem sectantur viam, in absolutam Dei potestatem voluntatemque, absque ulla ratione peccati, rejicientes plurimorum perditionem; alii libertatis humanæ parasiti, ita sui juris faciunt homines, ac si nulli omnino decreto subjicerentur. Utrinque satis periculose peccatur: deseritur, medium tenens, veritas; quæ tamen a moderatis quibusque ingeniis officiose colitur.

Quod tu dum facis, tuto profitere te Synodi orthodoxæ Dordracenæ theologis nullatenus adversari. Quoties enim, quamque rotunde, celeberrimi illi doctores professi sunt, Deum neminem damnare, aut damnationi destinare, nisi ex consideratione peccati! Ut Britanni nostri; Artic. 1. Thes. 5. Sed et fratres Hassiacos multis hoc argumentis comprobasse palam est: nec qui theolo-

gorum omnium accuratius expressiusve istud docuerunt, quam Bremenses vestri: nec abludit ipsa Synodi vox, quæ, reprobationem ipsam definiens, præteritos eos esse ait, quos ex liberrimo, justissimo, irreprehensibili, et immutabili beneplacito, in communi miseria, in quam se sua culpa præcipitarunt[1]. Præteritionem, derelictionemque, (Synodi verba agnoscimus;) ac, deinde, æternæ propter suam infidelitatem et alia peccata punitionis decretum, quis sanus inficietur? Distinctionem illam, inter negativam reprobationem, sive non-electionem; et positivam, sive præparationem pœnæ eorum, qui, in statu corruptionis relicti, judicium sibi meritissimum accersunt, quis non libenter agnoscat? Resistere nos nimis sæpe gratiæ divinæ, ad conversionem nostram nos importune satis invitanti urgentique, quis neget? Modo concedatur et illud; esse quandam peculiarem gratiam, sive per Dei sapientiam sive per ejus potentiam, administratam; cui homo, qui per eam vocatur, non resistit, et quæ a nullo duro corde respuitur. Quod tu, cum theologis Leydensibus, ut et illi cum S. Augustino, rectissime asseruisti. Sed quid ego telam tuam retexo? Oculatus oportet adversarius sit, qui in hisce novem de reprobatione sectionibus, quicquam invenerit, quod veritati divinæ, sanctæque charitati, non sit omni modo consentaneum.

Mitior paulo fortasse videri potest illa, quæ de Sacræ Cœnæ privata administratione moveri lis solet: quæ, tamen, etiam Ecclesiis nostris, nescio quas turbas fecerit. Hic scilicet unus est, ex quinque illis articulis Perthanis, Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, a doctissimo regum Jacobo VI. pridem propositis, multorum exinde calamis satis superque agitatus. Præter nostros, doctissimus Episcopus Berchinensis, post illum, D. Johannes Forbesius, aliique theologi Aberdonenses, ingenia hic sua, magna cum laude, exercuerunt. Certe miror ego, qua tandem freti ratione, privati quidam theologi saluberrimo huic, sed et antiquissimo receptissimoque, in Ecclesia mori, sese opposuerint. Unquamne vetuit hoc privatim fieri Christus, aut Apostolorum quisquam? *Facite hoc*, inquit Christus? Luc. xxii. 19. Factum præcepit: non meminit loci. Institutio ipsa salutaris est: temporis locive circumstantia ita inter ἀδιάφορα merito collocanda, ut tanti Sacramenti essentiæ nihil quicquam præjudicare debeat. Quod si locum spectare velimus curiosius, in cœnaculo cœpit Cœna Sacra, non in templo; intraque privatos, ut tu probe monuisti, lares, ab Apostolis discipulisque, pro temporis ratione, celebrata. Synaxis est: quis nescit? ideo-

[1] [Here is some omission which must be supplied from conjecture.]

que Ecclesiæ Dei haud paulo congruentior. Si qua, tamen, postulet necessitas, sive multorum communis, sive privata postulantis, nulla dari potest ratio, cur Christianis animis, præsertim cum morbis morteque ipsa conflictantibus, ita gratum et efficax remedium non ultro suppeditetur. Ἐφόδιον est, sanctis Patribus: lasso, igitur, jamque in extremis agenti viatori, petenti insuper, qua tandem pietate denegetur? De tanti hujus Sacramenti virtute, Christianus esse nequit qui ambigat: non potest, igitur, non pium esse tam salutaris Sacramenti desiderium. Cui ut tempestive satisfiat, caverunt, præter citatos a te Patres authoresque probatissimos, Concilia etiam non pauca: Nicenum illud Œcumenicum, Can. 13. Carthaginense Quartum, 76, 78. Vasense, 1. Can. 2. alia. Inter Ecclesias vero reformatas a te commemoratas, certe nostræ Anglicanæ non alia unquam fuit, seu lex, seu praxis; utpote quæ hanc sibi regulam semper figendam censuerit, toties a scitissimo Rege Jacobo inculcatam, nihilo longius a Romana discedere Ecclesia, quam illa a se, a primigenia puritate discessisse deprehendatur. Graviter, ergo, pie, ac prudenter quæstionem tu hanc, si quid ego judicare possum, pertractasti; remque totam tanta cum moderatione ac cautela determinasti, ut mirum sit, si quis vestrorum deinceps, in tam sano vereque theologico judicio non acquiescat.

Breviter, de re tota sic habeto. Consilium illorum, qui declarationem hanc tuam, ut valde piam, Ecclesiæque Dei perutilem, edendam, jurisque publici faciendam censent, non possum ego non calculo me summopere comprobare. Non parum e re fuerit Ecclesiæ, ut hujusmodi extet exemplar candoris et equanimitatis Christianæ: ut, moderato qui sunt animo, habeant quod tenere debeant; et, qui temere maluerint contradicere, post δευτέρας tandem φροντίδας videant, quod erubescere debuerint.

Deus, Pacis Author, Ecclesiam suam totam in concordi veritate stabiliat!

Vale, Frater Venerande,

A conservo tuo fideli ac benevolo,

JOS. EXON.

Dat. e palatio nostro Exon.

EPISTOLA II.

REVERENDO IN CHRISTO FRATRI, VIRO CLARISSIMO,

D. LUDOVICO CROCIO,

S. THEOLOGIÆ D.

ET IN ILLUSTRI SCHOLA BREMENSI PROFESSORI,

GRATIAM AC PACEM.

Quam nobis olim Dordrechtum conciliavit amicitiam, mi Croci, eam et recolere sæpius, et modis quibuscunque fovere, quidni senescentibus cordi sit? Video te solum ex collegis tuis superstitem; evolasse reliquos, cælumque cum terra jam diu commutasse. Nos, vero, quamdiu hic sumus? Felices, interea; qui temporis hoc quantulumcunque bene agendo terimus: quod certe dum facimus, invidiam vel comitem, vel saltem asseclam, fato quodam sustinere necesse habemus. Pergant porro nostræ patientiæ præcones *εἰπεῖν πᾶν πονηρὸν ῥῆμα*, modo *ψευδόμενοι*: beatos nos hoc modo facient, dum vellent miseros.

Legi, quantum pro tempore licuit, Syntagma tuum: egregium profecto opus, et te dignum. Loca a te notata perpendi serio. Ut libere loquar quod censeo, occurrebant mihi multa, paulo enucleatius, quam ab aliis theologis fieri solet, in magno hoc prædestinationis mysterio, explicata: *ἑτεροδόξα* vero illa, quæ tibi a quibusdam objici quiritaris, qua tandem ratione hinc elici possint, nullus comperio.

Primum illud caput, vere profecto aureum, de principiis humanæ salutis, probe, uti par est, pensitatum et intellectum, ab omni te impacti erroris suspicione facile liberarit. Utcunque, enim, universalem Dei *φιλανθρωπίαν* solito plenius dilucidiusque depinxeris, (quæ quidem nunquam poterit, me judice, nimium deprædicari,) cum tamen triplicem illam universalis dilectionis limitationem insuper addideris, omne amoves Pelagianismi Huberismique a tua sententia periculum. Nec enim communis illa Dei misericordia, qua humano præsertim generi bene vult et bene placet, quicquam præjudicat speciali illi benevolentiæ ac amori,

quo electos suos gratiosissime prosequitur. Fratribus quidem omnibus multiplicat Joseph fercula, Benjamini vero חֲמֵשׁ יָדוֹת; Gen. xliii. 34. Tuta sunt hic omnia; dum nos nihil nobis tribuamus, Dei misericordiæ, in Christo filio suo, totum salutis et destinandæ et impetrandæ negotium, acceptum ingenue feramus. Quis, vero, tibi illa odiosa exprobraret nomina, quæ tu ubique conspuis et detestaris?

Hæret apud me illud, fateor, aliquantum, et explicatione quadam videtur indigere, quod capite 6. de Gratia vocationis, sect. 16. occurrit: ubi, formulam fœderis Gratiæ expositurus, ais, "Peccatum primorum parentum, atque adeo et peccatum originis, tanquam opus Diaboli, hactenus destructum, ut Satanas propterea nullum jus et potestatem in homines habeat; ita ut propterea nemo necessario damnandus sit, nisi nova peccata accedant, quibus homines fiant gratiæ incapaces, ac denuo in plenam servitutem et possessionem Satanæ redeant." Semper, enim, mihi, sed et aliis visum est, promissum illud de serpentis capite a semine mulieris conterendo, intelligi de victoria, quam semen illud benedictum reportarit sibi ac electis suis: ut planius loquar, non universali quadam destructione peccati originis, quasi nullum jus in homines habitum, sed in suos electos nullum; neque de originali illo peccato tantum, sed et de omnibus quibuscunque Satanæ molitionibus, construi debere. Invidiam tibi forsan aliquam creet ille locus; donec uberiore aliqua interpretatione vindicetur. Quod ergo pagina sequente subinfers, Justificationem vitæ ita vi mortis Christi in omnes homines transiisse, ut libertatem et jus ad vitam æternam consecuti sint, nisi per novam inobedientiam et peccatum gratiam illam amittant; hoc plane animo a te scriptum censeo, ut de sola possibilitate sub fidei habendæ conditione istud intellexeris. Eo profecto se extendebat virtus vivificæ illius mortis, ut qui credunt a reatu originalis peccati certo liberentur; utque, non obstante peccato sive originali sive actuali quocunque, et jus ad vitam et vitam ipsam consequantur: utque reconciliabilitas quædam humani generis eo usque, hac ratione, obtineretur, quo quisque mortalium, modo resipiscere ac credere possit, salutem adipiscatur: id quod tu ipse ubique videris inurere.

Nihil ergo certius est, quam, quod mox subjicis, Christum omnium hominum salutem aliquo modo quæsivisse, omnibusque ad eam aliquo modo profuisse. Quæsivit hoc certe Beneficentissimus Servator; quodque non invenerit, in homines ipsos, non in Redemptorem, cudenda est hæc faba. Qui potest ergo salus esse

quibusdam simpliciter impossibilis, quam ille, quem penes est, omnibus sub conditione serio obtulerit; et reapse præstare, modo ipsi sibi non deforent, paratus sit? Impossibilis modo, sed et certa: quis hic non tacite ac humiliter acquiescat? Sententiam hanc vestram meminimus nos clarissimum D. Martinium collegam tuum J. M. in Synodo Dordracena thesibus suis illic exhibitis aperte pleneque explicasse; ut mirum sit suboriri modo quenquam, qui vos illi suffragantes tam sero erroris insimulet. Breviter quoque oculos conjicio: illud video; et in hac desinam censura, nisi lectori charitas deesset, non deforet scripto fides.

Præfationem tuam quod attinet, quæ de Septem Asiaticis Ecclesiis commentari libuit, (qua in re concinit tibi, uti video, doctissimus collega tuus, D. Willius, passim, in suis et proloquiis et commentariis,) laudo equidem, velut ingeniose satis, neque sine probabili aliqua veri specie a vobis dicta: solide tamen, et ad mentem Evangelici Scriptoris, exarata, concedere nequeo. Illas, etenim, Ecclesias Septem esse typos quosdam historico-propheticos succedentium sibi ab illo ævo Ecclesiæ conditionum, quis largiatur? Tale profecto aliquid Brightmannus noster, aut Parkerus vigilans somniarit: nollem vobis tantis viris excidisse; cum palam sit, Spiritum Sanctum eas ipsas illius temporis Ecclesias, sed et earum Episcopos, singulariter notasse. Personalia sunt, ilicet, quæ pastori cuique objiciuntur; nec ad cœtum integrum, multo minus ad typicas nescio quas successiones, detorquenda. Sed et incurrunt in se invicem, quæ de unaquaque Ecclesia prædicantur; nec cuiquam istarum soli distincte competere possunt: ut per omnia tenere nequeat illa, quam imaginamur, analogia. Aurea scilicet illa et apostolica ætas, quam per Ephesianam Ecclesiam figurari vultis, uti non *perdiderat*, quantum nobis innotuit *charitatem suam primam;* ita, non prorsus immunis fuit ab illis persecutionibus, quæ seculis sequentibus efferbuerunt. In Smyrnensi illa ferrea, (metallorum enim similitudine quadam hæc omnia illustrare maluisti,) synagogæ Judæorum, jam tum Christianisme infestissimæ, non Ethnicorum furores designantur. Polemicam, vero, Pergamensem quod spectat, ipse Antipas Martyr, eo tempore sine dubio notissimus, nominatim, velut recentissimæ memoriæ, celebratur; ut certo certius sit, de re dudum præterita locutum, cum Spiritu, Evangelistam: nec de illo ævo, cui tu istud confers vere prædicari potest, *Nomen meum retines, non negasti fidem;* cum totus fere orbis ad Arianismum desciverit. Thyatirensi devotæ ac religiosæ, (quæ a Carolo Magno ad Carolum Quintum interjecta est) quam nullo jure imputatur, quod patiatur

Jezebelem prophetissam (Hildebrandinam nempe, ut tu interpretaris, dominationem) seducere servos Dei; quasi in Ecclesiæ illius, impotenter adhuc delitescentis, potestate fuisset, Romanæ Ecclesiæ tyrannidem jam tum impedire aut coercere! Sardensis illa sive politica, quæ a Carolo Quinto hucusque extenditur, non tam episcopalis est, ais, quam principalis: memineris tamen hæc Angelo, id est, episcopo, non principibus, dicta fuisse: illud vero visne ut merito competat Protestantium cætui, *Nomen habes quod vivas, sed mortuus es: moribunda corrobores?* Absit ut hæc tam gravia nostris aggeramus! Nolo singulis insistere; præter scopum enim hæc omnia: da veniam, colendissime frater, libertati huic meæ: non possum tibi in illi Asiaticarum Ecclesiarum interpretatione (re non admodum gravi) consentire.

Utcunque, vero, præmissæ hæ fidem apud me parum invenerint, conclusionem tamen tuam ex animo amplector et exosculor. Hinc nempe sumpta occasione, tempestive ad concordiam Ecclesiis Evangelicis suadendam dilaberis. Hoc ego tibi ac tuis imprimis gratulor: hoc precor: hoc urgeo. Certe, qualiscunque tandem fuerit illa Sardensis, utinam, O utinam, Ecclesia Dei nostro hoc ævo ad pacem se publicam, non seposito interim veritatis studio, unanimiter componeret. Video equidem, et gaudeo, vos Professores, doctissimos celeberrimosque, Bremenses, pium hoc, Deoque, angelis, et hominibus gratissimum opus promovere paratissimos esse: id quod, non modo ex Duræo meo, studiosissimo tanti beneficii parario, gratulabundus accepi; sed ex scriptis insuper vestris facile persentisco.

Dolet mihi interim, quod videam, præter iniquam temporum conditionem, quorundam pervicacem φιλαυτίαν sacrosanctum hoc cæptum aliquantum remorari. Humanum profecto est quod isti sapiunt. Ita nempe dediti sunt quidem vel suis vel præceptorum suorum opinionibus, partiumque studiis, pertinaciter fovendis, ut ne verba quidem, rebus quantumlibet salvis indulgere velint publicæ paci ac charitati. Sane, qui sic affecti sunt, ubi pretium unitatis evangelicæ plane videntur nescire, ita aliquando sine dubio sentient quid sit ἐν προσωποληψίαις ἔχειν τὴν πίστιν, Jac. ii. 1; et Ecclesiam Dei suis manibus λογομαχίαις usque inquietare; 1 Tim. vi. 4. Certe, si quod in Synodo Dordracena propositum fuit, et a theologis exteris fervide satis expeditum, pariter obtinuisset; præcepta jam diu fuisset omnis hæc, quæ modo vobis negotium facessit, contendendi ansa.

Memineris tu probe, mi Croci, ubi me nimis iniqua valetudo invitum ab illo doctorum virorum consessu abripuisset, incidisse

quæstionem, non hercle intempestivam, Sessione 132, de rejectione duriorum quarundam et incommodiorum locutionum, quæ in nonnullis Reformatorum doctorum scriptis passim reperiuntur; quæ infirmioribus scandalum, adversariis calumniam, subministrare solent[b]. Britanni nostri theologi toti in eo erant: sed et Hassiaci, et vos etiam Bremenses, sani hujusce consilii rationibus paulo acrius urgendis non defuistis. Potiorane dicam an plura vicerunt suffragia, non disputo: certe, rejectio illa phrasium incommodarum pro tempore rejecta est, saltem omissa: ne quid pateretur orthodoxa authorum, ita vel durius vel imprudentius locutorum, doctrina: præsertim cum, præter alias rationes, plurimi essent ex iis loquendi modis, qui dextre ac commode, modo charitas adhiberetur, explicari possent. Nempe sederunt ibi aliqui, de Ecclesia Dei alias benemeriti theologi, qui in hoc genere nonnihil forte peccaverunt: præter alios etiam melioris notæ primipilos, modo *μακαρίτας*, quorum existimationi hac ratione paululum indulgere visum est. Absit vero, ut ego tot tantorumque theologorum, quorum memoriam revereri soleo, judicium vellicare ausim! Utinam, tamen, (fas enim mihi erit etiam tam sero optasse,) charitatis pietatisque publicæ ratio eo usque apud doctissimos viros, clarissimos fratres nostros, valuisset, ut inter doctrinæ orthodoxæ incolumitatem, et phraseων incommodarum periculum, inter quorundam authorum existimationem, et communem Christianæ Reipublicæ indemnitatem; paulo accurationem distinctionem adhibuissent.

Quid enim? Opusne habet orthodoxa doctrina hujusmodi fulcris? Annon eo magis constat illa sibi, et honorem suum eo magis inviolatum servat, quo ab illis intutiorum locutionum excessibus liberior prodierit? Nonne palam est, hujusmodi duriusculas loquendi formas non paulum præjudicii creasse veritati? Pacem vero publicam vel ex imo turbasse, quis non videt? En modo, non sine causa calumniari videntur adversarii, nos admisisse rerum illarum solœcismos, qui tam incommodis locutionum modis videntur inuri. Hinc causa Dei non parum patitur et damni et opprobrii.

Sint, vero, ex illis loquendi formulis, quædam ab ipso Spiritu sancto in Sacris Literis aliquando usurpatæ. Hinccine sequetur, ut quæ per sacram quandam hyperbolem exprimere voluit Deus, ea nos simplici sensu, velut axiomata theologica, tuto propinare possimus Orbi Christiano? *Et parentes et animam nostram odisse*

[b] [Infirmioribus offensionem, adversariis calumniandi ansam præberent. Act. Syn. Dord. Sess. 132. April. 19, 1619.]

nos jubet alicubi Deus; Luc. xiv. 26: novimus quo sensu utrumque: jam, si quis, hac authoritate fretus, absolute simpliciterque docuerit officium esse Christiani cujusque abdicare parentes, suam ipsius animam proculcare, satin' sanus videbitur? *Cultellum* aliquando *gutturi applicare*, jubet, per Solomonem, Spiritus; Prov. xxiii. 2: quisquamne sobrius hoc proprio et literali sensu faciendum suaserit? *Indurare corda, et excæcare oculos*, dicitur Deus; Joh. xii. 40: nos hæc ipsi, velut propria quædam et immediata effecta, tribuemus? Suus, ergo, relinquendus est Deo loquendi modus: quod ille figurato quodam sermonis excessu exprimere maluit, non nobis illico trahi debet in simplicis enuntiationis exemplar.

Sint harum phrase*ων* aliquæ, quas sano sensu ipsi censores admiserint: sint plurimæ, quæ dextre ac commode, modo charitas adhibeatur, explicari possint. Atqui, interim, de sano illo sensu, inter partes lis erit vel maxima; et charitas hæc, ubi lites incalescere cœperint, ubi locum invenit? Certe, qui litigare mavolunt, non solent ita benigne cum adversariis agere, ut sensum, si quis sit, controversæ propositionis commodissimum eruere velint. Sic, ergo, loqui tutum est, ut qui cavillari studet, si fieri possit, locum non habeat, ubi aut uncum aut pedem figat. Medeatur, vero, huic malo charitas.

Quæro, tamen, jam meritissimo, utiliusne tollendis an commode interpretandis hisce formulis, sese charitas exercuisset? Puteus est, non procul a via; profundus, et itineranti periculosus: gratiusne opus fecerit viatori, qui illum rudere ac lapidibus adobruat, an qui jusserit, incolas monere illac transeuntes ne se incauti præcipitent? Morbus mihi minitatur: novi quo pharmaco possim ejus dolorem lenire tandem; et mortis, alioqui forte secuturæ, periculum evadere: consultumne mihi erit sinere, ut malum hoc ingruat et ingravescat, cui tempestivo potuissem remedio occurrisse?

Ego certe, si res ageretur mea, curarem cum primis noxios humores sive corrigi sive opportune expurgari; et cardiaca deinde, quibus natura contra hostis impetum corroboretur, subministrari. Sic et in illis, quæ Ecclesiæ periculum intentant, sive erroribus, sive parum tutis dogmatibus, sive malesanis locutionibus, factum oportuit: et ita, proculdubio, fecissent gravissimi illi doctissimique theologi, si istum, quem modo cernimus, tolerantiæ exitum, jam tum prævidere potuissent. Ubi, enim, illi ac ratione paci publicæ litatum voluerunt; contra evenit, jurgiorum ac discordiarum semina, (quod maximopere dolendum est,) hinc inde per agros Ecclesiæ infeliciter jacta, ubique pullulasse. Neque deerit unquam, si quid

ego hariolari possum, contentionum materia, donec ista litium infausta seges authoritate publica radicitus evelli possit: quod uti fiat, exorandi sunt orbis domini, ut, conventu doctorum theologorum tempestive habito, communi consilio, interveniente ipsorum imperio, tollantur ista, sive calami sive mentis, *σφάλματα* qualiacunque.

Quod dum fieri possit, monendi rogandique sunt doctissimi quique viri, fratres nostri charissimi, eousque uti paci studeant omnes, ut, posthabita verborum cura, rebus ipsis componendis operam suam toti impendant. Id nimirum solicitos nos habet, ut veritas Dei in cordibus hominum, nobis suasoribus, locum invenire possit. Hoc, vero, si quo suaviore ac blandiore modo effici queat, nonne multo gratius aptabiliusque foret, quam ut, rigidiore ac duriuscula agendi ratione, bilem scandalumve infirmiori cuique moveremus? Ulcus meum qui leviore tractaverit manu, modo non minus cito sanaverit, dignus est quem amicius excipiam.

At at, nisi in re ipsa paululum hæreremus, non ita nimium de verbis laborare pretium operæ duceremus. De ipsis quidem, fateor, notionum quarundam momentis, aliquid litigii est: sed, quod vix cernat oculatus arbiter, vix curet pacificus. Ad eundem video exitum veritatis theologicæ tendere utriusque partis sententiam; non sine aliquo, interim, in via, discrimine: non est quod de unoquoque vestigio nimium soliciti simus, quin post passus unius alteriusve divertiunculam idem omnino stadium emetimur. Mollior placet huic semita; illi, calcata vel silicea: recta ducit utraque ad metam eandem: quis istic jurgio locus.

Quod si sua cuique (uti fit) placuerit sententia, nec quis cedere velit alteri, paulo aliter animi sui sensum exprimenti, litesque adhuc inter partes infeliciter continuentur; illud ego fratribus meis cum primis suaserim, quod in omnibus hujus generis controversiis tutissimum utilissimumque semper expertus sum: ut ad generaliores quasdam enuntiandi formulas confugiamus; neque ultra terminos ita fixos, sinatur alterutrius partis discursus evagari. Quod de doloso communiter dici solebat olim, liceat mihi de pacifico dicere; versatur ille in generalibus: nec quid pensi habet ad specialissima quæque descendere. Nempe, ex imis illis conceptuum humanorum fractionibus ac divisiunculis, nimio quam accuratis, oriri solent discordiæ inter illos, qui vel de proximis rerum capitibus perpacate consentirent. Hac profecto ratione, plurimæ, quibus Orbis Christianus misere conflictatur, lites sopirentur.

Caute tamen istic, et non sine summa fide ac sana discretione, procedendum est; ne, forte, dum paci nimium intenti sumus veri-

tatis integritatem vel violemus vel inique supprimamus. Ubi, ergo, de ipsis Christianæ Fidei capitibus, deque summa religionis quæstio est, nihil non urgeri debet, in quo salus vertitur hominis Christiani: nihil istic non momentosum, et quovis dignum certamine videri debet. Sed, ubi de dogmatibus quibusdam fere adiaphoris, deque tricis (uti fit) scholasticis, a salutis sive spe sive periculo longe alienis, disputatur; non est quod nimis anxie singula disquiramus, et de minimis quibusque opinionum apicibus curiosius contendamus: sat erit in generalioribus quibusdam exprimendi modis conspirasse.

Quod si qui sint opinionum suarum paulo tenaciores, qui de levissimis quibusque controversiarum particulis, veluti pro aris ac focis, digladiari malunt; valde expediens fuerit, illud unum præcipue accurare, ut isti, moderatis quibusque agendi rationibus, si fieri possint, convincantur. Inter quas nulla mihi, serio cogitanti, occurrit probabilior, quam ut certæ quædam figantur regulæ dogmaticæ, irrefragabiles illæ quidem, et utrique parti in confesso; ad quarum veluti examen utrorumque sententiæ reducantur exiganturque.

Certum est, enim, vera quæque ubique *συναληθεύειν*. Quæ, ergo, inter se comparata, ab indubitate veris dissonare deprehenduntur, in falsi suspicionem justissime incurrunt.

Ut in hisce, quas modo sub manibus habemus, controversiis, sunto, si placet, hujusmodi.

1. Fieri non potest, ut voluntatis Dei, quæ omnium causa est, causa detur ulla: nempe hoc foret, præter curiosam quandam insolentiam, ultra infinitum procedere.

2. Etsi Deus juste uti potuisset jure suo absoluto in creaturas suas, secundum ordinatum tamen jus, ac revelatum, procedere et solet et vult.

3. Cum Deus sit ipsa essentialis bonitas, sapientia, justitia, adeoque omnis bonitatis, sapientiæ, justitiæ fons et scaturigo; nihil potest ab illo fluere, quod non perfecte bonum, sapiens, justumque sit: in illius, ergo, *εὐδοκίᾳ* humillime acquiescere debemus creaturæ.

4. Sed et hinc necessario sequitur, nihil boni inesse posse creaturæ, nisi quod ab ipso boni omnis principio inditum fuerit, et ab ipso derivatum.

5. Sed et hoc insuper; Deum non esse authorem peccati. Illud solebat offendiculi sæpe prætendere D. Tilenus, hospes olim meus, jam tum mutatæ infeliciter sententiæ reus, quorundam nostrorum rigore, aliquid hic in Deum conjici, Sanctissimo ipsius Numine indignum; protestatus, interea, omnia se paratum concedere, modo Dei bonitas et justitia hac in re integra et illibata conservaretur.

Absit, vero, ut quis Christianus aliter aut sentiat aut loquatur! Omnes in hanc sententiam pedibus imus unanimiter: reus peragatur blasphemiæ, qui, cum Florino, contra hiscere ausit.

6. Deum neminem damnare, nisi propter peccatum: damnatio, enim, actus est punitivæ justitiæ; punitio, autem, culpam supponit; quis, enim, justus plectat innocentem.

7. Deum serio invitare omnes ubicunque terrarum ad fidem et pœnitentiam; et, sub illa conditione, ad salutem: non eo solum animo, ut inde fiant inexcusabiles; hoc enim nihil sonat philanthropicum; sed, ut, vere si jussa præstiterint, assequantur quod gratiose proposuit.

8. In re Prædestinationis, nihil nobis negotii esse debet cum arcanis Dei consiliis; sed, secundum revelatam ejus voluntatem, de nobis aliisve judicandum. Ita ergo nos gerere debemus in tota vitæ nostræ institutione, et in operando salutem nostram, ac si nulli occulto Dei decreto subessemus. Quid ad te, O homo quod in cœlo statutum est? Fac tu quod Sanctissimus et Justissimus Creator Redemptorque tibi injunxit faciendum, non potes non tutus et salvus esse: alias, frustra es, qui tibi salutem polliceris. Sic itaque fidei, pœnitentiæ, bonisque operibus danda est opera, quasi ab illis unice penderet salus, et immunitas ab omni reprobationis periculo. Sic cavenda infidelitas, omnisque legis Divinæ certa lubensque violatio, ac si, seposita quavis absconditi decreti ratione, damnatio istinc sequeretur. Qui secus fecerit, et a priori de æterna sui conditione judicium feret, misere abutetur secretis Dei consiliis, quæ silenter debuisset revereri.

9. In actibus ad conversionem præviis, bonisque motibus quos Spiritus Dei ingerit etiam nondum renatis, Deus neminem deserit priusquam deseratur ipse: sola, ergo, culpa sua ad regenerationem serio invitati gratia ulteriore destituuntur; et, spontanea infidelitate et contumacia, pereunt.

Sed video me longius, quam mihi proposueram, excurrisse. Vide quo me provexerit pacis amor, ut ego ista tibi, theologo exercitatissimo, suggererem. Huic tu præsumptioni ignosces; et, si quid erraverit festinatio mea, comiter monstrabis. Perges, denique, bene velle huic, quam tantopere boni omnes expetimus, paci: et Duræum nostrum, fidissimum ejus proxenetam, omni amore ac studio, quod facis, prosequi: et, mutuis insuper precibus, piisque officiis, beare.

Tuum in Christo fratrem
ac *σύνεργον* fidelissimum,
JOS. EXON.

EPISTOLA III.

CLARISSIMO VIRO, THEOLOGO GRAVISSIMO,

D. HERMANNO HILDEBRANDO,

S. T. D.

STI STEPH. ECCLESIÆ BREMENSIS PASTORI VIGILANTISSIMO,

SALUTEM AC PACEM.

Incumbat mihi licet plus modo quam cui ferendo par sim oneris, Reverende admodum in Christo frater, non potui tamen committere, ut votis tuis tam piis, tam pacificis, deesse viderer. Ipse curabo, ne nihil respondeam: ignosce tu, si brevius.

Declarationem tuam Trium Articulorum in Conventu Cleri Bremensis prælectorum, gravem illam quidem, moderatam, solidam, vereque orthodoxam, quanta potui cum cura perlegi, clausulasque singulas pensitavi sedulo.

Quoque accuratiori trutinæ singula subjecerim, eo magis subiit animum, mirari quid illud tandem sit, quod parum æquis apud vos censoribus displicere possit; aut ubi demum lateat illud, de quo quosdam ais immane quantum conqueri, Pelagianismi, sive (quod horribilius dictu) Socinismi, virus. Fallor, si qua istic occurrat phrasis, aut vero syllaba, quæ vel ex ipso sacro Scripturarum fonte, vel ex sanctorum Patrum rivulis, vel denique ex aliorum probatissimorum authorum (præsertim vero Theologorum Dordracenorum) situlis, parum petita sit.

Absit, vero, ut quis istorum cuiquam tam prodigiosæ opinionis crimen impingere ausit! Cautius tu, quidem, et paulo mollius exprimere maluisti hæc divinæ veritatis arcana, quam rigidiores quidam, sani licet, theologi solent: quam tibi, sive prudentiam sive moderationem, ex animo gratulor.

Ilicet hæc recta est ad Christianam concordiam via. Hoc est, quod vox clamantis in deserto præconiata est olim; parare semitam Deo Pacis, aspera in vias planas redigere. Ambulent alii, si volunt, per dumos salebrasque: complanemus nos, quantum possimus, sacros hosce calles; ut, libero ac inoffenso pede, cœlum versus progredi liceat. Quantumcumque sane operæ huic negotio

posuerimus, arduum satis comperiemus hoc iter: non est quod nos viam insuper silice sternamus aut vepribus.

Nesciunt profecto qui ista criminantur, nesciunt, quantum de templo Dei mereantur illi, qui seu saxa seu trabes fabricæ huic exædificandæ dolare ac lævigare norunt; modo id, præsertim, absque nimio malleationis strepitu fieri possit: quod gravitatem tuam admodum prudenter istic allaborasse sentio.

Quod ad rem ipsam attinet; quisquamne sanæ theologiæ candidatus est, qui merito mortis Christi limites quosdam suos figendos censeat? Nempe omnipotens est, infinitæque virtutis ille Dei Filius: quibus ergo redimendis, et carnem induere et sanguinem suum effundere voluit; iis ut non sufficiat, quod sibi præstituit, universis, quam nimis sonare videtur *ἀθεόλογον*.

Generi autem humano redimendo et *ἐνσάρκωσιν* et mortem suam intendisse Benignissimum Mundi Redemptorem, quoties quamque expresse docet Scriptura! Cum vero nemini sano displicere possit hæc Spiritus Sancti, ubi in Sacris Literis occurrit, phraseologia, qui fit quod nostro transcripta calamo parum arrideat?

Illa certe distinctio, inter (ipso quidem actu) sufficientiam, efficientiamque mortis Christi; inter meritum ex una parte, et effectum eventumque Theanthropicæ illius redemptionis ex altera; inter pretium *λύτρου* infiniti, et salutarem ejus applicationem; ita et vera et necessaria est, ut absque illa fieri non possit, quin perperam de Magno Mundi Salvatore, deque mysterioso redemptionis negotio, sentiamus.

Certe, ita pro omnibus mortuus est Christus, ut parum interea prosit omnibus ad salutem.

Non illo ergo in sensu pro omnibus mortuus est Christus, quo doctissimus Paræus[c] (cui concinunt et theologi Palatini[d]) vocem interpretatur: ubi ait, mori pro aliquo proprie esse, morte sua aliquem a morte liberare; seu ita mori alicujus loco, ut ipse vivat. Eo quidem modo, hæc loquendi formula, non meritum modo, sed et efficaciam universalem effectumque commune mortis Christi complecteretur; quod nemo sanus, cum Hubero, illi, quantumlibet salvificæ, attribuendum judicarit: hoc vero quod non fiat, hominum certe culpa fit, non Servatoris. In cælesti hoc meritorum gazophylacio, sat repositum est thesauri, redimendis tot mundorum myriadibus, quot sunt hominum capita: quod si qui ita sint vel socordi vel præfracto ingenio, ut, quantumvis voce Evangelii moniti ac incitati, nec movere pedem nec manum exporrigere velint,

[c] D. Par. Judicio de v. Art.-Art. 20. [d] Sent. Palat. Theol. Art. 2. Prop. 4.

petendo reportandoque suo (quamlibet ingenti) pretio, digni sunt ilicet qui captivi moriantur. Quid hic, interim, decedit infinitæ Redemptoris munificentiæ?

Placere mihi solet hic Molinæi mei, viri clarissimi, satis apta similitudo[e]. Illustrandis illuminandisque omnibus, datus est sol huic mundo: sunt, tamen, cæci non pauci: sunt alii carcerum tenebris damnati; somno sepulti sunt alii: parum fruuntur isti omnes solis beneficio: quid hoc ad magnum illud ac munificum lumĭnare? Oculati quotquot sunt, subque dio vigilant, gaudent hac luce, illiusque radiis refocillantur. Pariter se habet cum morte Christi; cujus fructus ὁ σωτήριος patescit quidem omnibus meritorie, non efficaciter. In se sufficit omnibus; non omnibus, interea, sive ad remissionem sive ad salutem applicatur. Reconciliabile est hac ratione totum genus humanum; actu, autem, ut reconcilietur, quiddam aliud insuper requiritur; impletio, scilicet, conditionis gratuiti fœderis, quæ in fide recipientis consistit. Credunt, autem, efficacissima virtute hujus salvificæ mortis, quotquot ad salutem ordinati sunt.

Hanc, vero, exprimendi formulam quod parum ferre videantur theologi Palatini, hinc fit: quod Remonstrantium nonnullis, longius multo quam par erat procedentibus, contravenire istic studuerint; utpote qui, non meritum modo, sed et efficaciam mortis Christi, toti humano generi actu communicare videantur. Re tamen ipsa fratres Palatini de merito pretioque mortis Christi infinito, applicabili quidem universis, si possent credere, mortalibus, solis electis salutariter applicato, idem nobiscum sentiunt.

Sed et eadem ipsa est promissionum insuper divinarum extensio. Per totum terrarum orbem nemo homo est, cui non istæ libere promulgari et possint et debeant. Occurrat mihi quivis, vel Turca, vel Judæus, vel Judas: quidni ego fidenter et serio illi dixerim, "Ita, O homo, pro te mortuus est Christus, ut, si in ipsum credideris certo salvaberis." Sed et omnium eadem plane ratio est, quæ unius.

Quicquid sit, ob defectum salutaris pretii, certum est, neminem unquam periisse, neminem unquam periturum. Sic ergo, ut theologi nostri Britanni plene et perspicue, Christus pro omnibus mortuus est, ut omnes et singuli, mediante fide, possint virtute ἀντιλύτρου hujus, remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam consequi: sic pro electis mortuus est, ut ex merito mortis ejus, se-

[e] Sent. de v. Artic. ad Synod.
[f] Sent. Palat. Theolog. de v. Art.-Art. 2. Propos. 2 et 3.

candum æternum Dei beneplacitum specialiter illis destinato, et fidem infallibiliter obtineant et vitam æternam.

Breviter, ita Primum hunc de morte et merito Christi Articulum tractasti, ut plane habeas Scripturas, Patres, Scriptores quosque Orthodoxos, tibi pleno ore suffragantes: sed et Ecclesia nostra Anglicana ita hic tota tua est, ac si ipsissima illius verba fuisses ubique mutuatus.

Secundum porro Articulum, meo quidem judicio, dici vix potest solidiusne an modestius exegeris. Si quis alius in tota Theologia, ille profecto de Reprobatione locus lubricus est: in quo labi, et facile sit et periculosum. Tu, vero, ita caute istic movisti pedem, ut neque blandiores decreti æstimatores quicquam, quod culpent, invenire possint; nec severiores, quod desiderent. Eo magis mihi mirandum videtur, quid illud sit, quod censuræ suæ prætendere possint scitissimi cavillorum artifices.

Dicam, certe, quod res est. Totus iste, uti a te explicatur, locus nihil aliud est, quam sententiarum Dordracenarum accurata quædam contractiuncula; in qua non sensum modo illibatum, sed et plerunque verba ipsissima, satis curiose retinuisti. Qui fit ergo, ut, quibus illa Synodus in pretio est, tam justa ac fidelis ejusdem displiceat epitome? Certe, ni tu digitum intendas, ego quid hæreat nullus inveniam.

Enimvero, esse quandam reprobationem, eamque ab æterno, quis dubitat? sed et hanc reprobationem, qua Omnipotentis Dei actum spectat, ejusdem esse quorundam hominum, quos decrevit Deus in communi miseria, in quam se sua culpa præcipitarunt, relinquere; tandemque, non tantum propter infidelitatem, sed etiam cætera omnia peccata, ad declarationem justitiæ suæ damnare et æternum punire. Sic illi. Culpa ergo et peccata ita hic interveniunt, ut positiva reprobatio absque his non sine summa injuria Deo attribuatur.

Hoc est, quod tu, ex Augustino, Fulgentio, Prospero, ex omnibus Ecclesiarum Confessionibus, ex orthodoxis quibusque authoribus, facili negotio eviceris. Meritissimo, ergo, inveheris in illorum explicationem, et rigidam et plane iniquam, qui electioni liberæ et gratuitæ reprobationem absolutam, ex mero odio profectam, opponendam censent. Ecquod enim odit Deus, præter peccatum? et propter peccatum, non in se, creaturam suam? Hoc sane seposito, vidit Deus omnia quæ fecerat, et bona pronuntiavit. Quomodo vero se *φιλάνθρωπον* præstaret Deus, si hominem, qua hominem, odio haberet?

Præibis, ergo, et tu mihi verba illa, quibus ego lubentissime assentior: ut summe pia et suavissima illa vox est, nos gratuito, ex mera misericordia et beneplacito Dei, fuisse electos in Christo ad salutem; ita nec satis pia nec tolerabilis altera, merito perire alios, etiamsi in Adamo non essent perditi; quoniam Deus ita præfecit Christum Ecclesiæ suæ Caput, ut in eo servemur, non omnes, sed qui sumus electi.

Quod zelus hic tuus, ut et boni cujusque, exardescat, non hercle miror. Quid, enim, hoc aliud est, nisi tyrannidem quandam affingere Misericordissimo Numini? Absoluta ipsius in creaturam potentia quousque se extendat, nemo est qui dubitet: illam, vero, ut in nos exerat exerceatque Deus, qui, cum ordinato jure cum hominibus agere decreverit, toties dilectionem suam desideriumque humanæ salutis protestatus est, durius est quam ut a quoquam Christiano cogitari debeat. Utinam vero odiosæ hujusmodi loquendi formulæ, aut nunquam pio alicui doctoque Reformatæ Religionis professori excidissent; aut si aliquando temere ἔρκος ὀδόντων exceserint, æternæ oblivioni damnatæ illico fuissent.

Hujusce furfuris sunt incommodæ illæ ac incongruæ locutiones, quas theologi Dordraceni non pauci rejici corrigique voluerunt: quod et tunc temporis factum fuisset, nisi quorundam existimationi forte plus nimio fuisset indultum.

Qua de re largius aliquanto scripsi ad collegam tuum clarissimum, D. Crocium. Literas ille meas tecum sine dubio communicabit. In eadem vos navi estis uterque: ejusdem consilii sortes ut sitis, par est.

Interim, analysis hæc tua, ut in hac resolvendi facultate præcellere te video, scopo loci illius optime quadrare videtur; nec a quoquam merito impugnari potest. Ut Scriptura tota, ita illa cum primis ad Romanos (quod Patrum doctissimus olim) plena est sensibus: vix dari potest ita certa loci alicujus resolutio, quin et alia satis commoda possit fortassis superadjici. Suis alii litent sententiis: ego tuam hanc loci contexturam et explicationem valde probo. Si quis contra mussitet, dic illi, meo, si vis, nomine, carpere multo facilius esse, quam emendare. Tu, vero, Vir Celeberrime, perge, quod facis, sanctis hisce piisque laboribus de Ecclesia Dei bene promereri; et, quod tibi ac tuis ex animo gratulor, φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ἡσυχάζειν: 1 Thess. iv. 11. precibusque tuis adjuva

Devotissimum tibi, in Domino,

Fratrem ac Symmystam,

JOS. EXON.

Dat. in palatio nostro Exon.

CONCIO,

CORAM SYNODO DORDRECHTANA, ANNO DOMINI, 1618, PRÆDICATA,

A JOS. HALL, D. D. ARCHIPRESB. VIGORN.

*** xxix. Novembris; Die Jovis; ante meridiem.

"Habita fuit in Conventu Synodico a Reverendo et Clarissimo, D. Josepho Hallo, Wigornienai Decano, doctissima atque accuratissima exhortatio Latina, ex Eccles. Salomonis, c. vii. v. 16. ne sis justus nimis, &c. Pro qua publice ei gratiæ sunt actæ."—*Acta Synodi Dordrecht.* p. 40. [ed. 1620.]

ECCLES. vii. 16.

Ne sis justus nimis, neque sis nimis sapiens.

De justitia mihi hodie, cum bono Deo, et de sapientia sermo erit. Quid vero occurrere potuit opportunius? De justitia coram æquissimis Reipub. moderatoribus, de sapientia coram amplissima doctissimorum Theologorum Synodo; sed et vice versa de sapientia in prudentissimorum Ordinum vicariorum consessu, de justitia in sanctissima corona Prophetarum. Nec est quod dubitem, ne non aure bibula, lubentique animo recipiantur ista ab utroque vestrum ordine, nobilissimi Ordinum deputati, Theologi gravissimi, quæ utrumque ex æquo spectare videbuntur.

Justitia se vobis offert primulum. Deque illa tres miræ profecto clausulæ convenere istic, seque oculis auribusque vestris sponte ingerunt. *Justus perit,* ver. 15. *Ne sis justus nimis,* 16. *Non est justus,* 20. Euge, concionatrix anima, quid meditaris; ut e sacro illo ore pugnantes effluant sententiæ, seque uti Cadmæa proles mutuo perimant? Dum negat ultima, quod prima asseruit; secunda vetat fieri, quod ultima posse fieri negat? Si non sit justus, qui potest perire? Qui potest esse quis justus nimis, si justus nemo est? Mi homo, amicæ sunt semper scripturarum lites: utinam tales semper fuissent nostræ. Neque hic opus est Mose aliquo Mediatore, qui fraternitatem inculcet; Exod. ii. 13. Pulcherrime, scilicet, his inter se ultro convenit, ubi tribus clausulis

tria justitiæ genera accommodarelibuerit. Justitia absoluta est: sic nemo justus. Justitia inchoata, inque suo genere: sic justus perit. Justitia æquivoca; sic ne sis justus nimis. Ita facile, et nimium justus est, qui justus non est; et qui justus est, perit. Non ergo vel animum adimit justitiæ asseclis summum justitiæ exemplar, dum justum perire ait; vel veram justitiam deprimit, dum nimietatem vetat. Facile quidem omnes deterremur a bono, qui vix ullis seu monitorum seu minarum frænis nos a malo divelli patimur. Quam avide alacriterque omnes arripimus hoc quicquid est consilii! Nempe hoc ægre nobis est, ac si quis febricitanti amico, jamque merum ignem spiranti, poculum frigidæ pleniusculum propinaverit. Perplacet naturæ nostræ libertas; et quicquid hanc sapit, cordi est. Nos quidem, onagrorum more, (Jobi verbum agnoscitis, Job. xxiv. 5.) per hæc mundi deserta soluti discurrimus, nec jugo assueti, nec fræno. Tota religio ligat nobis et mentem et manum. Unde et nomen illi indidit vetustas, et frænum appinxit in manu inter Theologos nostri seculi Poeta maximus. Nullum non mandatum hami instar est et retinaculi, quo vaga hæc, et in scelus omne solutissima, mens coercetur. Σκλήρος λογὸς est, quicquid jubet; illud vero imprimis, *Estote perfecti, sicut Pater vester*; Matt. v. 48. Quod Petrus olim de rituum lege, idem caro et sanguis de lege morum: jugum impar cervicibus et patrum et nostris. Laxare nunc habenas hasce videtur Salomon, et, pro blandi alicujus Mitionis more, indulgere aliquid parum flagitiosæ licentiæ; *Ne sis justus nimis.* Falleris et hic, quisquis es, parasite tui. Perditissimæ huic naturæ ut obblandiri velit sanctus concionator, ut modum imperet versæ sanctimoniæ, improbulum ut esse sinat, ut jubeat! Apage blasphemiam! Dixisset modo, Noli justus esse, haberes profecto, quo petulantem hunc animum demulceres. Sed cum ait, *Noli justus esse nimis*, justitiam præcipit, damnat excessum. Excessus justitiæ justitia non est. Ut desit vocabulum quo hoc exprimatur, res constat: satis justus nemo potest esse, nedum nimis; etiam dum servat justitiæ modum. Molesta quædam animi pendentis anxietas et δαιμόνια nomen hoc fortean induit, aut opinio justitiæ. Quot vitia, virtutum titulis insignita, vulgo prodeunt, præsertim ubi nota additur excessus! Nimis liberalis, prodigus est: nimium fortis, audax: frugi nimis, avarus. Potius istic probatur μεσότης, dum ὑπερβόλη prohibetur. Ut ubi Paulus immoderatum pro mortuis luctum vetat, moderatum jubet.

Imprimis ergo justus esto. Da operam, ut in te justus sis, ut in Christo. Regula justitiæ lex est, summa legis justitia. *Oportet*

impleri omnem justitiam, inquit verus ἀρχέτυπος Melchisedechi; Matt. iii. 15. Suum cuique, justus. Vis igitur justus esse? Da Deo timorem, amorem, fidem: proximo, et suum semper, et aliquando etiam ipsius tuum. Illi enim et tuum cedit, ubi tibi superfluit, ipsi defit; tibi, quantum et naturæ sufficiat, et personæ. Utinam vero hoc unum addiscere possemus aliquando: utinam hac in parte haud parum peccaretur gravius! Non satis justi sumus, qui justitiam profitemur. Quisque sibi fere totum tribuit, proximo parum, minimum Deo; utrique certe horum, quantulum expediat sibi. Vos appello, viri fratres, testes communis hominum vitæ ac morum, quam perierint penitissime justitia et veritas a filiis hominum. Quippini et vos æque provocem, viri Magnates, censores judicesque facinorum, quæ oculos plebeculæ vel spectando fatigarint? Conqueremini licet omnes, cum Beato Martyre Cypriano: Flagrant ubique delicta, et passim, multiformi genere peccandi, per improbas mentes nocens virus operatur. Quin et innocentia, nec illic, ubi defenditur, reservatur. Consensere jura peccatis, et cœpit esse licitum, quod publicum est. Sed O, si possitis, in illa sublimi specula constituti, oculos vestros inserere secretis, recludere cubiculorum obductas fores, et ad conscientiam luminum penetralia occulta reserare, aspiceretis profecto ab impudicis geri, quod aspicere non possit frons pudica; videretis, quod crimen sit et videre, turpes[b] Aretinismos libidinum, crudas nauseabundæ ebrietatis reliquias. Filii hominum, usquequo gravi corde, quousque diligitis vanitatem, et quæritis mendacium? Estote justi satis. Succurrite vos interim laboranti Reipubl. qui sedetis ad clavum, et date operam sedulo, ut grassantibus hominum vitiis tempestivis aliquando tandem censuris occurratur. Quin claves manu exerit exercetque Ecclesia, quæ gladium oris libere usque vibraverit? Quin fulminum spiritualium vim omnem ac horrorem sacrum redintegratis, facitisque ut qui Dei Ministros flocci fecerint, ad lictorum vestrorum fasces contremiscant?

Supponitur hoc primum, *Justus est:* sequitur, quod vetatur postmodum, *Ne quid nimis;* seu opinione, seu vero reipsa.

Non opinione. Facile, qui pauxillum in se habent justitiæ, intestino quodam fermento suæ φιλαυτίας efferuntur, jamque se plus nimio abundare autumant. Ita justus erat jactator sui Pharisæus, *Gratias tibi, Domine, non sum ut alii;* Luc. xviii. 11. Non ait, ut aliqui: modestiæ fuisset istud, humique repentis ταπεινοφρο-

[b] Pietro Aretino, an Italian, notorious for the indecency of his writings; born in 1492, died in 1536.—P. Hall.

σύνης: sunt enim aliqui profecto Dæmones, humana specie larvati, ut vere Hieronymus: sed ut alii, universalis naturam sortitur indefinitus enunciandi modus. Parem cum Pompeio ferre non vult, nedum cum Cæsare superiorem. Jungant vero huic manus (si volunt) Pontificii Thrasones, homines sacerrimi, qui legem se ex amussi servare, et supererogare demum aliquid se Deo posse, jactitant. Ilicet hi veri sunt horum temporum (quos exprobrare solent aliis) Puritani. Ingenue (quod solet) Espencæus, Sunt qui hodie status et homines in perfectione justitiæ tantum non æquent Angelis, novæ veteris Pelagianismi reliquiæ. Qua hæresi, ut nulla vel periculosior vel perniciosior, aut perpetuæ gratiæ Christi necessitati magis contraria, ita nulla vel minus exstincta, vel plus rediviva. Sed et suus denique Gratianus istos probe sugillat, qui si nomen suum, inquit, cognoscere vellent, mundanos se potius quam mundos appellarent. Erigant isti sibi cum Acesio scalam, qua in cœlum ascendant, (monitore Hieronymo,) ab irato interim omnis superbiæ Vindice in imum barathrum præcipitandi.

Mittamus opinionem. Sunt qui reapse nimium ambiant justitiæ, idque vel publice, vel privatim. *Publice:* vel qui ipsum legis rigorem sectantur paulo severius in judicando, neglecta interim omnis ἐπιεικείας ratione. Pessimi amanuenses, qui leges etiam lacteas sanguine transcribunt! Carnifices plane legales; qui, dum non tam in mentem legislatoris, quam in juris apices intendunt, magistram vitæ, matrem pacis saluberrimam, νομοθεσίαν, in ministram mortis inique convertunt! Quo referri dicerem, qui sic pœnis frui solent, ut in aliorum delicta atrocius animadvertant, nisi illud palam esset, nullo graviore morbo seculum hoc, quam lenitate nimia, laborare. Neque tam lenientibus, cutimve blande reducentibus, linimentis indiget commune improbitatis ulcus, quam igne et ferro. Etiam virtus ipsa nimia licentia languescit, quæ moderata coercione vires perennat, immo reduplicat. Animosissimus equorum, si semper laxantur frœni, medio itinere deficit; neque jam virgæ respondet satis, nec calcaribus. Siquidem vobis publicæ rei salus curæ sit, eritis quidem hac in parte justiores. Vel qui, Sacræ Legis interpretes, ita se literis ac syllabis mancipio dare solent, ac si (contra quod olim Tertullianus) ratio divina non in medulla esset, sed in superficie. Ita Scribæ olim et Pharisæi, censore Christo. Ita Origenes, pœnam dans merito tot allegoriarum, Eunuchatum plane allegoricum ad literam paulo servilius interpretatus, sibi vim tulit, qui non minus vim intulerat Scripturæ; virque esse desiit, qui non desiit esse malus interpres. Ita et

Monachus ille olim Evangelium ipsum vendidit, a quo jussus est omnia vendere. Utinam vero doctores Pontificii immunes se præstarent ab hoc crimine; quibus nimis solenne est cœlum terræ miscere, humanitatem Christi in monstrum, in nihilum redigere, potius quam, in sacramentali loquendi forma, figuram nobiscum admittere velint, qui tamen ipsi multas inibi fateri coguntur. Non infimum est apophthegmatum sapientissimi Regis, quod tamen vulgata Papicolarum versio ridiculum facit, *Emulsor lactis educit butyrum; emunctor nasi educit sanguinem.* Et quid est hoc aliud, quam γάλα ἄδολον, *sincerum lac veritatis*, ita nimis agitare, ut in butyrum congelescat; naresque scripturarum adeo graviter comprimere, ut sanguis demum eliciatur? Et horum quidem uterque *nimis justus* est; in sententiis seu ferendis, seu interpretandis. Quin et huc revocamus illos male cautos justitiæ divinæ vindices, qui causam Dei non aliter agendam censent, quam suam; quasi ille ipse omnis justitiæ et bonitatis Fons ac Scaturigo immundum fluat, nisi ab istorum puteis humorem petat ilicet: vel qui, ex altera parte, prodigiosam justitiam, piisque auribus ne ferendam quidem, Deo adfingunt. O homo, O lutum; sat est: sis tu illi, quem te esse voluit: sit tibi ille, quem se fore revelavit!

Privatus justitiæ excessus sequitur; vel ἐν τῷ ἀπέχειν vel ὑπέχειν, ut imitemur Epictetum; sive in evitandis rebus legitimis, quarum nobis usum libere concessit Deus; sive in agendis suspiciendisque, quæ Deus nusquam præscripserit. Illud meticulosæ cujusdam est ac rigidiusculæ anxietatis: hoc vero superstitiosæ nimiumque affectatæ sanctimoniæ. Quæ de utroque horum meditatus eram, quam multa, prudens omitto, ne nimius sim. Cum instituto nostro conjunctior est paulo, quæ de sapientia sequitur oratio.

Ne sis sapiens nimis. Qui, data optione, sapientiam sibi elegit, et, supra quam mortales solent, sortitus est, nimium damnat sapientiæ. *Ecquid melle dulcius?* vere Sampson. *Ne nimium tamen mellis comedito;* prudenter Salomon. Ipse rationis morbus est curiositas; quo vel ad mortem usque laborarunt primi generis humani parentes; nobis quidem ideo hæreditarius cognatusque. Esdras ille suppositicius aliud profitetur, aliud præstat. *Non proposui mihi*, inquit, *interrogare de superioribus tuis.* Et tamen eodem loci, *Nunquid plus futurum est, quam præteriit?* Sed et bonus ille Dionysius, ita de Angelorum ordinibus (uti nostis) disserit, quasi cum Paulo raptus fuisset in cœlum. Immo quæ beatus Apostolus vidit et conticuit, iste non minus

profecto conticuit, quam vidit. Neque defuit alter, qui cœlestium spirituum numerum æque certo designavit. Quin et Matilda[c], una e minorum gentium divis, fratris cujusdam rogatu, ausa est nimis quidem familiariter sciscitari, quid de anima Sampsonis, quid de Salomonis, Trajani, Origenis, demum fieret. Qui ad pedes Christi diutule sederunt Apostoli, ubi de fidei mysteriis sermo inciderat, audiunt illico, *Vobis datum est nosse;* sed ubi de rebus parum necessariis percontantur, Οὐχ' *ὑμῶν γνῶναι.* Absorptus est ab illa voragine Plinius, quam propius penitiusque voluit intueri. Et Bethsemitæ, dum sacram Dei sedem læti perlustrant oculis suis, periere.

Scio me jam ulcus tangere hujus ævi, quod tamen faciam levi manu. Liceat mihi, fratres reverendi, coram vobis merito queri, seculum illud prius nimium ignorantiæ perdidisse. O crudeles plane illorum temporum Scribas et Pharisæos, qui, claves cœlorum sibi servantes nec intrarint ipsi, nec alios intrare discupientes sustinuerint? Nostrum vero hoc nimio perire sapientiæ. Generosior quidem paulo est iste morbus, sed nihilominus lethalis. Omnes omnia scire volumus; et ne quid forte lateat, etiam in arcanissima Dei concilia temere irruimus ac præcipitamur. Date veniam huic parrhesiæ. Et plebem et doctores reos perago hujusce mali.

Est sane (nequis nesciat) Theologia duplex, scholastica et popularis. Hæc religionis basin spectare videtur; illa tectorii ipsius formam et ornamenta respicit: hæc, quæ sciri debent; illa, quæ sciri possunt. Hujus cognitio Christianum facit, illius disceptatorem: vel, si quis mavult, et hæc theologum facere solet, et illa polire. Ut omnes utriusque sententiam ex æquo ambiant, periculi plena res est, et quæ vulgo in summa rerum omnium confusione desinat. Nulla profecto ars est, cujus intima ac secretiora mysteria non soleant, peculiari quadam ratione, solis artificibus relinqui. Nemo est quin tantum sibi patrii juris notum esse velit, quantum hæreditati suæ sive adeundæ, sive tutandæ, inservire posse putet, qui tamen summos juris apiculos sibi parum disquirendos autumet: hos vero potius consultissimis legum doctoribus lubentissime remittat. Pari modo fit in medicina. Ecquis est, qui non eo usque se Æsculapio in disciplinam tradere velit, ut quid corpori suo noxium, quid valetudini accommodum esse soleat, satis intelligat? qui tamen interim omnes pharmacopolæ pyxides,

c Matilda, a countess of Tuscany, who formally gave over her dominions to the pope. She died in 1115.—P. Hall.

herbarum vires, morborum rationes, medendique methodos, susque deque habeat? Quin et hoc idem in artium omnium Domina, ac Regina animæ, cum jurisprudentia tum medicina, sacrosanctissima Theologia, usu venit. Scitu ad salutem necessaria quæque imbibant omnes, et licet et juvat. Saturate animas vestras, quotquot estis Ecclesiæ filii, sacris hisce deliciis; subtiliores scholarum argutias alio ablegaturi. Τί ὑμῖν καὶ μακροῖς αὔλοις; Quanto minus expedit, ut plebeium quodque ingenium summas cœli arces scandat profano pede, ibique sacra Dei penetralia audaci oculo perlustret, deque profundissimis consilii divini arcanis judicium ferat! ut quivis e plebe nautarum bajulorumve, de abditissima Prædestinationis ratione ratiocinari præsumat! Regulam Cossicam in Arithmetica dixit nonnemo Prædestinationem in Theologia; de qua doctam quandam ignorantiam fateri non puduit illuminatissimos Ecclesiæ doctores. Etiam rapta in cœlum anima clamavit," Ω βάθος! Nos vero brevicula intellectus nostri ulnula decreti divini abyssum metiri audebimus? quæque ipsi Angeli stupent, nos conculcabimus? Neque tam plebem incuso istic, quam doctores ipsos, qui hæc tam parum tempestive populi auribus animisque oggesserint. Imprudenter sane factum, ita hæc abstrusissima mysteria e suggestis palam sonuisse, quasi in iis solis Christianorum res unica constitisset. Quanquam, ut vere dicam, etiam in causis religionis, nemo tenetur secundum ictum expectare. Ferire non licuit; licuit impetum hosticum propulsare. Sed neque tam imprudentia peccatur istic, quam nimio forsan sapientiæ.

Duo sunt, si quid ego animadverti, huic Ecclesiæ admodum infesta, (nihil enim mihi est cum malis quorundam politicorum artibus negotii;) nimium acumen, et hinc orta nimia prophetandi libertas. O mutata haud parum Batavorum ingenia, quibus hebescit jam plane orbis reliquus: dignus ilicet, qui vulgaria consectetur! Hinc fit, ut, spreta communi principiorum via, altiores quasdam speculationum semitas, de Ordine, de Numero, de Subjecto decreti divini, de physica moralive Inclinatione, de Actuum Habituumque methodo ac discrimine, tanto cum strepitu inire maluistis. Paulo aliter magnus ille Gentium doctor Paulus; qui profecto si revivisceret, spinosam Jesuitarum ac Dominicanorum Theologiam prorsus non intelligeret. Nihil ille inter suos scire curavit, præter Jesum Christum, eumque crucifixum. Figendæ sunt hic scholis ipsis suæ metæ, quas nefas fuerit transiliisse. Quantum nos, mei fratres, a primigenia illa Christianorum sim-

plicitate defleximus! Sex tantum capitibus constabat Catechismus Apostolicus. Theologia vero hodierna (quæ hominum curiosa mens est!) se habet instar quanti, seu mathematici seu physici, divisibilis in semper divisibilia. Illud quidem vere Erasmus; hanc vix finitam quæstionum subinde emergentium decisionumque farraginem, hoc quicquid est turbarum in Ecclesia Dei concitasse. Neque dubitarim ego, non neminem scholasticorum, verbis Festi, compellare, unaque ad Anticyras relegare: quos nimium eruditionis ad pessimum usque insaniæ genus redegerit. At nos, mei fratres, edocti melius, sobrie sapiamus; hoc est, uno verbo, non supra scriptum, non supra patres. Nos homuli ut progrediamur porro, ubi pedem fixerit Deus! Audi, caro et sanguis; Scrutator Majestatis opprimetur a gloria. Quindecim sunt, ut Judæi observant, in tota scriptura, loci, singularibus quibusdam intentionis notulis insigniti: quorum ille et unus et primus est, *Secreta Deo.* Si nihil quicquam consilii sui nobis innotescere voluisset Deus, prorsus siluisset; si totum, dilucidius profecto ac plenius rationem illius omnem explicuisset. Jam scire nos ista voluit, sed parcius, quantum scilicet nostræ tenuitatis modulo suæque gloriæ expedire judicavit. Hucusque sapere, et sanum et tutum est.

Et certe, ut liceat mihi hac de re paulo liberius loqui (quandoquidem nullarum partium homo sum ego, neque adversarium ago, sed monitorem benevolum,) judicem esse debere controversiarum omnium Spiritum S. in Sacra Scriptura loquentem, nemo est qui ambigat. Quo nempe recurrant fratres, de jure hæreditatis contendentes, nisi ad patris testamentum? Gratulabor vero hoc consilii Illustriss. Ordinibus, quorum nos decretum huc pie prudenterque manu duxerit. Neque minus illud constat, ea Scripturæ loca, quæ quid obscurius, vel transeundo, enunciare videntur, ad illustriora, quæque studio rem ipsam tractant, exigenda. Sed neque hoc denique a quoquam negari potest, nullum esse paginæ utriusvis locum, qui æque plene, perspicue, deditave opera, disquisierit hoc Prædestinationis caput, ac celeberrimus ille qui habetur ad Romanos nono. Agite ergo, viri judices; si me auditis, jubete, ut pars utraque litigantium, brevem, claram, apertamque, sine fuco, sine ambagibus, illius loci paraphrasin sancta Synodo, fraterna manu, exhibeat. Fieri non potest, quin, præeunte hac face divina, se veritas piis ingenuisque oculis conspiciendam sit præbitura. Non supra patres, fidissimos Scripturæ interpretes, lucidissima Ecclesiæ sidera. Sed et rex noster, serenissimus noster rex Jacobus, cujus nomine exultare mihi videtur tota Ecclesia

Dei; regum, quos sol unquam vidit, post unum Salomonem *θεοδίδακτον*, sapientissimus; in sua illa aurea Epistola monuit Illustriss. Ordines, nobisque in mandatis dedit, illud totis viribus urgere, illud unum inculcare, ut receptæ hactenus fidei communique, et vestræ et aliarum Ecclesiarum confessioni, adhærere usque velitis omnes. Quod si feceritis, O felicem Belgicam! O intemeratam Christi sponsam! O rempublicam florentissimam! Navigabit profecto in portu demum hæc afflictata opinionum undis Ecclesia, tempestatesque, a maligno illo excitatas, tuto ridebit ac contemnet. Illud vero ut jam tandem fiat, *φιλοτίμεισθε ἡσυχάζειν*. Fratres sumus, simus et collegæ. Quid nobis cum illo infami Remonstrantium, Contra-Remonstrantium, Calvinianorum, Arminianorum titulo? Christiani sumus, simus et *ἰσοψύχοι*. Unum corpus sumus, simus et unanimes. Per tremendum illud Omnipotentis Dei nomen, per pium blandumque communis matris nostræ gremium, per vestras ipsorum animas, perque sanctissima Jesu Christi Servatoris nostri viscera, pacem ambite, fratres, pacem inite; et ita vos componite, ut, seposito omni præjudicio, partiumque studio, ac malo affectu, in eadem omnes veritate feliciter conspiremus. Apage vero vesanam illam prophetandi libertatem, immo licentiam blasphemandi; ut liceat male feriato cuique tyroni, prodigiosissima cerebri sui phantasmata in apricum producere, et populo commendare et prelo; ridente Mauro, nec dolente Judæo! Quidvis licet, modo hoc liceat. In Scholis quidem philosophicis indultum hoc semper fuit luxuriantibus adolescentum ingeniis, ut liceret se thesibus, paradoxis, docasticisque argutationibus exercere: sed ut in S. Theologiæ veritatis negotio istud obtineat, moliri, audaciæ est plane diabolicæ, et quod merito nobis extorqueat illud prophetæ, *Obstupescite, cœli; confundere, O terra! Populus meus deseruit me, fontem vivum, et effodit sibi cisternas, immo puteos immundos, lutulentos.* Nobiliss. viri, vosque Sancta Synodus: si quis pudor, si qua pietas, reprimite hanc petulantissimam insaniendi libidinem; modum imperate hominum et linguis et calamis: et facite, ut qui vera sentire nolunt, falsa divulgare non ausint; ut error hæresisve, si denasci non potest, discat tamen latere, et invisum cælo caput tenebris occultare: ita, ut sola veritas lucem adspiciat, regnet sola; vobis salutem, gloriam Ecclesiæ, Reipub. pacem allatura. Quod utique efficiat Ille, pacis Auctor, veritatis Deus, Rex gloriæ; cui, trinuni Deo, Patri, Filio, Spiritui S. sit omnis laus, honor, gloria, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

DE PACE INTER EVANGELICOS

PROCURANDA;

SENTENTIA

JOS. DOM. EPISC. EXON.

JOHANNI DURÆO, SCOTO, TRADITA.[a]

"In simplicitate, fides est; in fide, justitia est; in confessione, pietas est. Non per difficiles nos Deus ad beatam vitam quæstiones vocat; non multiplici eloquentis facundiæ genere solicitat: in absoluto nobis ac facili est æternitas, Jesum suscitatum a mortuis per Deum credere, et ipsum esse Dominum confiteri."—*D. Ambrosius, de Trin.* lib. 10.

LECTORI, SALUTEM.

QUANDOQUIDEM (me prorsus inscio) evolarit in vulgus, inter gravissimas summorum Theologorum sententias, Schedula hæc; æquum fuerit, ut intelligat Lector tantillæ hujusce scriptiunculæ rationem.

[a] John Dury, or Durie, was a Scotch divine of eminent piety and zeal, who spent a considerable part of his life in attempting to bring the Lutherans and Calvinists to agreement. His publications, chiefly bearing on the same proposal, are very numerous. The following (which has never before appeared, either in Latin or English, among the works of bishop Hall) constitutes a portion of a volume, comprising "Four Judgments:" viz. those of Morton, bp. of Durham; Davenant, bp. of Salisbury; Hall, bp. of Exeter; and the last, a compilation from some of the most eminent divines of France. The first edition (containing only the communications of the three bishops) was published at Amst. 1634, 4to; the second, with the addition of the French divines, in 1636; the fourth, (from which the present reprint is taken,) revised and enlarged, with a list of authors who had previously written on the reconciliation of the Church, Lond. 1638, 12mo. This publication of Dury (with other treatises of bp. Hall) is referred to by Baxter in his Reformed Pastor, in terms of great commendation.—P. H.

Communicarat mecum D. Johannes Duræus, vir publico bono natus, neque nuperis modo amicitiæ nexibus, piisque officiis, mihi conjunctus, totum incepti sui (ardui quidem illius, sed perquam sancti utilisque) de componenda Evangelicorum lite consilium; felicemque itineris sui jam tum utriusque successum mihi, tanti laboris prius conscio, et ore et calamo haud parce exposuerat. Inter alia, (quod caput erat negotii,) dederat mihi in manus Colloquii illius Lipsiaci exemplar, quod inter primarios utriusque partis Theologos pridem habitum fuerat.

Scilicet (ne nesciat Lector) convenerant Lipsiæ (non sine numine,) anno salutis 1631, arrepta ex communi principum Evangelicorum consessu occasione, ex una parte, D. Matthias Hoeus, D. Polycarpus Leiserus, D. Henricus Hofnerus; ex altera vero, D. Johannes Bergius, D. Johannes Crocius, D. Theophilus Neubergerus; viri apud suos merito percelebres, sed et scriptis plerique orbi Christiano notissimi. Et non sine Illustrissimorum Principum consensu et auspiciis, colloquium instituerant inibi de re religionis, familiare, ingenuum, vereque fraternum: in quo, miro sane candore concordique studio percurrerunt sigillatim Augustanæ Confessionis articulos universos; libratisque æqua (ut oportuit) trutina utriusque partis sententiis, procul omni præjudicio ac affectu, tandem compertum est, omnes in una eademque communi veritate per omnia ejusdem Confessionis capita, tribus tantum exceptis, unanimes conspirasse: sed neque in tribus illis ita penitus dissensisse, ut nullus adhuc concordiæ locus superesse videretur.

Mirum mihi, fateor, neque non faustissimi ominis videbatur, horum aliquos, quos ferventioris ingenii Theologos scripta paulo acriora prodiderant, ita se modo ad publicæ pacis studium mitissime composuisse. Perlecto demum hoc Colloquio, (cujus exemplar apud me studiose adservo,) rogavit me satis importune Duræus meus, ut, quid de tribus hisce residuis controversiæ apicibus sentirem, breviter (neque enim ullus erat tunc moræ locus) exponere non gravarer. Non potui non satisfacere amicissimi hominis voto. Arripui calamum, et, horulæ unius spatio, (neque plus temporis supererat,) tantillum hoc exaravi; chartulamque jam illico discessuro in manus tradidi. Hinc fit, quod, cum alii amplissimi gravissimique Theologi, quibus forte parum suppetebat Colloquii illius apographum, de pacis ineundæ studio ac consilio generatim ac fusius disseruerint, ipse ad unicum hunc trium controversorum Articulorum scopum animum ita paucis intenderim: prelum certe nihilo magis quam carcerem meditatus. Vale.

SENTENTIA

ADMODUM REVERENDI D. JOSEPHI HALLI,

EPISCOPI EXONIENSIS.

De Colloquio Lipsiaco, sic mihi sentire liceat:—

Illa Religionis capita, in quibus utriusque partis Theologi plene consentiunt, abunde sufficiunt, cum ad salutem hominis Christiani, tum ad perfectam et solidam pacem in Ecclesiis Dei stabiliendam. Quæ restant, nollem equidem inter ἀπαιδεύτους Apostoli ζητήσεις annumerentur; certe ejusmodi sunt, ut ad Scholas Theologicas forte non immerito relegari possint, subtilius discutienda: pacem vero, vel pectoris Christiani, vel sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ, violare minime debeant. Quid nos Christianam charitatem profitemur, si levem hanc in Scholasticis problematibus discrepantiam fratribus mutuo indulgere pertinaciter usque detrectemus? qui probe noverimus, quam graves, horum respectu, errores (modo tales concedantur) Servator noster benignissimus, in suis ipsius domesticis, silenter præterierit, mitissimeque tolerarit?

Tria omnino sunt, in quibus dissidere profitentur gravissimi utriusque partis Theologi:—

Primum illud est: sitne Dominus Jesus, non solum juxta Divinam, sed etiam humanam naturam, vi unionis personalis, vere omniscius, omnipotens, omnipræsens? Esse quidem Dominum Jesum (Deum scil. et hominem) in utraque natura sua omniscium, omnipotentem, et omnipræsentem, utrisque in confesso est. Hoc dato, illud *Juxta* pure scholasticum est: quousque nimirum se extendat virtus unionis illius hypostaticæ, silet Spiritus, tuto nescit Christianus. Disputent, si volunt, Doctores, et problemate hoc ingenia, quantum lubet, exerceant. Sat erit homini Christiano, ut sciat, habere se Servatorem, Θεάνθρωπον, cui omnia hæc divina attributa vere competant. Sed et Theologi ipsi habent in quo acquiescant, dummodo concessum hoc utrinque fuerit; etiam humanam naturam personaliter omnisciam, omnipræsentem, omnipotentem esse: quod nos omnes rotunde profiteri non dubitamus. O

nos, osores pacis, si adhuc mavelimus litigare! In his omnibus, utinam animis nostris insideret illa Joh. Gersonis saluberrima distinctio: esse quædam de necessitate fidei, quædam vero de fidei devotione: de illis dubitare nefas; de his, absque omni periculo, vel ἐπέχειν, vel aliter sentire licet.

Secundum est de modo percipiendi Christum in Eucharistia. Inibi scilicet vere ac realiter exhiberi et manducari corpus Christi, unaque cum terrenis hisce elementis accipi, fatentur utrique. De indignis tantum quæstio est. Indigna vero lis, quæ pacem publicam interturbet! Facile concedimus utrique, etiam indignos manducare istud, quod, unione Sacramentali, corpus Christi est; ac proinde *reos esse corporis et sanguinis Jesu Christi.* Quid nunc ultra de orali indignorum manducatione litem movemus? Illud nempe curent Christiani, ut ipsi digne communicent; de indignorum participatione parum solliciti sint. Quousque vero se extendat vis unionis istius Sacramentalis, terminusque modi manducationis, sive oralis, sive spiritualis, litigent in scholis Theologi: non est quod Christiani istud nimis anxie disquirant; non est quod, dum tam curiosa hæc opinionum momenta nobis mutuo indulgere recusamus, pax Ecclesiæ violetur.

Tertium est fatale illud Prædestinationis theorema, de quo varie sententiam suam exprimunt utriusque partis Theologi; modeste quidem prudenterque. In plurimis maximisque conspirant utrorumque judicia: nempe, liberrimam gratuitamque esse miserentis Dei Electionem; nullam in electis aut causam aut occasionem invenisse Deum, cujus intuitu hi potius quam illi eligerentur: sed ab æterno Deum, in peccatis et infidelitate perseverantes, ad æternam damnationem prædestinasse et reprobasse; non rigido aliquo et absoluto decreto, absque omni respectu peccati, sed justissimo suo judicio; ita ut omnis sive causa sive culpa in hominibus ipsis meritissimo quærenda sit. In illo hærent, quod gravissimi Theologi Saxonici prævisionem fidei ac perseverantiæ præstituunt actui Electionis divinæ; præordinasse quippe ab æterno Deum, quos prævidit in tempore credituros, etc. Certe inter omnes de Prædestinatione quæstiones, levissima illa est, quæ de ordine decreti solet agitari: quandoquidem nobis certum sit, uno et simplicissimo actu, totum hoc ab Infinito et Sapientissimo Rerum Moderatore peragi. Nihil certius est quam Deum prævidisse credituros, et salvandos prædestinasse: detur hoc modo, quod iidem Saxonici non illibentes profitentur, Fidem esse unicum Dei ipsius donum, et quicquid boni in electis sit, ex mera liberrima Dei gratia, quæ

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illis in Jesu Christo ab æterno data fuit, originaliter provenire; nihil profecto esse potest periculi in illa prævisionis sententia. Præviderit ab æterno Deus, quod ipse ab æterno dare decreverit in tempore credituris. Tuta sunt istic omnia, nec est quod iste contentionis funis ultra protrahatur.

In omnibus vero istis, exosculor piam hanc, ac vere fraternam, ἐπιεικείαν καὶ φιλησυχίαν. Sic nempe oportet Christianos, sic Theologos. Fallor, nisi modestia hæc, et tempestiva animorum sedatio, firmam perpetuamque Ecclesiæ pacem præsagiat. Annue tandem, o Deus Pacis! Exaudi tuorum preces; faxisque, ut sit Christianis omnibus cor unum, via una, donec, per Te Viam, perducamur ad Te Vitam! Amen, Amen.

Ita supplex assidue et adnixe vovet,

JOS. EXON.

Datum in Palatio Exon.
Februarii 25. 1634.

Miserat ad Dominum Episcopum Exoniensem postmodum idem D. Johannes Duræus exemplar Decreti cujusdam pii ac pacifici, in Conventu Ordinum Francofurtensi communibus votis hac de re sanciti ac promulgati; petieratque ipsius de modo ac ratione promovendi hujus sacri negotii judicium; tulitque subinde hoc responsum:—

VIRO

INTEGERRIMO, DOCTISSIMO, AMICISSIMO,

D. JOHANNI DURÆO,

SALUTEM PLURIMAM.

Non sine summa voluptate animi perlegi, mi Duræe, apographum Decreti illius Irenici, quod illustres Ordines ac Deputati Evangelici, in Francofurtensi Conventu, nuper unanimes consignarunt: quo nihil (ut mihi quidem videtur) prudentius, nihil religiosius excogitari potuit. Neque video quid (uti se res habent) vel sperari ultra potuerit; vel paci publicæ (quam tantopere sitimus boni omnes) provehendæ accommodatius proponi statuive. Sic nempe oportuit Sanctos Ecclesiæ cives, sic pios proceres, Christiani orbis concordiæ ac saluti studiose providere. Benedictus vero sit boni omnis Largitor, pacis Author, Deus, qui salutares hasce cu-

ras, ac sana consilia, nobilissimis istorum pectoribus ingesserit! Idemque Summus Optimusque rerum Arbiter, opus suum tam auspicato inchoatum, perficere tandem velit feliciter, et coronare! Preces certe nostræ non unquam deerunt, non deerunt conatus qualescunque; nec scio qua spe erectus mihi animus, optatissimum sacro huic incepto exitum paulo fidentius videtur præsagire.

Enimvero quantilla sepes est, qua modo disterminamur! Easdem Scripturas, eadem Symbola, eandem Confessionem Augustanam, Evangelici omnes approbamus; uni modo Articulo sensus ita ambigue sonat, ut ne ipse quidem author satis tuto literæ acquiescendum censuerit. Fundamentum Christianæ fidei stat nobis omnibus unum, idem, integrum, et inconcussum: nullum inibi saxum, nulla cœmenti particula est, de qua lis moveri aut solet, aut potest. Superstruuntur huic theoremata quædam Scholastico-Theologica, de quibus solis adeo ferociter depugnamus. Hæc vero quid tandem ad hominem Christianum? quid ad salutem? Quam tutæ fuissent res Christianæ, quam pacatæ, si ista curiosorum hominum problemata argutæque minutiæ nunquam extitissent; si, generalioribus quibusdam exprimendæ veritatis formulis contenta, Doctorum ingenia sacram Theologiam non ita nimium subtiliter cribrassent ilicet. Postquam vero tam infeliciter mota sunt hæc, non inutilia modo, sed utrique parti perquam damnosa, certamina; quid tandem componendis hisce motibus conducibilius suaderi potest, quam ut ad primævam simplicitatem, publicæ authoritatis interventu, Christianæque Ecclesiæ communi consensu, fides reducatur? doceaturque orbis Christianus, in hac multiplici credendorum farragine, prudenter distinguere inter genuinos fidei articulos, et parum necessaria Scholasticarum conclusionum adjectamenta: quod in hoc quidem ipso negotio haud nimis difficile fuerit.

De fundamento quidem fidei illud est quam maxime; Christus et Deus est et homo: sed et illud; Christus, Deus et homo, vere est omnisciens, omnipotens, omnipræsens. Jam si quis insuper addiderit; Jesus Christus, etiam juxta humanam naturam, omniscius, omnipræsens, omnipotens est; certe illud *Juxta* procul abesse videtur a fundamento. Scholasticum quiddam est, ad Theologiæ licentiatos relegandum: non est quod Christianæ plebeculæ salus ab hoc tam subtili articulo suspendatur. Illane ut scire possit, aut vero debeat, quousque unionis hypostaticæ virtus sese extendat? qui sint theanthropicarum sive facultatum, sive

operationum limites? Certe, si isthoc scitu omnibus necessarium statuisset Deus, non minus clare tam fundamentale mysterium Ecclesiæ revelasset. De veritate rei non dissero, (neque enim instituti mei est;) dissero de credendi necessitate. Humana paululum conferamus divinis: (quamquam quæ terræ cum cœlo analogia est?) Ex anima et corpore, sibi unitis, constat homo. Suæ sunt interim utrique parti proprietates actionesque, quæ subjecto communiter (idque jure bono) attribui solent. Homo sentit, intelligit, edit, ambulat, dormit, moritur. Suggerit hoc nobis, sive ratio, sive sensus irrefragabiliter. Quisquamne idcirco dixerit, Sed et illud sciendum æque: homo juxta corpus sentit et intelligit; juxta animam, edit, ambulat, dormit, moritur? Sane, ut se habet ad intelligibilia ratio, sic fides ad spiritualia et divina. Novi equidem quantum sit in subjecto discriminis: rei tamen (etiam si fieri posset) credendæ cognoscendæve, necessitas haud minus impar.

Veritatis ergo quod certissimum, quod creditu necessarium, aperteque fundamentale est, amplexemur profiteamurque unanimes; de reliquis exerceant se (si lubet) Theologorum ingenia; non interim nimis solicita sit plebs Christiana. Quod si paci publicæ quicquam conducere videbitur, ut ad ipsas exprimendi formulas quam proxime accedamus; dixerimus modo (quod ex Innocentio et Scholasticis citavit olim Hier. Zanchius[d]) etiam humanam Christi naturam esse, secundum esse suum personale, omnipræsentem, etc. Non video, quin pars utraque libenter suffragari et possit, et velit. Figatur isthic pes; nec ultra liceat alterutri procedere: in tuto sumus.

In negotio Eucharistico, certum illud est, ac de fundamento, ipsum verum et essentiale Christi corpus et sanguinem vere adesse, exhiberi, percipi, in sacra illa Cœna: corporaliterne vero in pane ac vino præsens sit, oraliterne (vel ab impiis et indignis) vi elementorum benedictorum supernaturali percipiatur, Theologicæ disquisitionis est: atque ejusmodi, quæ, testibus Luthero, Melancthone, Justo Jona, Osiandro, Brentio, Stephano Agricola; sed et Œcolampadio, Zuinglio, Bucero, Hedione; ne dilectionem quidem Christianam violare debeat. Scilicet inita fuit hoc omine celebris illa Concordia Marpurgensis, Anno Dom. 1529. Sed et

[d] Zanch. Judicium de Dissidio Cœnæ, in fine Miscellaneorum. Quod idem probatur a Zuinglio, ibidem citato. Vide etiam Fieldium nostratem in lib. 3. de Eccles. c. 35 et 42. et in Append. part. 1. Respons. ad 2dum cap. Higgonii; ubi etiam citant. Pic. Mirand. Cajetan. aliique.

illud sempiterna memoria dignum, quod de Conventu Witebergensi (Anno 1536) retulit Ludovicus Rabus, Ulmensis Pastor, in sua Martyrum Historia. Cui concinit, qui jam tum præsens erat, Joannes Suiccius, Pastor Constantiensis, (citante Hospiniano,) habeturque in scriptis Buceri Anglicanis. Intererant illi, ex una quidem parte, Capito, Bucerus, Musculus, et reliqui civitatum Imperii præcipuarum, e superiore Germania melioris notæ Theologi: ex altera, Lutherus, Philippus, Jonas, Pomeranus, Cruciger, doctoresque alii et concionatores Witebergenses. Post aliquot vero expostulationes, sermonesque varios ultro citroque habitos, quibus utraque pars sententiam suam libere candideque explicasset; tandem Lutherus (cum suis paululum regressis collata re) in hæc verba desiit:—"Si creditis, et docetis, in Sacra Cœna verum corpus et verum sanguinem Domini exhiberi, dari, et sumi, et non panem et vinum tantum; et quod perceptio et exhibitio hæc vere fiat, et non imaginarie: inter nos convenit; vosque agnoscimus et recipimus, ut charos fratres in Domino." Asseruerunt istud clare lubenterque Bucerus, Capito, reliqui: junctis manibus, discessum est. Nempe tranquillæ jam tum erant aquæ, nec quibus ventorum turbis agitatæ; atque ideo ipsam veritatis faciem clarissime repræsentarunt. Quin nos æque jam sero sapimus: Quin procellosa illa, quæ postmodum secuta sunt, tempora prætervecti, in veteri hoc tutoque Concordiæ portu acquiescimus.

De re prædestinationis, sub quot quantisque voluminibus ingemescit Christi Ecclesia! Ubi nos orbemque Christianum litigiosis calamis fatigaverimus, illud constabit omnibus cognoscendum credendumque[e]:—

1. Deum quosdam ex mero suo beneplacito, ab æterno, et immutabiliter, elegisse.

2. Neminem a Deo electum, salvandumve esse, qui non idem credit in Jesum Christum, inque fide hac perseverat.

3. Neminem in Christum credere posse, nisi cui hoc Deus efficaci Spiritus sui gratia donaverit, et inoperatur.

4. Deum neminem aut damnasse, aut vero reprobasse, nisi intuitu peccati: ita ut sola culpa et causa damnationis sit in hominibus; causa vero electionis et salutis in mera Dei gratia.

Totum vero hoc utrique parti in confesso est. Infinitæ sunt, sat scio, de capite hoc disquisitiones: stet sua cuique sententia, per me licet; ego nemini præjudico. Me quod attinet, si quis quid de re tota sentiam quæsierit, Articulis Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ,

[e] Capita hæc utrobique in hoc Colloquio concessa sunt.

atque sententiæ Theologorum nostræ Britanniæ in Synodo (cui interfui) Dordracena suffragantium, adhærescere rotunde profiteor. Sed quid aliud est in arduo hoc negotio, (præter communem concessæ veritatis simplicitatem,) quod plebi Christianæ tantum molestiæ facessere debeat? De reliquis disserant in Scholis Theologi; fas sileant pulpita. Quam et eædem, et graviores, in Ecclesia Romana extant controversiæ: quæ tamen (prout caute prudenterque res geritur) pacem publicam neutiquam soleant violare! Sapere nos doceant, vel qui odisse profitentur! Quod si Christiani orbis Domini, pro sua authoritate, decernerent, et moderata Theologorum ingenia sibi statuerent, hosce (non nimis quidem angustos) controversæ tractationis limites; certa foret stabilisque concordia, pacata ac felix Ecclesia: victrix denique veritas de communi hoste triumpharet.

Isthoc vero ut, pro votis, fiat, prudentissime quidem Illustres Ordines Legatique proposuerunt suaseruntque indicendum, literisque invitatoriis rogandum, communiorem quendam Theologorum pacificorum Conventum: amicissimi illius, nunquamque satis laudati, Colloquii Lipsiaci prosecutionem æque modestam sententiarum etiam a notatissimis quibusque absentibus Doctoribus transmissionem: definienda, quæ salutis basin concernunt, religionis capita; seponenda reliqua, adque Scholas, si opus fuerit, releganda: imperandam interim et linguis, et calamis, sive moderationem, sive taciturnitatem; preces utrinque publicas pro sanctissimi negotii successu devote concipiendas. Fiant ista modo, recto corde, in timore Domini, non est quod de felici exitu dubitemus. Dei negotium est; ille non deerit sibi.

Tu vero, mi Dursæe, qui inceptum hoc (Deo, angelis, hominibus, gratissimum) tanto ardore animi, tam indefatigabili labore ac studio, tot periculis, tantis impensis, hactenus prosecutus es; ita profecto de tota Ecclesia meritus es, ut nemo ubivis bonorum omnium sit, quin se tibi debitorem fateri debeat. Macte virtute tua, vir egregie; perge porro magno huic operi colophonem addere. Immo pro te nobisque hoc faciat Cœli Terræque Deus; qui tibi iter istud operamque usque sospitet!

Vale: a tuo,

JOS. EXON.

PAX TERRIS:

SUASORE ET NUNTIO

JOSEPHO HALLO,

ECCLESIÆ NORVICENSIS SERVO.

1648.

REVERENDO IN CHRISTO PATRI AC DO. DOMINO

THOMÆ MORTONO[f],

ECCLESIÆ DUNELMENSIS PASTORI VIGILANTISSIMO.

Quot quantosque labores exantlaveris Ecclesiæ Christi, Antistes merito honorande, norunt, quaqua patet orbis noster Europæus, studiosi fere omnes; quorum manibus teruntur egregia illa, a te olim edita, Controversiarum volumina, quibus etiam ætas nepotum se plurimum debere fatebitur.

Nempe ea fuit semper Divinæ Providentiæ felix dispensatio, ut nullo ævi vel lustro quidem (ex quo reducis Evangelii lumen orbem beaverit, (ne hoc quidem omnium perditissimo, permiserit defore ex hoc sacro Præsulum Anglicanorum ordine veritatis suæ vindices, causæ patronos, Ecclesiæ columnas et *ἀντηρίδας*. Testor omnium gentium bibliopolia, testor ipsos rei Evangelicæ hostes acerrimos. Sensit hoc urbs illa Septicollis, orbis olim domina, et ingemuit.

Sed, dum nos in illam pontificiam *ἐθελοπερισσοθρησκείαν* calamos stringimus, ecce palam exurgentia alia quædam Lernæi monstri capita, prioribus illis diritate sua longe magis horrenda: Nearianorum, Socinianorum, Anomœorum, Hæreses redivivas: sed et innumerarum fere sectarum cujusque generis, Schismata longe atrocissima: quæ utraque Ecclesiæ Dei, nihil profecto minus quam ipsam perniciem minitantur.

Quid nunc nostra magis interest, si ullam posteris Ecclesiam relinquere desideramus, quam cura quantavis *διακρίνειν τὰ διαφέροντα*; hoc est, si mihi liceat interpretari, a vilibus preciosa, a malis pessima, a levibus quibusdam opinionum erroribus sectas, a sectis hæreses, accurate discriminare; hæreses, vero, quæ ipsa fidei fundamenta penitus convellunt, ad inferos, unde scilicet hæ furiæ prodierunt, plene convictas relegare; errones, autem, reliquos blanda

[f] [Dean of Winchester, afterwards successively bishop of Chester, Lichfield, Durham.—See Barwick's Life of him, *Lond.*, 1660.]

aliqua, si fieri potest, suasione ad veritatis semitam reducere; juratos quosque ac implacabiles fidei hostes arcere prorsus, et spiritu oris debellare; levius dissidentes piæ cujusdam misericordiæ visceribus excipere, inque sinum admittere; curare, denique, quantum possumus, ut hiantia vulnerum fraternorum ora tandem coalescant.

Illud nempe est, quod ego istic molior, neque pigebit rugosa hac præque senio tremula manu, hoc quicquid est symboli paci publicæ contulisse. Angor equidem animi, et præ mœrore pene contabesco, (ecquis, vero, piorum aliter se habere potest?) ubi video non inconsutilem modo tunicam, sed et ipsa Christi membra, etiam suis ipsorum manibus, ita misere a se discerpta, ut quo tandem pertineant, vix quidem a cordato quopiam arbitro dignosci queat.

Ilicet hæc est ultimi hujusce temporis calamitas, sub qua nos miselli usque ad vitæ tædium suspiramus. Et quiritare, quidem, Deo ac hominibus, facile solemus omnes: vix quis, tamen, malo huic averruncando manum admovet: sed et pauci illi, qui istud benevolo in Ecclesiam animo tentarunt εἰρηνοποιοὶ, satis iniquam operis boni mercedem utrinque reportarunt.

Neque, tamen, ita me movent ista, ut a tam salutari instituto, quovis periculo absterreri possim. Deus ille Pacis, cui soli in hac re totus inservio, opellam hanc qualemcunque suo patrocinio, utinam et æque felici successu, beare non detrectabit.

Tu, interim, Præsul vere reverende, quem sancte administrata προστασία, veneranda canities, singularis pietas, acre judicium, labor indefessus, eximia denique rerum humanarum divinarumque scientia, toti Ecclesiæ Christi charum una et percelebrem præstiterunt, negotium hoc sacrum tuo, si placet, suffragio promovere velis; ac insuper, ubi βιβλαρίδιον hoc oculis lustrare libuerit, paginam quamque, aut obelo aut asterisco, pro judicio tuo, more Origenico, notare non dedigneris, rogat.

Conservorum tuorum infimus ac humillimus,

J. H. N.

Norwici: Prid. Cal.
Decem. 1647.

PAX TERRIS.

Audite, omnes, quotquot, ubilibet gentium estis, Christiani; et ad ea, quæ in rem conducunt vestram, sedulo attendite.

Satis, jam diu, superque, per totum orbem Christianum depugnatum est: neque desunt, qui classicum ubique canant insuper, sævi præcones; crudelique ac temerario zelo, et gladios exacuant et animos.

Ecce me, nuncium pacis Evangelicæ; quæ, nisi vos non vultis, fessam ac mutuis vulneribus fœde cruentatam, peneque exanimem, Christi Ecclesiam jam sero invisere ac beare gestit. Nec cui bono ingratum esse potest, quod angelis cœlestibus accinimus: neque turpes videri queunt illi pedes, quos olim sanctus Propheta speciosos pronunciavit.

Vos, interim, deponite arma, Christiani; lauroque olivam, quam supplex fero, anteponite. Æternis laudibus merito effertur miles ille Romanus, qui, hostem jam stricto ense transfixurus, audita subito ad recessum conclamante tuba, retraxit illico manum, gladiumque recondidit; satius ratus ducis imperio, quam propriæ vindictæ, obtemperare. Quin et vos pariter facitis. Revocat vos, me buccinatore, Deus ab hoc ferali certamine: referte modo pedes manusque: desistite jam nunc; et, post inducias subinde factas, duraturæ pacis consilia inite.

Nolo pluribus præfari: hoc agamus: Σὺν δὲ θεὸς, etc., ut olim cantores Attici[a].

Sect. I.

Pauca fuerunt illa fidei capita[b], quæ primævis Christianis necessario credenda proponebantur.

Neque vero plura sunt, quæ a Christianis quibuscunque, ut scitu crediuque ad salutem necessaria, requiruntur. Eadem nempe est, et semper erit, communis illa *fides, tradita olim sanctis*, Jude 3, cujus professione Christiani indigitamur; nec alia ex eo creari aut debet, aut vero potest[c].

[a] Σὺν δὲ θεοὶ μάκαρες.—Suid. [in v. Σύν.]
[b] Pauca credenda.—Reg. S. Columb.
[c] Quod semel verum fuit, semper verum erit.—Salmer. Tom. ix. Tract. 43.

Præcipua tot tantarumque inter Christianos litium causa fuit, et adhuc est, curiosa illa credendorum multiplicatio, et subdivisio in semper divisibilia, in quibus mens humana requiescere nesciit; et acris quædam conclusionum, inde probabili fortasse consecutione deductarum, assertio et propugnatio.

Sect. II.

Iisdem vestigiis insistere debet remedium, quibus et morbus. Ad sua nimirum principia, ut sero sapere discamus, reducendus est Christianismus; et modus statuendus illis articulis, in quibus, velut de fide credendis, acquiescere debet plebs Christiana: de reliquis, in hac parte, silentium.

Optandum idcirco foret, ut hoc demum, œcumenico Christiani orbis conventu, communi consensu transigi posset.

Quod si istud, quæ pervicax esse solet indoles osorum pacis, sperari nequeat, nihil obstat, quin Ecclesiæ quæque, ab hac tetra animicidarum tyrannide immunes, in hac certa pacis ineundæ ratione unanimiter conspirent.

Quod si neque istud obtineri, præ temporum injuria, poterit, privatus quisque Christianorum (quid enim impedit quo minus unusquisque sui potestatem habeat?) hos sibimet credendi fines firmiter statuat; quos semel positos, quocunque mortalium suadente aut protrahente, transgredi nolit.

Sect. III.

Liberum interea esse et potest et debet scholis Theologicis, ac Theologiæ candidatis quibuscunque, de rebus quibusque in sua facultate controversis hac illac disputare; veritatemque abstrusam latentemque subtili, qua possunt, disquisitione indagare: quod idem, in unaquaque arte, professoribus ejusdem semper licuit: at, vero, populo Christiano hoc adeo non incumbit, ut neque expediat quidem, neque periculo careat, cum suo, tum Ecclesiæ[d].

Sect. IV.

Illud ergo concionatoribus quibusque serio ac sub severioris censuræ pœna injungendum, ut intra fines a Deo et Ecclesia præscriptos sese continere velint: non nova et exotica dogmata, ce-

[d] *In Romana Ecclesia*, ex parte disputantis redditur disputatio [de fide] illicita, si disputans sit laicus: quippe id illi, sub pœna excommunicationis, interdicitur, *etiamsi laicus sit doctus*; ne, disputante docto, indocti ansam de fide disputandi arripiant.—Sanchez. de Decal. l. ii. c. 6. [§ 3, 5.]

rebelli humani fœtus maleformes, populo Christiano venditantes; sed in illis tantum sese fideliter exerceant, quæ ad pœnitentiam, fidem, bonos mores, quoque modo, spectaverint: salubria quæque præcepta, ad vitæ emendationem, pietatis vigorem, et animarum denique salutem conducentia fidelium auribus usque inculcantes. Avocent, imprimis, plebeculæ Christianæ animos a nimis anxia rerum non necessariarum disquisitione; suadeantque non opus esse, ut se quæstionum inutilium equuleis discrucient; ad ea potius curam omnem unice intendant, quibus animarum suarum salus promoveri possit[e].

SECT. V.

Sed et illud Christianis auditoribus, modo salvi esse velint, necessum est, ut procul abs se amoveant impetiginosam illam aurium ac animorum pruriginem, qua nimis multi laborantes hodie, spretis veteribus morum ac fidei institutis, novis quotidie inhiant; coacervantes sibi magistros, *τὴν ὑγιαινούσαν διδασκαλίαν* nauseabundi rejicientes, neque tam cordi studentes quam palato.

SECT. VI.

Quod si quid forte cuiquam occurrit a recepta Ecclesiæ sententia alienum, hoc intra secretum pectoris sui scrinium tacite servet; neque sinat, non sine summo publicæ pacis discrimine, in vulgus evolare. Consulat, interea, illos, quorum labia et conservandæ et promendæ scientiæ constituit Summus Rerum Arbiter, Author Fidei[f].

Favete ergo vobis, hoc modo, Christiani; et paci vestræ consulite, sed et publicæ. Figite pedes, imo corda vestra, in illis religionis Christianæ capitibus, quæ cognitu credituque ad salutem necessaria sunt; nec ab illis sinite vos, vel vi vel fraude ulla, ne latum quidem pilum, dimoveri. De reliquis ne sitis adeo soliciti, ut earum causa pacem, aut vestram aut Ecclesiæ, violandam censeatis.

SECT. VII.

Non quasi nullos in rerum divinarum cognitione progressus vos facere velim, aut *ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φέρεσθαι* vetem. Absit!

[e] In iis, quæ aperte in Scripturis posita sunt, inveniuntur illa omnia, quæ continent fidem, moresque vivendi; spem, scilicet, atque charitatem.—Aug. de Doctrina Christiana l. ii. c. 14. In Divinis Scripturis quæcunque necessaria sunt manifesta sunt. [*πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δῆλα*]—Chrys. in 2 Thess. Hom. 3. Idem et Bellar. de Verbo Dei. l. iv. c. 11.

[f] Alia sunt, in quibus [inter se] aliquando etiam doctissimi atque optimi regulæ Catholicæ defensores, salva fidei compage, non consentiunt [consonant]; et alius alio de una re melius et verius dicit.—Aug. contr. Jul. i. c. vi. 21.

Congerite quantum potestis sanæ scientiæ. Excolite animos, quantum intra metas cujusque vocationis licuerit, omnifaria sacrorum mysteriorum notitia: neque lacte, infantulorum more, semper contenti, contendite ut cibum quemque animæ solidiorem perfecte digerere valeatis.

Memineritis, tamen, interea accurate distinguere, inter ea, quæ fidei sunt; et ea, quæ sunt opinionis: inter ea, quæ sunt de ipsa Christianæ religionis essentia; et ea, quæ parum necessariarum appendicularum loco superadjici solent: inter ea, quæ Christianismi sive corpus sive animam spectant; et ea, quæ vestes et ornamenta. Et quicquid aut scire juvat aut ratiocinari, fidem vestram intra suos cancellos semper continendam memineritis; ut frugi paterfamilias solet, qui vicinorum res fortassis intelliget, suas tantum interea accurat.

Neque in his secundariis tantum vobis arrogetis, ut aliorum judiciis, satis pro magisterio, præscribere velitis; aliterque sentientes atro carbone notandos censeatis: sed eos, qui vobiscum in eadem communi fide contesserarint, neque aliqua praxi impia ab agendorum norma recesserint, velut fratres germanos amplexamini[g].

Sect. VIII.

Quisquis, ergo, crediderit in Deum unum; Spiritum æternum, incomprehensibilem, omnipotentem, conditorem, conservatoremque omnium: Patrem, Filium, Spiritum Sanctum; essentia unum, distinctum personis; unum Mediatorem inter Deum et hominem, Jesum Christum; ὁμοούσιον Dei Filium; in plenitudine temporis hominem pro nobis factum, ut hominem suo peccato morti obnoxium redimeret; inque hac humana natura passum, crucifixum, mortuum, ac, sua divina virtute, resuscitatum, ascendisse in cœlos, ibique sedere ad dextram Majestatis, perpetuum pro nobis Intercessorem; reversurum inde, suo tempore, vivorum mortuorumque Judicem: Deinde, vero, agnoverit communem quendam fidelium cœtum; partim in cœlis triumphantem, partim militantem in terris; cui soli competit indivisa sanctorum communio, et certa remissio peccatorum: Deinde, resurrectura olim, hæc quæ deponimus, animis socianda, corpora mortalia; malorum quidem ad æternos, cum diabolo ejusque angelis, cruciatus; bonorum, vero, ad beatæ vitæ gloriosam immortalitatem: Sed et qui Scrip-

[g] Potest mihi aliquid videri, alteri aliud: sed neque ego, quod dixere, præscribo alteri; nec ille mihi.—Aug. in Ps. xvi.

turam Sacram ut ipsissimum Dei verbum vere *θεόπνευστον* ita venerabundus exceperit, ut omnibus in sacro illo Canone contentis humiliter ac pie assentiri paratus fuerit: Baptismum, ut salutare initiationis sacramentum ex institutione Christi suscipiendum; Cœnamque Dominicam, ut cœleste viaticum animæ, summa cum cura apparatuque, ut Christi hospitem decet, adeundam censuerit: Denique, Deum in Christo, in cujus merita totus recumbit, sancte invocet, vitamque suam ad Legis Divinæ normam transigere serio profiteatur; pietatem erga Deum juxta ejus præscriptum, erga homines justitiam ac charitatem sedulo exercitaturus: Quisquis, inquam, ista arcte tenuerit, quicquid sit de reliquis, hic mihi Christianus erit: hunc ego, quodcunque ipsi in credibilium serie sive desit sive superfluat, Christiano amore usque prosequar. Nimirum, quemcunque Deus filium appellare dignatur, hunc ego, sub quacunque cœli plaga vitam duxerit, quodcunque non tenuerit, fratrem salutare non verebor.

Sect. IX.

Nec aliter, profecto, affici debet ullus uspiam Christianorum, quem non committat oportet, ut pro minimis opinionum (sit verbo venia) dissentiunculis pacem publicam fraternamque charitatem dirimi illico sinat. Dari, quidem, debet opera, ut discrepantes fidelium sententiæ, commoda aliqua ratione, reconcilientur; intendendique animorum nervi; ut, excogitatis quibusdam satis aptis distinctionibus, opiniones adversæ tandem coalescant. Sed, cum spes nulla suppetat, aut posse hoc unquam fieri, aut (quæ pertinax hominum *φιλαυτία*) sine magno pacis dispendio vel tentari quidem; quanto satius foret, ut, vinculo pacis constricti omnes, quotquot in eadem fide unanimiter conspiramus, liberum cuique relinquamus, absque contestata lite de quibusdam non necessariæ veritatis minutiis aliter atque aliter opinari!

Sect. X.

Istud nos edocuit, suo exemplo, unicus e cœlo Magister, Dominus noster Jesus Christus; qui, cum, in mundum veniens, non paucas inter Judæos sectas acerrime secum dimicantes comperisset, nulli omnium sese immiscuit, nec cujus meminit quidem; id unum solicitus, ut ad pœnitentiam, fidem, justitiam, charitatem, integramque Legis Divinæ observationem genus humanum vocaret excitaretque. Quot, vero, quantosque in suis domesticis errores ac defectus, misericordi silentio, præterierit, pleniorem quan-

dam Spiritus non ita multo post descensuri revelationem patienter usque præstolatus, nemo est qui nesciat.

Sed et magnus ille Apostolorum coryphæus, Doctor Gentium Paulus, quanta cum gravitate, quanta ἀποδείξει πνεύματος (1 Cor. ii. 4.) redarguit malos! sanctitatem vero, fidem, charitatem suadet premitque; summam veritatis Christianæ fideliter tradit; errores huic contrarios, evincit debellatque: atque in his ita totus est, ut, parum de aliis solicitus, in hoc demum acquiescendum censeat; *Quicunque perfecti sumus, hoc sentiamus; et si quid aliter sapitis, et hoc vobis Deus revelabit;* Phil. iii. 15: et alibi: *Si quis velit φιλόνεικος esse, nos talem consuetudinem non habemus, neque Ecclesiæ Dei.* Denique, Timotheo suo quam vehementer illud urget, *O Timothee, serva depositum, devitans profanas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi-nominis scientiæ!*

Ilicet hoc si curæ fuisset succedentium seculorum pastoribus, patres nostri non ita misere discerptam nobis Scholasticorum tricis Ecclesiam reliquissent,

Sect. XI.

Polycarpi et Aniceti, sequente seculo, amicæ lites sat orbi innotuerunt. Insigne, vero, erat illud sancti martyris Cypriani, qui Carthaginensi 70 Episcoporum Concilio, cui præsidebat, verba faciens, ubi de quæstione non levi agebatur; De rebaptizandis, scilicet, iis qui ab hæreticorum manibus baptismum receperant; "Superest," inquit, "ut de hac ipsa re quid singuli sentiamus, proferamus, neminem judicantes, aut a jure communionis aliquem, si diversum senserit, amoventes[h]."

Quid opus est exempla congerere? Instar omnium esto flos principum Theodosius, cujus illa vox pia ad Demophilum Episcopum vulgo circumfertur: "Si tu pacem fugis, ego te ab Ecclesia fugere jubeo[i]."

Pius ille Imperator, publicæ concordiæ zelo exardescens, convocat omnium sectarum Episcopos, ut, habita disceptatoria quadam inter partes collatione, aliquis demum litigii finis statueretur[k]. De hac tanta re consulit Nectarium Episcopum; Nectarius Sisinnium lectorem, eximii ingenii virum, a quo hoc responsum tulisse fertur, ut scilicet concertationes dialecticas vitaret omnes, quoniam satis exploratum habuerit, disputationes non tam reconciliare schismata, quam hæreticos eo magis ad contentionem accendere; formulas potius fidei consulat, ad has revocet dissidentes;

[h] Concil. Carthag. [Bin. t. i. p. 199] [i] Socr. l. v. c. 7. [k] Socr. l. v. c. 10.

rogetque an in probatissimorum authorum sententiis conquiescere velint. Quo facto, imperat ut quæque secta fidei suæ declarationem literis exhiberent. Dies ad hanc rem præstituta est. Sectarum duces, Episcopi conveniunt: scripta proferunt. Tum Imperator, omnibus perlectis, cætera, utpote Trinitatis Unitatem dirimentia, damnat et lacerat: solam Ὁμοούσιον fidem laudat, approbatque. Novatianis, interim, permittit, ut suis ipsorum ecclesiis secure potirentur; eademque illorum Ecclesiæ indulsit privilegia, quibus suæ ipsius fidei adhærentes fruebantur.

Quin et ipsi quidem Novatiani, quandoquidem eorum mentio inciderit, exemplo nos suo istic aut erudire possunt, aut rubore suffundere; e quibus viri, mulieres, pueri in templo ἀναστασίας extruendo unanimiter operam cum Catholicis conjunxerunt, unaque cum illis strenue contra Arianos dimicarunt[l]: deque illo gravi inter Ecclesias Occidentis et Orientis litigio Paschali, postquam ita nimium sæviisset Victor Romanus, canonem ἀδιάφορον ediderunt[m].

Sed quid ego istis immoror? Omnium profecto temporum Christianis hic mos semper fuit, libertatem hanc de rebus parum gravibus quidlibet opinandi, et sibi assumere et indulgere aliis; dissidentes æquo animo tolerare; juxta illud, non magis vulgi ore decantatum, quam piorum usu receptum, carmen:

Non eadem sentire bonis, de rebus iisdem,
Incolumi licuit semper amicitia.

Sect. XII.

Ubi de summa rei Christianæ agitur, "Maledictum silentium quod hic connivet;" ut probe olim Lutherus. Pulchre Nazianzenus[n]: Philosophiæ ac Dei amori dediti, quique ante tempus in cœlis civium munere funguntur; tametsi alioqui pacati ac moderati sint, hac tamen in re lenes et faciles esse non sustinent, cum per silentium et quietem Dei causa proditur: verum hic admodum bellaces sunt, atque in confligendo acres et feroces."

Sane, quod de lege olim Judæi, idem nos de fidei confessione pariter usurpemus licet; "De unaquaque syllaba magni montes pendent." Literulæ unius mutatio, aut vocalis unius interpolatio, quantas in Ecclesia vetere turbas meritissimo cierit, sensit orbis, loquuntur historiæ[o]. Scilicet, quæ sono vix omnino discrepant, re tamen ita toto cœlo distant, ut recte olim Basilius, Qui divinis

[l] Socr. l. ii. c. 38.
[m] Ibid. l. v. c. 20.
[n] Naz. Orat. 21. [Paris. 1630. t. i. p. 388.]
[o] Ἐν et ἐκ in ὁμοιούσιος.

innutriti sunt eloquiis, millies mori mavelint, quam ut literam unam in fidei suæ professione corrumpi sinant. Scilicet, hoc non est, quod satrapas ille olim, in Ecclesia nugas agere, pro unaquaque fidei particula tanquam pro aris et focis dimicare: ni hoc facimus, Christiani non sumus.

Sed et fieri ex adverso potest, ut quæ verborum sono longe alienissima videntur, re tamen accuratius pensitata satis convenire comperiantur. Cyrillus et Johannes Antiochenus, pii Episcopi, anathematizarunt se mutuo, hæresin sibi invicem invidiose impingentes. Postea idem plane sentire intelliguntur. Theodoretus ingerit se huic liti, publice favet Antiocheno: sat animose rejicitur: tandem, re penitius intellecta, magna cum synodi acclamatione, ut Episcopus plane orthodoxus admittitur[p]. Misere a se divisas de trium hypostaseωn proprietate ac usu Ecclesias utrasque, Orientales et Occidentales, magnus Athanasius, candidus utriusque sententiæ interpres, ita facile reconciliavit, ut, jam errore plane grammatico clarius dilucidato, utræque in eadem fide unanimes coiisse deprehenderentur. Quicquid obvenerit, fides integra sit oportet: sed ut de parum necessariis nuperque adjectis doctrinæ Theologicæ apicibus litem moveamus, nescio an Christianæ charitati, an vero prudentiæ magis contravenire videatur.

Sect. XIII.

Pessime, igitur, consuluerunt Ecclesiæ paci, illi, Dominico gregi satis imperiose *κατακυριεύοντες*, superciliosi orbis magistri, qui suas quascunque determinationes, velut rem fidei, Christianis omnibus, sub necessitate salutis, recipiendas obtrudere non verentur; et propositiones quaslibet suas, ut cum Gersone loquar, hæreticare non dubitant. Sat erat saltem ipsi sancto Athanasio, Symbolo quondam suo (quanquam hoc ab illo fortassis, non tam per modum Symboli, quam per modum doctrinæ cujusdam declaratoriæ, ut Aquinati visum est, editum fuerit) colophonem illum apposuisse: "Hæc est Fides Catholica, absque qua salvari nemo potest:" nimio quam audacter factum est nuper a Pio quarto, Episcopo Romano, hunc epilogum suis duodecim novis articulis adjecisse. Ilicet non ideo claves cœlorum huic, ut præ se fert, Petri hæredi in manus datæ sunt, ut simplicissimæ fidei in Symbolo Apostolico contentæ plene assentientes, inde ausu temerario excluderet. Viderit ipse an non, iniquo hoc judicio, cœli januam suæ ipsius animæ audax homo præcluserit; ejusdemque præsumptionis suo

[p] Synod. Ephes. [Bin. t. i. p. 723.]

exemplo reos eadem æternæ damnationis pœna infeliciter involverit[q].

Sect. XIV.

Sed neque hoc adeo novum est: priscis etiam seculis, nimis severos sese ἑτεροδοξίας censores quidam præbuerunt, qui dissonæ cuique opinioni hæreseως notam statim inurere parum veriti sunt. Ita[r] Eustatiani, Parermenutæ, Procliani, Quartodecimani, Vigilantiani, Animæ Traductæ Assertores, Tralationis 70 Interpretum Desertores; sed et qui Antipodas, mundi alterius architecti, statuere ausi; et qui metallorum transmutationem arte ulla posse fieri tenuerunt; huic olim calumniæ, non nemine impingente, succubuerunt.

Atque ita catalogum auxit nostro ævo Prateolus[s], ut modo non pauciores quam quingentos et viginti nigro hoc Theta stigmatizatos comperiamus: inter quos Musculani, Melancthonici, Lutherosiandriani, Buceriani, Œcolampadiani, Martyriani, Farellistæ, Bezanitæ, et quot fere capita Evangelio jam restituto nomen dederunt, inter hæreticorum agmina satis invidiose recensentur. Deus Bone! ubi tandem Christiana charitas, ubi candor, ubi ἐπιείκεια? At vero fieri aliter non potuit quin, pro accrescente credendorum aut impositione aut abnegatione, atroces istæ dissentientium censuræ consequerentur.

Quod si quis ita vere insanierit, ut dogmata quædam sua, sive αὐτολέξει, sive ex manifesta et irrefragabili consequentia, notis fidei articulis plane adversa contumaciter tueri velit, hunc, post debitum procedendi morem, velut Ecclesiæ pestem vitandum judicabimus.

Caute, ergo, istic incedendum erit homini Christiano: et media semper via tenenda, inter vagam quandam, et nullis piæ moderationis metis constrictam, prophetandi licentiam; et illos nimis angustos Theologicarum definitionum fines, intra quos severiores

[q] In omnibus aliis, præterquam in materiis quæ sunt pure de fide, Ecclesia fallit, et fallitur, servata charitate.—Jo. Gerson. de Schismate. [Tract. II. Argent. 1514. T. i. v. K.] Solius Ecclesiæ Pontificis est res fide tenendas definire: cæteri autem et fallere et falli possunt. —Sanchez. in Decal. l. ii. c. 7. nu. 15. Gerson. de Propos. ab Epis. Hæreticanti. Aquin. 22. q. 1. art. 1. Omnia, quæ ab Ecclesia definiuntur credenda, fundamentalia sunt.—Tenet Fisherus Jes. Relat. 3. Colloq. p. 6. Cajetan. ad mentem Thomæ 22. q. 2. dicit, Simplices, si seducti errant absque pertinacia in subtilitatibus fidei, non incurrere hæreticorum culpam: subtilitates autem fidei intelligit indubie illa quæ non sunt expressa in Symbolo, et ejusmodi in quibus est schisma nostratium.—Franc. à Sta. Clara; problem. 15. de Ignorantia Invincibili.

[r] Philastrius. August.

[s] Prateol. Elench. Hæret.

quidam arbitri mentis Christianæ disquisitionem prorsus concludi debere statuerunt.

Sect. XV.

Quandoquidem, vero, tuta quædam latitudo hominum opinionibus necessario concedenda sit, maximopere opus erit charitate Christiana, in aliorum judiciis pensitandis dijudicandisque [t].

Quæ, ergo, duriuscule sonant, dubiumve præ se sensum ferunt, in paradoxis aliorum sententiis, quantum fieri potest, commoda aliqua interpretatione emollienda sunt; et in partem meliorem, pro candore Christiano, construenda.

Sed, et in rebus controversis, indulgendum quantum licet alterius opinioni, et quam possumus proxime ad sententiam adversarii accedendum: id quod, exemplo suo, præivit fidelium pater Abrahamus; qui de pascuorum delectu litiganti nepoti de jure suo homo mansuetus comiter remisit, paci inter utriusque pastores magis consultum volens, quam utilitati propriæ.

Merito laudatur eximius Theologus Petrus Martyr[u], qui, in illa infelice de re sacramentaria controversia, sic loqui maluit, ut parti etiam adversæ placuisse videretur: sed et Bucerus[x], Capito, Musculus, aliique Superioris Germaniæ Theologi, in Colloquio Wittenbergensi, de hac nimis agitata lite, ita mentis suæ sententiam expresserunt, ut cum Luthero, Melancthone, Crucigero plane intelligerentur convenisse. Id quod si ab utriusque partis asseclis et hyperaspistis ex eo pariter præstitum fuisset, bellum illud sacramentarium non tanto cum furore usque sæviisset.

Candor iste si defuerit, immane quantum lites accrescere, et sententias distorqueri necessum est! Sensit hoc etiam ille ipse Dei Filius, Dominus noster Jesus Christus, in cujus ore fraus nulla unquam inventa est; qui, quod de corporis sui templo impiorum manibus diruendo, suis vero restaurando, verissime dixisset, aliorsum prorsus traductum, sibique in os, perjurorum testium linguis falsiloquis, ingestum patienter audiit.

Male etiamnum vulgo audit Imperator Constantius, ac si Arianorum causæ nimium favisset: at, vero, si Sozomeno[y] et Theodoreto[z] credere fas sit, ipsius opinio, quoad sensum, eadem cum patre et fratre orthodoxis semper fuit: vocem interim ὁμοιούσιον, non satis commode interpretatus, desertæ fidei crimen immerito incur-

[t] Aliquando varietas opinionum absque pertinacia stat cum unitate.—Cusan. Concord. Cathol. l. i. c. 5. [Basil. 1565, p. 698.]

[u] Orat. de Vita Petri Martyris.

[x] Bucer. Script. Anglic.

[y] Sozom. l. iii. c. 18.

[z] Theod. l. iii. c. 3.

rit: sono, quidem, hæreticus, sensu orthodoxus: quem negabat ὁμοιούσιον, eum confitebatur ante secula ex Patre genitum, Deum Verbum; abdicatis iis, qui condituram dicere Filium audebant. Novimus tamen, qui hunc Satanam et Antichristum hac ipsa de causa palam appellarit.

Celebre, nec cui non notum est illud Socratis[a] historici. Serapion, Chrysostomi gratia fretus, nimis inde insolescens non tribuit Severiano Episcopo honorem tanto Præsuli debitum. Ira nimis commotus Severianus, hominem acrius quam par erat increpat: inter reliqua; "Si Serapion," inquit, "moriatur Christianus, Christus certe nunquam homo factus est." Temere hoc ab Episcopo dictum illico defert Serapion Chrysostomo; et, subdole supprimens priorem clausulæ partem, accusat Severianum quasi simpliciter dixisset, "Christus certe non est homo factus." Adducuntur testes. Chrysostomus Episcopum, velut blasphemiæ reum, e civitate exigit; et vix tandem Eudoxiæ Imperatricis, vel filii sui Theodosii precibus, censuram revocavit.

Hinc, pari modo, factum est, magnum Athanasium et Marcellum blasphemiæ et impietatis publice insimulatos fuisse.

Hinc, ut omittam cetera, calumniante ipso Bellarmino, Erasmus Arianorum patronus audit: Lutherus Sanctæ Trinitatis et ὁμοουσιότητος Filii hostis publicus: Melancthon, sed et Scheckius, Tritheistarum fautor: Calvinus, Samosateniorum; Bullingerus, Arianismi; Beza, denique, Nestorianismi advocatus.

Quis, vero, immunis esse poterit a turpi hæreseos vel teterrimæ macula, si liberum fuerit adversario, æmuli sui scripta pertrahere quaqua velit: in eademque causa simul accusatorem testem, judicem agere, pro suo solius arbitratu? Non decet iniquissima hæc alienæ sententiæ distortio hominem Christianum; non, pacis filium: quinimo cum grano salis excipienda sunt verba quorumcunque, si paci, veritati, charitatique studere curæ nobis fuerit.

Sect. XVI.

Parum igitur credenda sunt æquo judici, quæ adversarii sibi invicem nimio contentionis fervore, imputare solent; sive morum, sive opinionum crimina. Bone Jesu! quæ convitiorum plaustra istic occurrunt lectori Christiano! Nolo puram hanc chartam tam atrocium calumniarum enumeratione conspurcare: neque, vero, hæc est ad pacem, quam tantopere quærimus, via. Pudet me, profecto pudet, tam odiosæ βλασφημίας, quam, ridente Mauro, in-

[a] Socr. l. vi. c. 11.

dignissime luit læsa utrinque innocentia; neque scio charitas-ne in hac parte plus patiatur, an justitia. Sapiamus jam sero fratres; neque committamus, ut, per fratrum latera, ipsum quem profitemur Christum vulneremus.

Sect. XVII.

Distinguendum, vero, necessario erit, ut recte monuit Augustinus[b], inter hæreticos, et hæresiarchas; inter eos qui sequuntur Absalonem simplici corde, et *αὐτοκατακρίτους*, populi Christiani seductores[c]: cum illis agendum mitius, utpote misericordia saltem aliqua dignis; hi, vero, ut pacis communis perturbatores, pro disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ rigore, tractandi severius.

Recte olim Tertullianus[d]: "Religionis non est cogere religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debet, non vi:" suadenda nempe, non cogenda, fides; neque animorum morbi corporeis medicinis curari unquam possunt. Parum æquum est igitur, ut meris erroribus intellectus civiles pœnæ irrogentur: spiritualibus hic remediis opus est; quæ malis hujusce generis, tempestive et omni cum lenitate, adhiberi debent.

Illa Procli Episcopi Constantinopolitani laus erat[e], comiter cum errantibus egisse; pluresque funibus amoris traxisse ad Christum, quam reliqui omnes fecissent nimia censurarum severitate. Et, sane, quod Hippocrates de corporis morbis, idem ego de maxime exitialibus mentis erroribus pronunciandum censeo: "Ad ferrum et ignem, non nisi ad ultima desperatæ conditionis remedia, sero esse recurrendum."

Cum meris igitur, quamlibet gravibus, opinionum *ἁμαρτήμασι*, non aliter quam sano consilio, solidis argumentis, piis precibus agendum erit. Quod si sontica quædam hæresis, cum blasphemia, aut cum seditione, aut gravi reipublicæ perturbatione conjuncta fuerit; jam locum habet illud Bernardi: "Hæretici corrigendi, ne pereant; coercendi, ne perimant:" cui addendum insuper, si publicæ rei salus inde periclitetur, perimendi, ne perdant[f].

Enimvero, quod Theodosius et Valentinianus olim Cyrillo Alexandrino Episcopo[g]: Reipublicæ Christianæ constitutio ea, quæ in Deum est, pietate præcipue nititur; multaque inter hanc et illam

[b] Aug. de Utilitate Cred. ad Honorat.—Inter hæreticos, et faventes hæreticis. Ibid.

[c] Quidam sunt scientes hæretici, quidam hæretici non scientes.—Occham. Dial. l. iv. p. 1. [C. 2. quidam est hæreticus scienter, quidam vero inscienter.]

[d] Tertul. ad Scapulam. [Sed nec religionis, &c.—Paris. 1675. p. 69.]

[e] Socr. l. vii. c. 41.

[f] Timendum est ne plures putrescant, dum putribus parcitur.

[g] Concil. Tom. i. Bin. p. 726.—[Reipublicæ nostræ, &c.]

cognatio ac familiaritas intercedere solet: nam ex sese invicem pendent, et utraque prosperis alterius successibus incrementa sumit.

SECT. XVIII.

Interim, quod olim Thurii, vel, ut aliis placet, Lycii, statuisse dicuntur, de novarum legum rogatoribus, ut funem altera manu secum ferrent, legem ferendam altera; idem ego valde velim novorum in religione dogmatum authoribus decerni: hoc præsertim sæculo, in quo nimia luce cæcutimus, et novarum opinionum multitudine pæne ad insaniam laboramus. Excolamus potius, quantum possumus, communem certamque, quam Deus nobis indulsit, Evangelicæ doctrinæ veritatem, quæ nobis ad vitæ æternæ consecutionem abunde sufficiat; inque ea placide conquiescamus. Quæ vero dementia est, ubi nota et probe trita ad cœlum via clare ob oculos patescat, alio excurrere; et quærere nescio quæ diverticula, et nullis calcatam vestigiis viam tentare; ac clamare tandem, "Quis me ignis fatuus ad hanc foveam intutasve paludes miserum erronem deduxit?"

SECT. XIX.

Consectaria, quæ ex cujusque sententia adversarii acumine erui solent, parum æquum fuerit cuiquam authori pro suis impingere[h]: lubrica enim est consecutionum fides; et pleraque fortassis errare possumus, non tam Theologiæ, quam Logices vitio, aut Philosophiæ Naturalis inscitia. Exemplo sit tritum illud Scholæ. Risibilis ut sit, homini omnimodo proprium concedi solet: jam, si quis Christum non fuisse risibilem tenuerit, quæritur hæreticus-ne habendus fuerit: affirmant aliqui; "Destruit siquidem," inquiunt "humanam Christi naturam; hominem negat, quem negat risibilem:" negant alii, idque verius; quandoquidem hic homo humanam Christi naturam arcte tenere rotunde profitetur, risibilitatem vero, velut qualitatem ab humana forma necessario profluentem, negat: philosophicus nempe hic error erit, hæresis non est.

Sunt, quidem, consequentiæ quædam ita liquido necessariæ, ut, primo statim intuitu, non minus certo constent, quam ipsa, e quibus immediate deducuntur, principia. Quales sunt, quæ a certis intrinsecisque causis, ad sua propria et indubitata effecta, sed et re-

h Nostrum est, non quid per se ex quovis sequatur dogmate, sed quid in illorum conscientia, spectare, qui tenent illud dogma.—Bucer. Pesantius in Thom. l. q. 2. dis. 1. Canus et Valentia aiunt hunc esse hæreticum, non directe et immediate, sed indirecte et reductive.—Sanchez. l. ii. c. 7. nu. 33. [Process. Decal. Antr. 1631. p. 109.]

ciproce, irrefragabiliter derivantur: ut, "Deus est: ergo omnipotens, omniscius."

Sunt et aliæ, quæ, ut ut nobis non minus necessariæ videantur vi certissimæ rationis illatæ sequelæ, alteri tamen non adeo indubiæ sunt, quin ut justa aliqua distinctione satis commode eludi possint: ita, vero, ut qui consecutionem neget, suis tamen principiis immotus adhærescat. Quales illæ Gualterii Jesuitæ: "Negat Theodorus Beza posse fieri, ut pluribus simul in locis Christi corpus vere ac substantialiter præsens sit: ergo negat Beza Dei omnipotentiam:" "Adscribunt Protestantes Deo plus aliquid quam meram permissionem mali: Deum ergo peccati authorem faciunt." Sed et e nostris non nemo: "Papista Christum fingit creaturam: ergo Arianus est:" "Ex farina Christum conficit; non ergo ex pura Beatæ virginis substantia: Apollinarista igitur." Ilicet hoc est, quod Reformatas Christi Ecclesias ita misere distrahit; nimis audax ac pertinax consequentiarum plene non certarum fiducia. "Humanitatem Christi omnipræsentem asseritis," unus ait: "ergo humanam Christi naturam prorsus tollitis; siquidem hoc soli Deitati proprium." "Humanæ Christi naturæ ubiquitatem pernegatis vos," regerit alter: "ergo unionem hypostaticam omnino destruitis." Atqui, vero, neque hoc neque illud. Fundamentum tenemus utrique: superstructuram abominamur.

Sect. XX.

In secundaria, sive credendorum sive agendorum, serie, non decet hominem Christianum illa morosa *αὐθάδεια*; ut nihil primævæ succedaneæque Ecclesiæ, seu judicio seu praxi, tribuendum judicet. Illud potius animum inducat ut certo statuat, quicquid universalis Christi Ecclesia per omne ævum crediderit fecerit ve, huic contravenire insolentissimæ esse insaniæ[1].

Sect. XXI.

Liberum, interea, fuerit regno cuique Christiano ac reipublicæ, pro varia cujusque conditione, leges sibi ferre proprias quasique municipales; sive procurandæ sive conservandæ paci Ecclesiasticæ; pietati tamen, justitiæ, charitati, undequaque consenta-

[1] Sapientis est mutare consilium.—Vivald. de Depositione. Quod neque contra fidem nec bonos mores injungitur [convincitur] indifferenter est habendum, et pro [propter] eorum inter quos vivitur societate utendum [societatem servandum est.]—Aug. Ep. ad Januar. 118. [Ed. Bened. Ep. 54.] In his rebus, de quibus nihil certi statuit Scriptura Divina, mos populi Dei, vel instituta Majorum pro lege tenenda sunt.—Aug. Epist. 86. [Ed. Bened. Ep. 36.]

neas: neque par est, interim, ita præjudicare aliis, ut quod huic satis commodum ac salubre comperimus, id alteri necessario prescribamus: jure suo fruantur Ecclesiæ quæque, dummodo condecentia et suorum animis salutaria injunxerint[k].

Sect. XXII.

Æquum quidem est, ut Deum, in Scripturis suis loquentem, rerum suarum judicem statuamus omnes: ubi, vero, difficiliora occurrerint Scripturæ loca, absit ut privatus quisque singularia spiritus sui interpretamenta sequenda sibi proponere ausit: quin potius communem Doctorum Ecclesiæ sensum suo semper præferendum modeste judicet.

Sect. XXIII.

De rebus quibusque mediis, sive agendis sive judicandis, stet nobis dare operam, ut, ubi capita parum consentire possunt, corda interim unanimiter conspirent; neque se sinant abs se mutuo dissilire, insolubili Christiani amoris affectu usque cohæsura: idque demum a nobis impetremus, nos fratrum sive opiniones sive actiones adiaphoras miti quadam tolerantia et æquanimitate semper excepturos, et in partem tutissimam interpretaturos.

Damnentur ad imum usque barathrum illa nominum opprobria, Lutheranorum, Calvinianorum, Arminianorum, Puritanorum, Prelaticorum, Presbyterianorum, Independentium; quæ fidei ejusdem professoribus vulgo objectari solent. Christiani et audiamus, et vere simus; non magis fidei unitate, quam charitatis vinculo conjunctissimi. Amemus, adjuvemus, protegamus nos mutuo. Deum denique communem, nostrum Patrem, Redemptorem, Paracletum, in quo nos unum sumus, et non seculares hasce distractiuncularum querelas præ oculis habentes, illud unum ambiamus æmulemurque, quis nostrum fide firmior, charitate ferventior, piis officiis bonisque operibus cumulatior, Deo denique proximior evaserit.

Sect. XXIV.

Hæc sunt, Fratres Christiani, quæ vos modo volui: obnixe insuper per Christi viscera efflagitans, ut animos vestros ad sanctam pacem studiose componere velitis, omnesque de rebus non necessariis disceptationes prorsus inutiles, sed et haud parum noxias, rejiciatis.

[k] Graviter peccant, qui propter [has] indifferentes ceremonias turbant Ecclesias, damnant alios principes et [alios] magistratus [alias Ecclesias]. Hæccine [est] pietas, quam jactamus? hæccine [est] charitas, quam debemus Ecclesiis et fratribus?—Zanch. de Redemptione, i. p. 765. [Neost. Pal. 1597. p. 696.]

Pretiumne operæ fuerit, pacem vobis operose collaudare; quam, summi instar beneficii, terris apprecati sunt angeli; quam, ditissimi patrimonii loco, legavit nobis, cœlum repetiturus, Cœli Dominus, Servator noster Jesus Christus? Nimis, profecto, irritus foret omnis iste labor.

Christianos alloquor, alloquor pios Ecclesiæ filios: communis Matris incolumitatem, Evangelii successum, ac plerarumque animarum salutem in hoc cardine verti, facile persentiscitis. Discordiæ utriusque, tam civilis quam ecclesiasticæ, malis fere omnes ita ingemuimus, ut vix ullus suspiriis lacrymisve locus deinceps videatur superesse. Ilicet tempus nunc est, ut, jam sero, paci litemus Evangelicæ; ut gladios in ligones, hastasque in falces, Christiani omnes tandem convertamus[l]

Sect. XXV.

Audio inconsultos quosdam, ubi ulla pacis mentio inciderit, Veritatem illico inclamitare ac Justitiam: præque his flocci facere, quam tantopere desideramus, fidelium unitatem ac concordiam; quasi, vero, cordatus quispiam hæc a se invicem divelli ac disjungi unquam patiatur. Pax certe non est, quæ veritate destituitur; sed iniqua quædam in errore conspiratio: pax non est, quæ vacat justitia; sed pusillanimis quædam et desidiosa populi degeneris, et cuivis tyrannidi succumbentis, servitus.

Scilicet aut se mutuo exosculantur pax et veritas, veritas et justitia; aut ipsæ, quæ videntur, non sunt. Veritatem quovis pretio redimere jubet regum sapientissimus, nec quo vendere; Sed huic, interea, valore proximam voluit esse pacem, qui Pacis Deus appellari amat.

Nulla, certe, veritatis Christianæ particula est, quam quis bonus, sciens prudensque, quavis mercede, quovis metu prodere velit; et, timida quadam abnegatione, prorsus abdicare[m]. Sunt tamen, interea, quidam veritatis parum necessarii apices, qui publicæ pacis studio tantisperdum celari et possunt et vero debent; et in universalibus, non tam dolosus versatur, quam pacificus. Nempe, unum hoc est, quod vos iterum atque iterum monitos velim: De Fidei Christianæ anima lis est? Præ hac *ψυχὴν ἡμῶν οὐ τιμίαν ἔχομεν*, cum Heroe illo Evangelico. Hanc nos fortiter usque propugnemus, *σὺν δορὶ, σὺν ἀσπίδι*; voveamusque, juxta magnani-

[l] *Ἀρκεῖ τὰ γεγονότα, ἀρκεῖ· μισῶ πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον κἂν κρατῷ.* Otho. apud Dionem. [Hanov. 1606. p. 732.]

[m] Oportebat quidem nihil non ferre, ne Ecclesiam Dei scinderes.—Dionysius ad Novatum. Euseb. l. vi c. 45. [*Ἔδει μὲν γὰρ καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ διακόψαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.*]

mum illud matrum olim Laconicarum mandatum[n], ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τάν. De vestis interea fimbriis non nimis atrociter decertemus.

Libertate nostra Christiana modeste utamur et prudenter: neque ita nos geramus, ut, dum ergastulum quoddam nimis forte angustum refugimus, per campos late patentes, perque loca invia ac deserta, onagrorum more, vagi discurramus; ventumque anheli hauriamus, nullis aut legum frænis aut pietatis sepimentis contineri sustinentes. Sed, si vere sapimus, ἀληθεύοντες ἐν ἀγάπῃ, Eph. iv. 15. ea, quæ fidei sunt, etiam cum vitæ dispendio tueamur; quæ præter fidem, aut susque deque habeamus, aut certe non impetuosius prosequamur; quæ, denique, contra fidem, abominemur, et, quantum possumus, animose debellemus: et ita, demum, nos comparemus, ut per omnia pares simus divinæ illi παρακλήσει, quam Corinthiacis suis impertiit Gentium Apostolus: *Fidelis est Deus, per quem vocati estis in communionem Filii ipsius, Domini nostri, Jesu Christi. Obsecro, autem, vos, fratres, per nomen Domini nostri, Jesu Christi, ut idem loquamini omnes; et non sint inter vos dissidia, sed sitis coagmentati eadem mente et eadem sententia.* 1 Cor. i. 9, 10.

ὁμοψήφως καὶ ὁμοψύχως.

Sect. XXVI.

Quod si qui sint, qui sententias suas impias cervicosa animositate, ut cum Gersone loquar, non sine publicæ pacis dispendio, tueri velint; non alia profecto erga hos quam Paulina utar charitate; *Utinam abscindantur, qui vos conturbant:* abscindantur, inquam, non tam ore gladii, quam gladio oris. Haud, equidem, invenio, ubi quem hæreticum Apostolus sæculari potestati tradiderit: tradidit, quidem, Satanæ; non tamen ut damnaretur illico, sed *ut disceret non blasphemare.* Habet ensem suum magistratus; habent et suum non Petri modo successores, sed et Apostolorum: stringendus erit, ubi opus, uterque; ita vero, ut alter alteri subsidio esse possit; hominum animabus, uterque. Ne vulpeculæ, quidem, ipsæ, vitibus Domini infestæ, ferendæ sunt. Sed, si quis ex Arii vel Socini nemore conturbator aper vineam Christi penitus vastare aggressus fuerit, nunc,

Retia rara, plagæ, lato venabula ferro,
. . . . . Odora canum vis[o],

in auxilium vocanda sunt: sylvæ cingendæ: et quidvis tentan-

[n] Suid. v. Lycurgus.

[o] [Virg. Æn. iv. 131.]

dum, denique, ut fera bellua capiatur; atque ita secum agi sentiat, ut a tam manifesto suffossionis periculo Ecclesia Dei deinceps liberetur.

Vere ille olim, "Aliæ sunt leges Papiniani, aliæ Christi;" utrarumque tamen scopus unus idemque est, ut bene sit populo Dei, cujus salus suprema lex.

In Libano hujus mundi, licet passim exaudiantur operariorum clamores, fabrorum secures, serrarum stridores, et lapicidarum tuditantium mallei; at in monte sancto, in Templo Domini ædificando, vult Deus, ut ne lignei quidem malleoli sonus aurem verberet.

At, at, Bone Deus, ubi sumus? quis istic strepitus? quæ ferramentorum collisio? quis hic horridus cadentium saxorum fragor? Destruitur nimirum, destruitur plane, hoc modo, Templum Dei; (ita enim Psaltes olim, *Etiam nunc sculpturas ejus simul vecte et tuditibus tundunt:* Ps. lxxiv. 6.) sic, vero, ut extrueretur uspiam domus Dei, fando nunquam auditum est.

O nos in illa servatos tempora, de quibus Servator noster olim præmonuit: *Futurum est, ut audiatis bella, et rumores bellorum: insurgent gens in gentem, et regnum in regnum!* O vere ἀρχὴν τῶν ὠδίνων! sed et *pæne* etiam *exitum.* Matt. xxiv. 6–8. Illud, enim, unum, in tam communi bonorum omnium cordolio, afflictissimis piorum animis solatio esse potest, indicia hæc esse appropinquantis, quasique præ foribus astantis, Liberatoris nostri Domini Jesu Christi. Ille nempe Benedictus in sæcula Dei Filius, qui, in Primo suo Adventu,

> Belli ferratos postes, portasque refregit; *Ennius* P.

neque in orbem, nisi Augusti scoptro pacatissimum, descendere voluit; Secundi Adventus sui tempus in illud ævum conjecit, in quo turbatissima futura sunt omnia; ut, cum extrema et deploratissima inquietudine fessus laborarit orbis, Principem Pacis, Veritatis et Justitiæ Vindicem, Patientiæ Remuneratorem, Consolatorem Ecclesiæ, et avidius expectet et excipiat alacrius.

Etiam veni, Domine Jesu, veni cito. Amen.

P [Fragm. lib. vii. l. 76.]

PSALMUS CXXXIII.

Tandem experimur, hactenus pene obruti
Discordiarum fluctibus,
Fraterna quid pax valeat, et concordium
Unita virtus civium.
Nil charitate mutua salubrius,
Nil uspiam est amœnius:
Nec suaviorem exhalat auram balsami
Aromatumque principum
Perfecti odoris unctio, quæ verticem
Aaronis effusa in sacrum
Sanctam verendi Antistitis barbam imbuit,
Et inde lapsu defluit
Auratæ in imas usque vestis fimbrias:
Nec, denique, affluentiam
Tantam minatur imber ille roscidus,
Qui fertiles inebriat
Hermonis agros; aut perusta solibus
Rigat Sionis jugera:
Illic benigna rerum abundat copia;
Illic piæ tranquillitas
Vitæ; propitii quam benignitas Dei
In sæculum usque protrahet.

Ex Metaphrasi Manuscr. Collegæ mei, p. m.
Joannis Dunæi Barstapulensis.

POLEMICES SACRÆ

PARS PRIOR.

ROMA IRRECONCILIABILIS:

QUA DOCETUR,

NULLAM SPERARI POSSE, NEC DEBERE QUIDEM,

UTI SE NUNC RES HABENT,

PONTIFICIORUM CUM EVANGELICIS,

IN CAUSA RELIGIONIS,

CONCILIATIONEM:

CUDENDAMQUE IN SOLOS PONTIFICIOS HANC FABAM.

AUTH. JOSEPHO HALLO, BRITANNO, S. TH. DOCT.

ET HENRICO PRINCIPI A SACRIS.

1611.

Quæ pax, cum adhuc fornicationes Jezebel matris tuæ, et veneficia ejus multa, vigent?—2 Reg. ix. 22.

GREGORII CASSANDRI,

HOMINIS PONTIFICII, LONGE QUIDEM DOCTISSIMI, GRAVISSIMIQUE,

AB IMPERATORIBUS DUOBUS, FERDINANDO ET MAXIMILIANO,

AD LITES ECCLESIÆ COMPONENDAS EVOCATI,

SENTENTIA.

In Consultatione sua; pag. 56 *et* 57[a].

Non negarim tamen, multos initio, pio studio, ad acriorem reprehensionem quorundam manifestorum abusuum impulsos fuisse; et præcipuam causam hujus calamitatis et distractionis Ecclesiæ illis assignandam, qui, inani quodam fastu Ecclesiasticæ potestatis inflati, recte et modeste admonentes superbe et fastidiose contempserunt et repulerunt. Quare nullam Ecclesiæ firmam pacem sperandam puto, nisi ab iis initium fiat, qui distractionis causam dederunt: hoc est, ut ii, qui Ecclesiasticæ Gubernationi præsunt, de nimio illo rigore aliquid remittant, et Ecclesiæ paci aliquid concedant; ac multorum piorum votis ac monitis obsequentes, manifestos abusus, ad regulam Divinarum Literarum, et Veteris Ecclesiæ, a qua deflexerunt, corrigant.

[a] [Cassand. Op. Paris. 1616. p. 931. Art. vii. de Ecclesia.]

SANÆ SANCTÆQUE DEI ECCLESIÆ,

UBICUNQUE TERRARUM COMMILITANTI.

ADFERO tibi, Pia Mater, hoc qualecunque pignus amoris simul et fidei; non tam suave illud quidem, quam fidele turbarum tuarum præconium: quanto lubentius, modo ita Sponso tuo visum, pacis tuæ securitatisque nuncium allaturus! Verum cum, uti video, palmam tibi, non olivam, reponendam censuerit Magnus Rerum Arbiter, victoriam te hercle meditari oportebit, non quietem. Triumphabis olim in cœlis, et æternum requiesces; nihil istic interea præter insidias, certamina, tumultusque hosticos expectabis. Quanta vero animi alacritate adversa quæque et perferes, et superabis, quæ Gloriosissimum Conjugem, non belli modo ducem, sed et æquissimum *βραβεύτην*, nihilo quidem incertius quam tuam ipsius militiam, prænoveris. Succumbere non magis profecto poteris, quam desidere. En tibi in commilitium istud adscitas auxiliares cœli terræque acies, quæ tibi omnes felicissimum sacri belli exitum pollicentur. Memineris vero imprimis interrogare, quod soles, Abelæos, 2 Sam. xx. 18. Allachrymare, obsecra, et, Deum atque homines contestans, hostem Germanam misere deperditam, per suam ipsius animam, per charissima Christi viscera, per pretiosissimos illos sanguinei sudoris grumulos, per commune denique æternæ redemptionis pretium, vel de geniculis obtestare, ut ad se redire velit aliquando, frugemque bonam; ut desinat, quod usque vereor ut sciens facit, *θεομαχεῖν*. Quod si illa rebellem dehinc in te, in Deum, obdurarit sibi animum, aurem obturarit; obliviscere, si potes, quæ illa olim fuerit; involа nunc in turpem Belialis filiam, *ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀκκίζουσαν*. Vade, percute, demolire, vince, regna, consors solii conjugalis. Ecce me tubam interea rudiorem, cujus et clangore ad prœlium hoc sanctum animosius exsusciteris, et læta demum gratulatione post opima quondam spolia, victoriali illo die redux excipiaris.

J. H.

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INTRODUCTIO.

Sect. I.—*Status nunc Romanæ Ecclesiæ.*

Nulla æque hominum ingenia torquet hodie, ac quæ de Ecclesia quæstio est[a].

Infantiam quidem Ecclesiæ sublimior hæresis de Deo, de Christo, male diuque solicitam, habuit: ἀκμὴν vero et senectam paulo levior quædam de nobismetipsis exercet velitatio; quæ tamen tanto majores ubique tumultus ciet indies, quanto quisque se impensius quam Deum diligit.

Reliqua quotquot uspiam terrarum occurrunt alias ζητήματα, ἐάσωμεν εὖδειν: de nostra, deque Romana Ecclesia ita plerique mihi perperam sentire videntur, quasi duæ semper ab origine sui fuissent; tempore ac loco, non secus ac Babylon et Hierosolyma, duæve illæ celebratissimæ Augustino civitates, palam disterminatæ[b].

Hinc illæ sciolorum hominum otiosæ percontatiunculæ: Ubi tandem latitaverit Ecclesia nostra: Quo consule ac die nata: Quo demum seculo illa altera desierit: Cur nos nihilo ulterius ab istorum oris subducti: Quid de proavis nostris factum: Quæ fuerit prisci ævi religio?

Hinc rigidiusculæ illæ utrinque, cum novitatis, tum deploratæ abscedentium animarum salutis, censuræ.

Deus bone! quæ et opinionum monstra et quæstionum istinc enata! et non tam suos authores, (vere enim Oraculum illud Delphicum, Εἰ κε πάθοι τὰ κ' ἔρεξε, δίκη τ' ἰθεῖα γένοιτο[c],) quam Ecclesiam Christi misere divexarunt! Quot miselli naufragium istic fecerunt; quibus hercle votiva tabella parum usus fuisset, si tantum didicissent inter nos et Pontificios discriminis constituere, quantum inter Ecclesiam pessimis modis corruptam, et luculente perpurgatam; inter morbidam ac moribundam, et sanam, vegetam, vividamque, necessario concedendum est!

Non ergo Petrus ille Valdus Lugdunensis[d], non Jo. Wiclefus, non Hussius, non Lutherus, novam sibi unquam procudere Ec-

[a] G. Cassand. lib. de Consult. Art. 7. [ut supra p. 927.]—Ex [eo] articulo hoc de Ecclesia, omnis hæc distractio, quæ hodie est in Republica Christiana, originem ducit.

[b] Aug. de Civit. (l. 14. c. 9. s. 28.) [Ed. Bened. s. 6.]

[c] Julian. Cæsar.—Judicium, si quis quæ fecit perferat, æquum est.

[d] A. D. 1160.

clesiam voluerunt; sed priorem illam, et morum et ἑτεροδικασκαλίων sordibus misere fœdatam, verrere, mundare, expolire, ac splendori pristino restituere, haud infelici opera studuerunt. Medicos haberi se maluerunt isti qui sanarent, quam parentes qui Ecclesiam progignerent.

Idemque nos ex eo sedulo fecimus, et de nobis hodie serio et ingenue prædicamus.

Pariter se nobis habet Roma, uti olim Hieronymo[e], ac Eugubium, Rhegium, Alexandria; nisi quod urbs illa paulo et celebrior, et vicinior. Loca non variant fidem, non titulum. Quamcunque Ecclesiam Deus Filiam, nos Sororem salutabimus: et tuto quidem istud.

Quot pias pudicasque fœminas novimus, quas male moratæ sororis dispuduit, quæque germanum prostibulum haud parum oderint! Illud idem nobis istic usu venit. Roma hæretica est, idololatrica est. Meretricium apud se suum exerceat; nobis cum illa tali cohabitare, salva pudicitia, non licuit.

Hujus nos extrusit nequitia, pepulere vires. Cedimus loco, et mœsti interim conquerimur, *Quomodo effecta est meretrix urbs fidelis; et plenissima jure, in qua justitia pernoctabat, ea nunc homicidarum plena est! Argentum tuum abiit in scorias, merum tuum aqua inspurcatum est*, Is. i. 21, 22.

Apage matris imperium! Una omnes eademque Ecclesia sumus, externæ vocationis merito, quotquot ubivis terrarum Jesum Christum, Dei Filium, unicum Mundi Servatorem colimus, idemque communis fidei Symbolum[f] profitemur. Purius hoc alii facimus, alii vero corruptius: Christiani sumus interea omnes, sani non sumus.

At quam temere (inquis) ista; quæque conciliatore ipsa nimis indigeant; una ut sit Ecclesia, quæ tamen conciliari nescit! Certe. Exterioris formæ dignitas, quæ unitatem hanc in se complectitur, nihil quicquam confert ad gratiam, nihil ad salutem, nihil ad sanitatem doctrinæ. Non efficit sagena ut pisciculus illico sit, quicquid ipsa corraserit; vilem hic algam comperies, et quicquid eructaverit vorax illud elementum.

Et una ergo est, quoad communia fidei principia; et quoad consecutiones, adjectitiorumque dogmatum farraginem, ita sibi opposita, ut nullo concordiæ glutino[g], aut unitatis vinculo, copulari

[e] Hieron. Epist. 85, ad Evagrium, [sive Evangelum, Bened. ed. t. iv. pars 2. p. 802.]

[f] Iren. l. i. c. 2, 3. [c. 10. Ed. Ben.]

[g] Cypr. l. iii. Ep. 13. [Ed. Fell. Oxon. 1682. Ep. 68. p. 178.]

possit. Quæ nobiscum illa tenet, Ecclesiam faciunt; quæ nobis obtrudit, hæreticam. Principiorum veritas unam facit; adjectionum error et impietas, insociabilem.

Neque tam nobiscum pugnat posthuma hæc et spuria traditionum soboles, quam cum illis ipsis, quæ stabilire maxime discupiunt authores, religionis suæ principiis.

A facie ergo, Romana Ecclesia et nostra est, et Dei est: a tergo, aliena est, Antichristiana est.

Planius, (*μὴ γὰρ διαλεκτέον ταῖς μεταφοραῖς*, vere Clemens,) Fundamentum et tenet Roma, et tollit. Directe tenet, tollit ex consequente. Qua tenet, vera Ecclesia est, quantumlibet impurata: qua tollit, *ἐκκλησία πονηρευομένων* est, Ps. xxvi. 5, quicquid simulet pietatis ac sanctimoniæ. Si prorsus et omnimode teneret, sana foret et orthodoxa: si æque itidem destrueret, aut nulla foret, aut diabolica: jam vero, cum ea directe tenere profitetur, quæ clancularia consecutionum vi subinde destruat, vere visibilis Ecclesia sed malesana est. Qua tenet, amplexamur; qua destruit, et errantem misericordia prosequimur et odio pertinacem.

Non illud a nobis postulat commune Christiani nominis vinculum, ut erroribus crassissimis vel silentio faveamus. Non illa Sororia servitus est, ut germanæ operam præstemus malis artibus. *Μὴ συγκοινωνεῖτε*, inquit Paulus, *μᾶλλον ἐλέγχετε*, Eph. v. 11. Fecimus nos quidem, modeste et serio. Idem nobis accidit, quod Apostolo: *ἐχθροὶ γεγόναμεν, ἀληθεύοντες*, Gal. iv. 16.

Ecce nos nunc exturbamur foras, conspuimur, abruimur plane contumeliis, quæsititissimis denique pœnis afficimur. Et ne quid forte mali deesset, accessit demum errori pertinacia, natusque ex impatientia furor; tantoque magis arridere cœpit vitium, quanto nobis displicere solet.

Nos vero quid nunc agimus exclusissimi despicatissimique melioris pudicitiæ patroni? Lite quidem tam nimis justa cedere non licet; nisi Deum ipsum, cujus unius causam dicimus, floccifacere mavelimus. Animo autem succumbere cessimque ire, æque tutum esset, atque animas nostras, veritatis divinæ proditrices, ire perditum. Unum illud restat, (et una hic salus,) prava Romanæ Ecclesiæ paradoxa, moresque idololatricos, strenue (*σὺν δορὶ, σὺν ἀσπίδι*) usque oppugnare, dum aut illam pudeat, aut se denique pœniteat fuisse.

Sect. II.—*Commoda ac Conditiones Pacis.*

Speciosum quidem est Pacis nomen (ut recte Hilarius[h],) verequе sacrum, et quod vix terram sapiat. Nec alio nomine Hebræi τὸ εὐζῆν, ipsamque adeo perfectionem, innuebant[i]. Nec quid aliud humano generi lubentius vel gratulati sunt angeli[k] vel legavit Christus[l], vel apostoli præceperunt[m]. Quoties, quamque impense, rogat jubetque Spiritus εἰρηνεύειν!

Illud vero cuivis in proclivi est, pacem habere; sed quid, si non fiat copia? Tum ποιεῖν εἰρήνην monet Jacobus, Jac. iii. 18. opera nostra, nostra tolerantia. At quid, si concessa semel aufugerit? Tum sectari quæ pacis jubet Paulus, Rom. xiv. 19. Quid, si adhuc subduxerit se ultro? Inquirere et sequi, jubet Petrus, 1 Pet. iii. 11. Quod si ipsa venire noluerit, ut de Rebecca servus Abrahæ? Etiam tum φιλοτιμεῖσθε ἡσυχάζειν, 1 Thess. iv. 11.

Ita profecto nos amet Pacis Author, ita amplexetur, ut nos pacem! Dies tranquillos, noctesque curæ ac molestiarum expertes, ecquis est qui cum Constantino non expetierit[n]? Digna et Imperatore vox illa, et Christiano quæ Joviano quondam excidisse dicitur de querulo Macedonianorum libello: "Ego contentionem odi; eos, qui concordiæ dediti sunt, complector amore, venerorque[o]."

Quod idem cum adversarii nostri non minore charitatis zelo profiteri simulant; pereat quisquis pacem oderit, a facie Dei et angelorum male pereat! Imo jam nunc, ut frustra sint hæ diræ, quisquis est, oppido periit: "Ad pacis enim præmium venire non possunt, qui pacem Domini discordiæ furore ruperunt;" graviter (quod solet) Cyprianus[p].

Et certe φιλεγκαλίμονες[q] illi spiritus quid aliud quam gehennam ambiunt? Optime Basilius[r], Ignis Dei lucem dedit sine incendio: infernus contra sine luce incendium; dignus mehercle illis, qui, spreta veritatis luce, flammis contentionum refocillari gestiunt.

Oderunt vero pacem planissime, qui erroribus, fidei Christianæ

h Hilar. (contra Auxent. 1.) cit. a Calvin. de Vera Pacificatione. [Op. Hil. Ed. Bened. p. 1263.]

i Jud. vi. 23; 2 Sam. xviii. 28; Jud. xix. 20; 1 Chron. xii. 18.

k Luc. ii. 14.

l Joh. xiv. 27.

m 2 Cor. xiii. 11.

n Socr. l. i. c. 4.

o Socr. l. iii. c. 25.

p Cypr. de Simplicitate Prælatorum [sive de Unit. Eccles. Ed. Fell. p. 112.]

q Hieronymus ad Evangelum Ep. Crit. t. ii. p. 570. Ed. Bened. see note as to φιλεγκλήμονες. [The context seems to suggest some compound from ἐγκαίω, uro.]

r Basil. in Ps. xxviii. [Ed. Ben. t. i. p. 121.]

infestissimis, præfracto animo patrocinantur. Quamdiu habitandum nobis erit propter tentoria hæc Kedarena, queremur merito, quod olim Psaltes, *Ego pacem diligo; ipsi interim ad bellum conclamant*, Ps. cxx. 7.

Neque nos, ingenui pacis cultores, quando ita nobis incumbit pugnæ necessitas, nihil agimus. Enimvero sanctus ille Chorus Angelorum, *Paci in terris*, jure præcinebat, *Gloriam Deo*, Luc. ii. 14: et beatus Jacobus sapientiam, quæ superne est, *primo puram effingit, dein pacificam*, Jac. iii. 17. Adstipulatur Vas Electum, dum communi pacis ineundæ præcepto (*εἰ δύνατον*) illico subnectit, Rom. xii. 18.

Æque impossibile est bono cuique, quod fieri non debet, ac quod non potest. Neque omnino possumus quidem, quicquid honeste non possumus, ut probe jurisconsulti[s]. *Non confusionis author est Deus*, inquit Paulus, *sed pacis*, 1 Cor. xiv. 33. Confusionem quæ parit consensio, pax impia, pax nulla est. Apage a nobis pacem, quæ bellum indicit Deo. Utinam hujusmodi non esset, quam Roma vel præstare nobis possit, vel ausit profecto polliceri.

Agedum ergo: Paulinum illud (*εἰ δύνατον*) sedulo discutiamus; doceamusque pacem coli cum Pontificiis, piam quidem illam et salutarem, non posse: sive aversam partis utriusque voluntatem, seu litis utrinque agitatæ naturam, seu denique mediorum, quæ ad hanc conciliationem adhiberi debent, impossibilitatem spectemus.

Tres isti fines mihi erunt, quibus opella hæc qualiscunque, non inutilis certe, nec intempestiva, terminabitur.

Sect. III.—*Aversa Pontificiorum Voluntas.*

Et de primo quidem non magnopere censeo laborandum. Potest sane Deus efficere, ut commoretur lupus cum agno, et pardus cum hædo recubet, Is. xi. 6. Quam facile ipsi est adamantina hominum pectora consperso Immaculati illius Agni sanguine sic emollire, ut in merum amorem liquefiant! Sed, ut nunc sunt tempora, non minori hercle miraculo foret charitatem in nos Pontificiam experiri, quam leones Danieli amice adblandientes intueri

Etiam ubi de rebus mediis lis est, conciliandorum animos quadam tenus conspirare oportet; neque sat est alteram partem, una cum armis, odium deposuisse. Istoc vero qui tandem ferent Romani? Eteocleum profecto odium, aut Vatinianum, merus amor est præ hoc Pontificio.

[s] Ff. de Cond. Instit. v. Filius. [Justin. Cod. fo. 227.]

Ecce, nos ubi non quando non conspuimur ut hæreticissimi Ecclesiæ hostes? Judæos in sinum suum admittit Roma, quorum etiam e manibus Pontifex Legem accipere non dedignatur[t]; Evangelicos non fert. Quod a Theodosio, Synnadorum Episcopo, inique susceptum vel erga Macedonianos queritur Socrates[u], id ab illis hodie in nos vulgo factum; neque aut Ariani, aut Circumcelliones magis unquam sævierunt[x]; atque idem isti fabulones[y] a nobis erga se indies, factitatum improbe comminiscuntur.

Ecqua omnium hæresis est quam rabiosula illa lupa, ejusque asseclæ vere φιλολοίδοροι, nobis impingere non solent? Nunc Simoniani sumus, qui gratiæ semel meminerimus, et salutis[z]; nam quid nobis illum Magum, si Deo placet, tactio est? Nunc Eunomiani, qui nimium fidei tribuerimus; quantum scilicet hæresiarcha Paulus: nunc Pepuziani, qui mulieribus[a]. Nunc Origenistæ, qui imaginem Dei in homine deleri; nunc Procliani, qui concupiscentiæ peccatum non satis deleri, docuerimus[b]. Nunc Sabelliani, qui Serveti ævo vixerimus[c]; nunc Eutychiani, qui et temporibus Swinckfeldii: quid enim nobis ultra cum illis hæreticis commercii? Nunc Pelagiani[d], qui peccati ὀψώνια mortem statuerimus; nunc Donatistæ[e], qui solos justos admiserimus in Ecclesiam electorum[f]: nunc Manichæi[g], qui liberum arbitrium sustulerimus; nunc Ariani[h], qui traditiones; nunc Novatiani[i] qui pœnitentiam: nunc Aëriani[k], qui oblationes pro mortuis et jejunia; Jovinianistæ[l], qui fidem lubricam et evanidam; Vigilantiani[m], qui reliquiarum adorationem; Nestoriani[n], qui asservationem panis Eucharistici; Xenaitæ[o], qui imagines; Lampetiani[p], qui votorum servitutem.

Parum hercle refert Timotheumne Presbyterum, an Athana-

t Sacr. Cerem. l. i.

u Socrat. l. vii. c. 3.

x Socrat. l. ii. c. 22, 30. [The Circumcelliones committed great atrocities in Africa in the fourth century. There is no mention of them in Socrates, at the reference indicated above.]

y Possid. in Vita Aug.

z Bellarm. de Notis Eccles. l. iv. c. 9. [Ingolst. 1596. t. i. p. 1501.] Nota Sexta, sic accus. Luther. Calv. Brentium. [ibid. p. 1502.]

a Bellarm. ib.—Re ipsa Calvinistis in Anglia mulier quædam est Summus Sacerdos. [ibid. p. 1503.]

b Bellarm. [ibid.]

c Anno. 1532. [ibid. p. 1503.] Test. Surio apud Bell. l. i. de Christo.

d Bellarm. de Notis Ecclesiæ. Hæres. 14. Zuingl. et Bucer.

e Ibid. Hær. 9. Calv. Instit. l. iv. c. 1. sect. 7.

f Aug. Confess. art. 7.

g Ibid. Hæres. 8. Luth. art. 36. Calv. Inst. l. ii. c. 2.

h Ibid. Hæres. 10.

i Ibid. Hæres. 6. cit. Calv. Inst. l. iv. c. 19.

k Hæres. 11. Calv. Inst. l. iii. c. 5. [Centur. 4, 5.]

l Hæres. 12. Calv. Inst l. iv. c. 12.

m Hæres. 13. Luth. Serm. de Sancta Cruce, et de Abrog. Missa.

n Hæres. 16. Bucer. Melancth. in locis.

o Hæres. 18. Calv. Inst. l. i. c. 11.

p Hæres. 19. Luth. de Votis Monast.

sium, incuset fœdum os meretriculæ[o]. Certum est illud Nazianzeni, Οὐδεὶς ὑφέξει τῆς γλωσσῆς αὐτονομίαν[p]. Etenim, "Bonos carpere, malorum solatium est;" vere Hieronymus[q]. Quod ergo Lindiis olim solenne erat, sacra non peragere Herculi absque convitiis, illud idem patientiæ nostræ præconibus Pontificiis nimio quam familiare est[r]. "Quotidiana fornax nostra," ut ingeniose Augustinus[s], "adversariorum [humana] lingua."

Quæ hic convitiorum plaustra, a scurris Romæ trivialibus passim congesta, exonerare liceret! Quæ sanguinis effusi flumina, quæ sanctorum busta, vivi-comburio crudeliter damnatorum, commemorare! Novit hæc orbis, et sensit jam nimis.

Sed et qui tantarum litium sequestros agere maluerunt, benigni homines Cassander, Fricius[t], Interimistæ, et Apologus ille Gallorum ἀνώνυμος[u], quam male utrinque audierunt! Quibuscum non aliter mihi videtur agi, quam fatuo quopiam pastore, qui se arietibus, summo impetu concursantibus, medium interposuerit. Neque felicius unquam obveniat blandioribus illis, quicunque demum fuerint, Philistæorum, qui arcam Domini in Dagonis ædem inferre molientur.

Neque enim istic, quod alibi sæpe solet, damnis desudascitur. Bene cessit Abrahæ Loti dissidium; integra hinc illi obtigit lactea ac mellea Palestinæ regio, quam alioqui forte dimidiatam possedisset. Ditabunt nos, Dei virtute, lites istæ magno fœnore veritatis ac gloriæ.

Sect. IV.—*Quia non sufficit ejusdem Symboli Confessio.*

At omnium illud, non unius Cassandri[x], in ore est: Communis fidei tessera Symbolum est; idemque nos uno ore omnes lubentissimæ profitemur.

Certe Theodoretus, cum Antiochenorum acerrime contendentium inimicitias stylo minuere vellet: "Erat," inquit[y], "utriusque partis una eademque fidei confessio, quod ambæ Nicenam Synodum propugnarent." Quod tamen etiam adhuc a Bellarmini lacertis et languet, et calet. Quanti enim est, inquit[z], "idem Symbolum? Non in verbis, sed in sensu, fides est."

[o] Ruffin. l. i. c. 17.

[p] Epist. Bas. 35. [See Epist. Greg. Naz. 31. Paris. 1630. t. i. p. 795.]

[q] Hier. ad Theop. advers. Joh. Hierosol. [t. iv. pars 2. p. 559.]

[r] Chrysost.

[s] Aug. Confess. l. x. c. 37. [Ed. Bened. t. i. p. 191.]

[t] And. Fricius Modrevius, lib. de Emendanda Repub.

[u] Examen Pacifique de la Doctrine des Huguenots.

[x] Lib. de Offic. [pii] Boni Viri.

[y] Theod. Hist. l. iii. c. 4.

[z] Bellarm. de Laicis, lib. iii. c. 19. [ut sup. t. i. p. 1939.]

Et sane memini quod olim ab Ario factum narrat Ruffinus[z]. Jusserat illum scilicet Constantinus manu sua scribere, quid de Fide sentiret: is Fidem, verbis nostram, sensu suam, exarasse dicitur. Et quam bene patrissarint ejus nepotes, proximis Ecclesiæ seculis, loquantur historiæ. Quisquis certe Ἐξουκοντιῶν et Homoiusiastῶν Symbola pellegerit, vix quid inde eruet, quod orthodoxi censores merito reprehendendum censeant. Quoties illi Christum Deum appellant, etiam de Deo; creatum tamen interea ex non entibus, sibi perfidiose servant!

Ut, ergo, Severianus ille Syrus, apud Theodoretum, Græce quidem locutus est ut Græcus, sed ut Syrus pronunciavit: ita plerique orthodoxa loquuntur, pronuntiant interim hæretice. "Omnes enim Hæreses," inquit Irenæus[a], "Deum unum dicunt, sed per sententiam malam immutant[b]." Docuit ergo nos non male Gratianus[c], "Verba nemini curæ esse debere, cum non debet intentio verbis, sed verba intentioni deservire."

Esto autem. Dicat illud quispiam de Symbolo, quod de Jobi libro Hieronymus[d], singula verba plena esse sensibus. "Nulla profecto Vox Divina," ut prudenter Tertullianus[e], "ita dissoluta est et diffusa, ut verba tantum defendantur, et ratio verborum non constituatur." Sensus ille quisquis est Symboli genuinus, elici potest: addo etiam, (si unum illum de Christi ad inferos descensu, quem in Symbolis Romanis, sed et Orientalibus, frustra se quæsisse fatetur Ruffinus[f], exceperis,) utrisque in confesso est.

Neque tamen ulla beare nos potest concordiæ spes: ab istis enim communibus fidei principiis, hæreticæ pravitatis acumine, consecutiones quædam malesanæ vulgo derivari solent, quæ pertinaci tandem litigio in hæreses excrevere; ipsisque demum principiis et item intentarunt, et pene mortem.

Hujuscemodi sunt pleraque Romanorum dogmatum, quæ nos libellulo hoc passim agitamus.

Sed ut, unanimi omnium consensu, verbis, sensui, principiis, conclusionibusque necessariis, sua utrinque sanitas constet, "Nulla tamen," Bellarminus inquit[g], "pax Lutheranis." Intelligat hoc nunc orbis universus, et obstupescat.

[z] Ruff. Hist. l. i. c. xi. [Paris. 1580. p. 205.]

[a] Iren. l. i. c. 19. [or c. xxii. ed. Ben. p. 98.]

[b] Petr. Chrysol. Serm. 103. "Et omnes hæreses," inquit Chrysologus, [dum] "Trinitatem mentiuntur vocabulis," [blasphemiis obsequuntur, Colon. 1541. fo. 114.]

[c] Decr. 22. q. 5.—Humanæ. [Non debet aliquis verba considerare, sed voluntatem et intentionem. Grat. Decr. Paris. 1601. p. 1588.]

[d] Hier. in Præfat.

[e] Tert. de Præscript. s. 9. [Paris. 1675. p. 205.]

[f] Ruffin. in Symbol. [Paris. 1580. p. 179.]

[g] De Laicis. l. iii. c. 19. sect. 4. [Ingolst. 1596. t. i. p. 1939.]

Rex noster (ut, æmulari quibus non licet, invideant; Deus bone, quantus et inter Principes Theologus, et Princeps Theologorum; Rex hominum, Regum stupor; quam et sceptro potens et calamo!) hæreseos sibi maculam, vah quam spurca manu adspersam, detersurus; profitetur[g] serio sancteque, quicquid vel Pagina Sacra, vel Symbola Tria, vel Concilia Quatuor in se complexa fuerint, illud se totum ulnis ambabus amplexari; illud profiteri; illud ore, calamo, gladio tueri se; illud denique, vel extremo migrantis animæ spiritu, defensurum.

Atqui vero istoc non sufficit, regerit magnus ille antagonista regum[h]: sunt et alia fidei dogmata, quibus jam sero auxit religio[i]; transubstantiatio, purgatorium, primatus Pontificius: nempe duodecim harum baccharum articulos creavit in hoc mundi senio Tridentum, ne impares viderentur Apostolis Patres Itali, Christo Pontifex; quorum quisquis vel minimam particulam in discrimen vocitaverit, illico hæreticus est, olet faculam.

Illud vero quam usque ad nauseam, Ecclesiæ membrum esse non posse, qui capiti Ecclesiæ, Pontifici, obsequium detrectaverit[k].

Nec quid olim mitius a Nicolao Secundo, Gratianus; "Qui Romanæ Ecclesiæ privilegium auferre conatur (vel authoritati ejus derogat) hæreticus est[l]."

Quin adhuc atrocius est, quod Tabula nobis Martiniana insusurrat[m]: "Qui præcepto Papæ non obedit, peccatum Idololatriæ incurrit;" vel, ut Gregorius ille Septimus, a quo mutuari ista voluit Gratianus[n], quæ tamen nusquam in ejus Epistolis occurrunt, "Paganitatis."

Quicquid ergo Christus, quicquid Apostoli, Concilia, sanctique nascentis Ecclesiæ Patres nobis credendum proposuerint, parum profecto juverit, neque nos una convenas facere potuerit, nisi hodierno etiam Pontificulo fidem nostram mancupio dederimus.

Istac vero lege ut nos pacem mavelimus? Quidvis ilicet sperare ausit, qui hoc autumet. Neque illi nos fastidiosius ex Ecclesiæ suæ gremio ejecerint, qui stramineos hosce Articulos usque conspuimus; quam nos illos, Ecclesiæ Dei hæc talia tanto molimine plusquam tyrannice obtrudentes, fidenter damnamus et execramur.

[g] In Præfat. ad Imper. et Principes. [Lond. 1619. p. 300.]

[h] Bellarm. Resp. ad Regem.—Non satis est, ad hæreticum nomen fugiendum, illa recipere, quæ Rex Anglorum recipere atque admittere se dicit, p. 80. —Etiamsi novitia et nupera illa sint, si quis tamen ea neget, immunem ab hæresi non fore, p. 98.

[i] Bulla Pii Quarti super For. Jur. [Bin. t. iv. p. 876. super Confirm. Conc. Trid.]

[k] Bellarm de Laicis, l. ii. c. 19. [ut supra, p. 1939.]

[l] Dist. 22. *Omnes.* [Paris. 1601. l. i. p. 428.]

[m] Margaritæ Decret. [vel tabula Martiniana.] In verbo *Inobedientia.*

[n] Dist. 81.—*Si qui.* [ut supra, p. 423.]

SECT. V.—*Impuratio Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et ex pertinaci illa fabula infallibilitatis orta impossibilitas reconciliationis.*

Sed, ut Pontificii velint maxime (quod nullus equidem sperarim, ex quo in suum immigravit ingenium Roma) ambiantque concordiam: Deus ipse renuit, refragatur veritas; dummodo illis non placet, nobis non licet, vel latum unguem a statu discedere. Ilicet non audemus nos, quicquid boni mediatores suaserint, vel dividere Christum, vel osculo prodere. In sublimi veritas est: Ascendere illis fas est, quod olim Leo[o] et Gelasius; nobis descendere nec tutum, nec vero honestum.

Quam illud imprimis nimium constat, Ecclesiam Romanam a primigenia religionis puritate longius deflexisse. Nihilo certius est Romam urbem a suis collibus ad vallem Martiam descendisse; aut Ethnicos olim, referente Eusebio[p], Veneris templo sacrum Christi tumulum polluisse.

Quanta hic nubes testium, etiam suorum!

Vel a fœminis ordiamur. Hildegardis monacha, non obscuri nominis prophetissa[q], extinctæ religionis accusat Ordinem Apostolicum; coætanea huic Matilda[r], communis a fide Christiana Apostasias; pientissimamque Ecclesiæ, nostro ævo, instaurationem, utraque, venturi præscia[s], clarissime prænuntiavit. Sancta Brigida[t], fundatrix Ordinis S. Salvatoris, ab Urbano Papa canone donata[u], Papam "cruciare, imo crucifigere, electorum animas," palam docet[x]; omnesque sequaces ejus fautores ac clericos abcissum iri, sedemque in profundum inferni demersam prædicit[y]: tam acriter vero istud, ut rogum illi, jam tum superstiti, et minitati fuerint, et extruxerint Romulei nepotes. Robertus ille nostras Lincolniensis Episcopus[z], cui capitis moles nomen tribuit[a], quemque perplexe Rupertum appellavit Illyricus[b] (quantus vir!) seculi sui pastores desolatores terræ, gregis Dominici dispersores dilaceratoresque, vineæ depastores et demolitores[c], coram ipso Pon-

[o] Epist. ad Euphem. cit. Bellarm. de Laicis. l. iii. [c. 19. ut supra, p. 1940.]

[p] Euseb. Hist. l. iii. c. 25. (Potius, Euseb. Vita Const. l. iii. c. 26.—A.)

[q] Anno 1170.

[r] Ex Loc. Com. Henr. Token. Illyric. (col. 1487. edit. 1608.)

[s] Proph. Rhythmic.

[t] Vita S. Brig. Præfixa Revel.

[u] Anno 1370. [ann. 1435. Bin. t. iv. p. 231.]

[x] Revel. l. i. c. 41.

[y] Revel. Extravag. c. 8.

[z] Ann. 1250.

[a] Grosse-teste, in Manuscript.

[b] Jo. Trevisa, Mona. transtulit Anglice.

[c] Habetur initio Polychron. Ranulphi, in Manuscript.

tifice[d] palam arguere ausus est. Carthusianus ille Coloniensis, qui Fasciculum congessisse Temporum dicitur[e], diminutas queritur veritates a filiis hominum. Petrus de Aliaco, Cardinalis, veteres Theologos Ecclesiam ædificasse, præsentes seductores eam divastare, confitetur[f]. Concinunt hisce Joannes de Rupescissa monachus[g], Joannes Picus Mirandulanus Comes[h], Tritemius Abbas, Laurentius Valla[i]; lumina Concilii Basiliensis, Cardinalis Arelatensis, et Thomas de Corsellis[k]. Lapides loquitur Nicolaus ille Clemangius, Archidiaconus Bajocensis[l], qui justo volumine corruptum Ecclesiæ statum libere depinxit; neque multo hercle parcius, Dominicus Episcopus Brixiensis[m], qui etiam tum libello suo titulum ausus præfigere, "Romæ Reformationem." Taceo Joachimum[n], Petrum Ferrariensem jurisconsultum, Theodoricos tres[o], Lyranum, Petrarcham. Gersonem, Everhardum Episcopum Salisburgensem[p], Erasmum, Cassandrum, Espencæum[q], Cardinales a Paulo Tertio delectos, (inter quos Gaspar Contarenus, Jacobus Sadoletus, Polus nostras emicuerunt,) Alvarum Pelagium, Salvanarolam Florentinum[r]; et quem non, doctorum simul et bonorum? Sed et ipse Adrianus Sextus Papa, dum Legatos suos instruit, Ecclesiam criminatur, omnia in pessum demutata ingenue quiritatus[s].

Quid vero? Eccui in mentem venire potest, tot Divos Divasque, (date veniam elegantiæ Lipsianæ, a Bellarmino male mulctatæ,) prophetas ac prophetidas, pontifices, cardinales, monachos, doctores, ista in piæ matris contumeliam, quod de Luciferianis olim Hieronymus[t], temere confinxisse? Dignus ille profecto est, cui sacer hic dolus usque obsit.

[d] Hussius citavit, et ex illo Illyr. (Catalogus Testium Veritatis. col. 1591. edit. 1608.—A.)

[e] De Statu Ecclesiæ: anno 900. [ibid. 1928.]

[f] Artic. in Concil. Constant. editi. 1535. [Conc. Const. ann. 1414. See also Pet. de Alliac. de reform. Eccles. Brown's Fascic. Lond. 1690. pp. 406–416.]

[g] Anno 1350. lib. Vademecum [in tribulatione. See Brown's app. ad Fascic. p. 496.]

[h] [Pic. Mirand. de reform. moribus. Brown's Fascic. p. 417.]

[i] Lib. Advers. Ement. Donat. Constant. [Laur. Vall. de falso credita et ement. Const. Donat. declamatio. Brown's Fascic. p. 132.]

[k] Æneas Syl. de Gest. Concil. [Basil. 1551. pp. 48–51.]

[l] Anno 1416. [De corrupt. Eccl. Statu. Lugd. Bat. 1613.]

[m] Ad Pium II. Lib. Ref. Cur. Rom.

[n] Anno 1400.

[o] Aventin. Annal. [Boiorum] l. vii.

[p] Osiand. Confut. Thes. Costeri. [Refut. Apol. Costeri. Tubing. 1607.]

[q] Espenc. in Tit. [c. 1. Paris. 1619. p. 483.]

[r] Jo. Mirandula, Marsil. Ficinus et Comineus hunc prophetam nuncup. [Phil. Comin. Comm. Rer. Gest. l. viii. c. 2. Francof. 1629. p. 517.]

[s] Osiand. Papa non Papa. Tubing. 1599.

[t] Hieron. advers. Luciferianos.—Ecclesia facta lupanar. [Factum de Ecclesia lupanar, Ed. Bened. t. iv. pars 2. p. 289.]

Fuit quidem olim Roma *πόλις ἁγία* Matt. iv. 5; at jam, in aliam partem palmam possidens,[u] Ezek. xxii. 2. *Ἁ σταφυλὶς σταφὶς ἐστι*[x]. Neque tam nimio jure istud de sua Alexandria prædicarit bonus eremita Antonius, quam nos de Roma hodierna, "Væ tibi, civitas meretrix, in quam totius orbis dæmonia confluxere[y]."

Quid ergo? latere quidem nuperos Pontificiorum deformitas tanta non potuit; quin et nos digito modeste comiterque labes hasce monstravimus. Ipsi interim quantum indignati! quodque de Apollinari hæretico Ruffinus[z], Dum contentionis vitio nimis aguntur, et adversus omne quod quisque dixerit ire obvii delectantur, jactatione ingenii male fortis, hæresin ex contentione generarunt. Pulchre Hieronymus[a]: "Solent oculis clausis denegare, qui non credunt factum esse quod nolunt."

Illud igitur plane miserrimum est, ut quæ a suis fœdi ac multijugis erroris accusatur Ecclesia, viam sibi præcluserit ad veritatis metam redeundi; et, quod ingenue queritur Franciscus a Victoria[b], nec mala sua, nec remedia ferre possit. Dum enim errare se non posse contendit, et quandam judicii impeccantiam (detur Tertulliani verbo venia) Cathedræ suæ pertinacius vindicat, quæ nunc spes restat recuperandæ veritatis? Næ nos modo audaculi sumus, qui quid contra mussitare ausi! Prima sanitatis spes a morbi sensu et agnitione petatur necesse est. Celebre est illud Epicuri; "Initium salutis notitia peccati." "Deprehendas te oportet," inquit Seneca[c], "antequam emendes." Ægrotare se non posse Roma gloriatur; quid nos istic medicinam frustra meditamur? Principia hæc Doctrinalia, quæ vocat Stapletonus noster, illa sunt, a quibus fatalis quædam errandi necessitas necessario consequetur.

Quid enim agimus? Si ab Oraculi Pontificii sententia (hujus enim non tam scrinio, quam ergastulo, quod olim fastidiose de Joanne Hierosolymitano Hieronymus[d], includitur Ecclesia) ita pendent omnia, ut quicquid ipse dictaverit, *ἀναντιφωνήτως* recipi debeat, nec ulla unquam ratione *δικὴ ἀνάδικος* fieri possit: frustra mehercle litigamus; frustra convenere tot Synodi, (ut vere Erasmus,) frustra definiere; frustra nos vel docemus quid, vel disci-

[u] עִיר הַנְּקָיִם.

[x] Theocrit. Idyl. κζ'.

[y] Hier. de Vita Pauli [Ed. Bened. t. iv. pars 2. p. 71.]

[z] Ruff. Hist. l. ii. c. 20. [Paris. 1580. p. 241.]

[a] Hier. Advers. Luciferianos, [ut supra p. 301.]

[b] Fr. a Victoria, Relect. 4; De Potestate Papæ et Concilii: Propos. 12; Sect. ult.—Proventum est ad hunc talem statum, ubi nec mala nostra, nec remedia pati possumus.

[c] Seneca, Ep. 28. [Antv. 1605. p. 436.]

[d] Epist. ad Pammach. de Error. Joh. Hierosol.—An tu solus Ecclesia?—[Ed. Ben. t. iv. pars 2. Ep. 38. p. 333.]

mus. Fierine potest, ut facti ducatur pœnitentia unquam, qui peccare se non posse solerter defendit? Aut ergo evelli sibi sinant Pontificii radicitus hanc futilem certe ἀπλανείας opinionem, aut nulla sperari potest ineundæ pacis consultatio.

Hanccine vere sibi Helenam (quam nimium usque delicatam habuerunt) facile abreptam patientur Transalpini? Quin Petri non solium modo, sed et census una omnes exposcimus, et integram cum vectigali religionem? Ecquis enim Romanæ (quæ nunc est) fidei apiculus non istinc pendet? Scilicet hoc dato ceciderit profecto Babylon, ceciderit, et in cineres turpiter abierit: negato autem, usque meretrix erit illa magna, usque gravis paci, usque infensa cœlo. Atqui tam longe absunt ab hac ingenua Infallibilitatis explosione doctores hodierni, ut nulla unquam tempora æque norint Pontificibus supparasitari. Neque enim modo hoc illi sine Concilio indulserunt Albertus Pighius[d], Gretserus, Bellarminus[e], et quotquot sunt uspiam Jesuitæ; sed et Greg. Valentianus[f], sine cura et studio. Euge Cathedram Petri stabilem, æternam, plenam prodigiosæ virtutis! quam si mihi fas ligneam fingere, abietario non malo e quercu Hibernica proculdubio dolatam autumem; ita nulla illam tangit erroris aranea, quin occidit illico. Ecce tabulæ, divina manu exaratæ, statim confractæ perierunt; asserculi vero tui ætatem non sentiunt, nec quo hæreseos vitio maculantur scilicet. Vibius profecto Rufus mihi nunc redivivus est, qui in sella semper sedebat, in qua Julius Cæsar, uxoremque duxit Ciceronis, de utroque gloriari solitus, quasi aut propter sellam Cæsar, aut propter uxorem Orator futurus[g]. Omnis nempe hinc a Petro virtus. Bene est reliquos proavorum nihil quicquam contulisse: ne forte Alexander Sextus successores suos in cinædos; Clemens in sacrilegos; Julius in sicarios; Benedictus, Gregorius, Sylvester in simoniacos; Pascalis[h] in perjuros; Joanna Moguntina in fœminas; Martinus, et Sylvester

[d] Hier. Eccl. l. iv.—Si mature procedat.

[e] Bell. de Pont. Rom. l. iv. c. 2. [Ingols. 1596. t. i. p. 970.]

[f] G. Valentia. Analys. Fidei. l. viii. [c. iii.] de Vi et Usu Auctorit. Romani Pontific. in Fide. Quæst. Sexta.—Respondeo, sive Pontifex in definiendo studium adhibeat, sive non adhibeat; modo tamen controversiam definiat, infallibiliter certe definiet, atque adeo re ipsa utetur authoritate sibi a Christo concessa. Addit statim:—Eadem fide credere deberemus illum, quando rem controversam definit, sufficientem adhibuisse diligentiam. [Ed. Lugd. 1591. p. 70.]

[g] Xiphilin. Epit. Dionis. Tiberio.—Τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος, διφρῷ ἐφ' οὗ ἀεί ποτε ἐκαθέζετο, &c. σεμνυνόμενος ἐφ' ἑκατερῷ, ὅσπερ ἢ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα ῥήτωρ, ἢ διὰ τὸν δίφρον Καῖσαρ, ἐσόμενος. [Lutet. Paris. 1551. p. 104.]

alter, in magos; Joannes uterque in diabolos incarnatos, transmutasset[h].

Ex altera autem parte, quenquamne hominum subire potest spes, eo unquam insaniæ pervenire posse Ecclesiam nostram, ut sublicium hoc demum substernat Pontifici Tyberino? Quasi nos latere possit, quam nusquam hoc illis Christus vel præstiterit, vel promiserit. Ubi enim hoc scriptum, ut merito jocatur Lutherus[i]? An forte Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, in camino quopiam? Dixit quidem, *Tu es Petrus:* Matt. xvi. 18; at, Tu es Paulus Quintus, nullus unquam dixerit: Dixit, *Rogavi pro te, ne deficeret tibi fides:* Matt. xxii. 32; dixit et, *Vade post me, Satana, non sapis quæ Dei sunt:* Matt. xvi. 23. Doceat nos nunc Oraculum illud Cathedralitium, qui tandem, hæres ex asse promissi censuram abdicaverit.

Etiam, ut temporis vestigia premamus, quam non norit hoc ætas succedanea, non Polycrates et Irenæus qui Victori, non Cyprianus qui Stephano, non Chalcedonenses qui Leoni, non Orientales Episcopi qui Julio, non Constantinopolitani Patres qui Vigilio et Honorio cedere noluerunt: sed et e nuperis, qui vel nasum habuere, vel frontem, Joannes ille Cancellarius Parisiensis, Turrecremata, Almainius[k], Alphonsus de Castro[l], Adrianus Sextus Papa[m], Archiepiscopus Catharinus[n], Cardinalis Cajetanus, Franciscus a Victoria[o], aliique passim complures non infimæ classis Theologi, palam istud negare non dubitarunt[p]. Instar omnium, rationem hujus rei reddiderit Alphonsus[q]: "Multi Papæ, adeo," inquit, "illiterati, ut Grammaticam penitus ignorent, qui fit ut Sacras Literas interpretari possint[r]?"

Quasi nos fugiat, quinam Pontificum Ario, qui Montano, qui Nestorio, qui Acacio, qui Monothelitis, qui Sadducæis, qui Dæmonibus favere non dedignati fuerint; quæ sibi contraria edixerint, quæ Deo; quamque perforatam navim (Hieronymi verbis) debilis sæpe rexerit gubernator!

[h] Quær. Plat. de Vitis horum Pontif. Clem. VI. [VII. Plat. sive Onuph. Colon. 1593. p. 400–1.] Jul. II. [bellica gloria plusquam deceret Pontif. clarus. Onuph.] Ben. IX., Greg. VI., Sylvest. III. [Plat. p. 166–7. Pasch. ibid. p. 189.] Mart. II. [ibid. p. 143.] Sylvest. II. [ibid. p. 161.] Joh. XXII. et XXIII. [ibid. p. 248, 257.]

[i] Luth. advers. falso nomine Episc. [op. Witeb. 1562. t. ii. p. 319.]

[k] Alm. lib. de Potest. Eccles. [Paris. 1518. fo. v. c. 5.]

[l] Alphons. de Castro, contra Hæres. l. i. c. 4. [Antv. 1556 f. 9.]

[m] Adr. VI. in Quæst. de Confirmatione. [Bellarm. de Rom. Pont. l. iv. c. 2.]

[n] Cathar. de Certit. Gratiæ. ass. 13.

[o] Relect. 4. de Potest. Papæ.

[p] Bellar. plerosque horum recenset De Pontif. l. iv. c. 2. [ut supra.]

[q] Alphons. de Castro, contra Hæres. lib. i. cap. 4. [ut supra.]

[r] Alii a Cano, Loc. Com. lib. vi. cap. 8.

Quasi e tam longa Pontificum serie, quæ portenta hominum, qui Apotactici, Apostaticique olim fuerint, (Platinæ[s] verbis, ac Genebrardi[t], sed et Lyrani[u] libenter utor) lippis jamdiu et tonsoribus non satis innotuerit. Scilicet horum vita fabula mundi, ut Bernardus.

Pax ergo hic nulla, nisi aut illi ἀκεφάλοι[x], aut nos Romæ mancipia fieri mavelimus. Cedo mihi tamen candorem hunc Pontificium; Fateantur ingenui, ut qui se olim in Paradisum insinuaverit serpens, possit aliquando in Cathedram Petri callide surrepere; non minor certe de facto, quam de potentia lis erit.

Sed et hujus furfuris alia sunt, quæ πραγματείαν quandam sapiunt, Papistarum dogmata, non Ecclesiæ magis quam Rebuspublicis perniciosa; de gladii utriusque jure, de abdicatione principum, regnorum dispositione, exautoratione subditorum, frustratione juramentorum, abunde satis a Venetis[y], a nostris jam pridem ventilata; quæ Christianæ administrationis libertati ita palam adversantur, ut qui huic jugo se ultro summiserint principes, populive, digni profecto sint qui serviant.

Istuc ut trahi posse sperent terræ dominos? omnes mehercle liberi lubentius sumus, quam servimus; nedum reges. Aut ex adverso, hoc qualecunque juris remissuros Ecclesiæ tyrannos? Nugæ! Nam et illi icti sapiunt; et hi jamdiu (quod de Georgio satrapa Ariano Ruffinus[z]) procacitur vi raptum Episcopatum gerunt, ut qui magis sibi juris dicendi creditos fasces, quam sacerdotium ministrandum religiosis officiis æstiment.

Sect. VI.—*Quam non admittant Reconciliationem reliquæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Opinionis.*

Largiamur tamen hæc nobis, quod ipsi profecto nunquam sunt concessuri: ad imperium enim se natam putat illa vetula urbium mater; et aut ruet, aut dominabitur. Neque mitratus ille moderator orbis aliud sibi mavult emblema, quam quod Julio Cæsari jocose appingit Julianus[a] (τὸ πρωτεύειν), vel quod Alexandro (τὸ πάντα νικᾶν): Apage autem Adrianum Sextum; cujus tumulo inscriptum in Basilica Sancti Petri, "Nihil sibi in vita infelicius accidisse, quam quod imperarit[b]."

[s] Plat. in Vit. Bened. IV. et Christoph. I.
[t] Genebrard. [Chronogr.] lib. iv. Sæc. 10.
[u] Lyra in Matt. xvi. [Lugd. 1590. t. v. p. 280.]
[x] Decret. Dist. 93. Nulla. [c. 8. Grat. pars. 1. Par. 1601. p. 559.]
[y] [Ibid. Caus. xv. qu. 6. c. 3. Alius.] Manual. Navarr. c. 27. [de Excommunicatione.]
[z] Ruff. l. i. c. 22.
[a] Julian. Cæsar.
[b] Binius in Vita Adrian. (tom. iv. pars ii. p. 138. ed. 1618.)

Non desunt (sat scio) mitioris ingenii homines (ἀμφιδέξιοι Theodosiani[c]) qui existiment, modo ista partis utriusque moderatiore studio placide componerentur, subinde tutum fore cuique, de reliquis fidei capitibus (modo id sine strepitu fiat) quidlibet opinari.

Manes puto hæretici illius Apellis, cujus illa vox circumfertur, Sat est credere in crucifixum: neque oportere omnino fidei discuti rationem[d]. Aut quales Leonas ille quondam, Constantii aulicus, et in concilio Seleuciensi vicarius; qui Patribus, de ὁμοουσιῷ (vehementer, uti par erat) contendentibus, "Abite," inquit, "et in Ecclesia nugas agite[e]."

Non sic olim Basilius, qui (referente Theodoreto[f]) Valentis Imperatoris præfecto, unius literulæ veniam suadenti, respondit, "Qui divinis innutriti sunt eloquiis, corrumpere de divinis dogmatibus ne unam quidem syllabam patiuntur, sed pro his, si contingat, omnes etiam mortis species amplectuntur."

Non sic Eleusius et Sylvanus, Episcopi orthodoxi; non reliqui illi, bone Deus! quam fidi custodes, et (qui Athanasio titulus) πεντάθλοι ἀληθείας[g].

Quousque sacra permiserit veritas, comitabimur profecto alacres; si quid ultra, consistimus, recedimus. Et quæ duo hæreseos remedia suasit olim Epiphanius[h], τὸ προσέχειν, καὶ μὴ συναμιλλᾶσθαι, ea nos utraque sedulo adhibemus. Inexpiabilis quidem et gravis culpa discordiæ (ut gravissime Cyprianus[i]) nec passione purgatur. Et nos Aten illam Homericam uno inferno dignam arbitramur[k]. Neque tamen justum est veritatis pretium concordia; quam redimere quidem nobis fas est, vendere piaculo.

Age ergo, discutiamus singula; et, quod fieri solet, ubi impar est supellectili domus, coacervemus, et quàsi arcte compingamus universa. Nempe sat nobis erit, in tanta rerum messe (quod necesse est) ἀκροθινιάζειν, et ad compendium verba conferre.

Gravissimæ Pontificiorum hæreses, et, qualia Origeni olim objecit Hieronymus, venenata dogmata, quæ molestiam et periculum hodie creant Ecclesiæ Dei, vel nos ipsos (non tamen absque ratione Dei) vel Deum, (non sine ratione nostri), spectare, mihi videri solent.

Primæ classis illa sunt, quæ circa Justificationem, Liberum Ar-

[c] Socrat. l. v. c. 20. et c. 14.
[d] Euseb. l. v. c. 13. ex Rhodone.
[e] Socrat. l. ii. c. 40. [ἀπέλθετε οὖν, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ φλναρεῖτε.]
[f] Theodor. l. [iv. 19. Hussey.]
[g] Theodor. l. iii. c. 9.
[h] Epiph. l. i. initio. [§ iii. Paris. 1622.]
[i] Cypr. de Simplic. Prælat. [De Unit. Eccles. ed. Fell. p. 113.]
[k] Ἄτη, ἣ πάντας ἀᾶται. Il. τ. 91.

bitrium, Operum nostrorum Meritum, Satisfactionem Humanam, Indulgentias, Purgatorium, Peccati Differentias, ordine quodam suo versantur.

Hæc mihi primulum discutienda occurrunt.

Sect. VII.—*Hæresis Romana de Justificatione.*

Augustum quidem est (siquod aliud) *Justificationis* caput; ut coactus fuerit olim Calvinus operose inculcare[l], uno hoc salvo, pretium operæ haud fore de reliquis pertinacius litigare.

Utinam obtineret illud Cassandri; cujus hæc sunt[m]: "Quod dicitur, homines non posse justificari coram Deo propriis viribus, meritis, aut operibus, sed gratis justificari per fidem, semper in Ecclesia probatum et retentum fuit, et hodie quoque ab omnibus Ecclesiasticis scriptoribus approbatur."

Utinam illud Thomæ[n], qui Justificationem tribuit operibus non secundum quod Justificatio dicitur justitiæ infusio, sed secundum quod dicitur justitiæ exercitatio, vel ostensio, vel consummatio. Pax quidem nobis istic alta foret, vereque solida.

At dum Tridentini Patres inhærentem nobis justitiam, formalem Justificationis causam comminiscuntur, fidemque exturbant[o]; ecquis bonus non arma statim meditetur, mortemque oppetat potius, quam ut avitam fidem inani somnio corrumpi patiatur?

Eant illi scilicet, et quod de se Aëtius (referente Theodoreto) jactitare solitus est; sibi a Deo nunc revelari, quæ hactenus universis occulta esse ille voluisset; idem isti de se demum glorientur.

Indignabimur nos interim orbem sic ludos fieri, qui toties ingeminantem audimus Spiritum, χωρὶς ἔργων; ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως; *Ex operibus nulla caro justificabitur: Justificati gratis, ejus gratia:* Rom. iv. 6; Gal. ii. 16; Eph. ii. 8; Rom. iii. 20, 24. Quorum authoritate victus Arias Montanus, ingenuus author, et (quod de Apollinario Hieronymus[p]) probati laboris, licet dogmatis in plerisque (ut tunc ferebant tempora) fatui: "Consequitur," inquit[q], "fidem reputari ad justitiam ei, qui non operatur in lege, idque secundum propositum gratiæ Dei."

Veteres respicimus? Nostri sunt ad unum omnes. Οὐ κατ'

[l] Calvin. de Vera Pacific. contra Interim (tom. vii. p. 315. edit. Genev. 1617.)

[m] Consultat. de Justific. (Opera; p. 913. edit. Par. 1616.)

[n] In Galat. [Lect iv. v. vi.] et in Jac. ii.

[o] Concil. Trid. sess. 6. c. 7. Can. 9.—Si quis dixerit sola fide, &c. [Bin. t. iv. pp. 807–809.]

[p] Epist. ad Pammach. et Oceanum. [Ed. Bened. t. iv. p. 345.]

[q] In Rom. iv. 5.

ὀφείλημα τῶν ἔργων, Basilius[r]: Nazianzenus, Τὸ πιστεύσαι μόνον[s]: "Sola sufficit fides," Hieronymus[t]: "Homines credendo justificati," Augustinus[u]. Concinuntque istis reliqui; Epiphanius[x], Chrysostomus[y], Athanasius[z], Ambrosius[a], Primasius[b], chorusque ille sacer universus. Sed quid ego ista, cum Index Expurgatorius Hispanus clarissima quædam de sola Fidei Justificatione testimonia, ex indicibus et textu Chrysostomi[c], Hieronymi[d] Cyrilli[e], obelisco suo dedita opera confixerit[f]? Frustra recitarim; præ manibus liber est. Ecce Inquisitores, conscios sibi et erroris et fraudis. Quibus occinam ego merito, quod Arianis quondam Ambrosius; "Literas quidem potuistis abolere sed fidem non potuistis auferre: plus vos illa litura prodebat, quam vos illa litura damnabat[g]."

Sed conciliari hæc forsan quidam autumant, meram verborum litem; etenim quæ Pontificiis inhærens justitia est, ipsa sanctificatio est Evangelicis; hanc æque omnes necessariam statuunt, æque inculcant omnes. Fatemur; sed numquid omnes eodem modo, aut ad eundem finem omnes? Non opinor. Imo, quid istis magis ex adverso? Hanc ut causam justificationis statuunt Pontificii, Evangelici ut effectum: ut comitem asseclamve Evangelici, Pontificii ut anteambulonem, imo potius ut parentem.

At quid interest (inquiunt[h]) dum utrique totum hoc Deo tribuant? Quasi non eodem plane recidat, solvere pro me pretium, et dare mihi in manus quo solvam? Nescio equidem quomodo hæc ita parum dissona horum auribus videantur, quæ Spiritus Dei prorsus ἀσύστατα definivit. *Ei qui operatur, merces non imputatur ex gratia, sed ex debito;* Rom. iv. 4. *Si per gratiam, jam non ex operibus; alioquin gratia jam non esset gratia;* Rom. xi. 6. "Neque enim gratia est ullo modo, si non est gra-

[r] In Psal. cxiv. 5. [Ed. Bened. t. i. p. 202.] Citat etiam Whitak. contra Duræum. l. i. s. 11.

[s] περὶ Εὐταξ. [δικαιοσύνη μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸ πιστεῦσαι μόνον. Orat. 26. t. i. p. 458. Opp. Paris. 1630.]

[t] Advers. Pelag. lib. i. et in iii. ad Galat.

[u] De Patient. c. 20. [ed. Ben. t. vi. p. 541.] et in Psal. xxxi.

[x] In Anchorat. [c. 69. Paris. 1622. p. 73.]

[y] In Rom. Hom. 17. [Ed. Ben. t. ix. p. 622.] et in 1 Cor. Hom. 11.

[z] Orat. I. contra Arian.

[a] De Offic. l. ii. c. 2. [Paris. 1586. t. iv. p. 472.]

[b] De Jacob. et Vita Beat. 2.

[c] Chrys. Hom. in Rom. viii. de verbis Pauli:—Non solum, sed gloriamur in affl. tom. iii. p. 945. et in Epist. ad Tit. c. 2. [See Index Lib. Prohib. Madrit. 1667. p. 702.]

[d] Hier. in Epist. ad Rom. c. 10.

[e] Cyr. in Esai. l. iv. Orat. 5.—Habitat Jesus per fidem in cordibus nostris. [Ind. Lib. Prohib. ut supra, p. 234.]

[f] Fides sola justificat, deleatur; ad Gal. ii. [ibid. p. 235.]

[g] Amb. de Spir. Sa. l. iii. c. 11. [Paris. 1586. t. iv. p. 235.]

[h] Exam. Pacif. de Justific.

tuita omni modo;" ut Augustinus[i]. At isti; "Ideo ex gratia, quia ex operibus."

Non ex operibus, ne quis glorietur; inquit Spiritus: Eph. ii. 9. "At ex operibus, et tamen in Domino quis gloriabitur;" inquit Bellarminus. Quorsum vero gloriabitur? quia justus est? quia expers peccati? Prædicaverit hoc de se forsan Isidorus aliquis[k], qui per annos quadraginta peccatum vel in animo sensisse, et vel cupiditati vel iræ consensisse, ultro dejeravit. Prædicaverit hoc de Gonzaga aliquo[l] Baronius aut Bellarminus; aut de Bonaventura suo[m], fæx scholæ; in quo ne Adamum quidem peccasse ferunt: aut de suis electis Manichæus: vel de se denique Priscillianus[n], Evagrius, Jovinianus, Messaliani[o].

Paulo aliter Ambrosius; "Non gloriabor quia justus sum, sed quia redemptus sum: gloriabor, non quia vacuus peccati, sed quia remissa mihi sunt peccata[p]." Obtinebit alioqui quod in Pelagianis damnavit Innocentius[q]; "Quid mihi nunc opus est Deo?"

Ais, "Dedit mihi Deus quo justus sim." Et hoc quidem pulchrum videtur gratiæ divinæ elogium, primulumque inscitis auribus allubescit; quod tamen, sub specie pietatis, Christum spoliat. Quin ais, "Dedit quo me redimam?" eodem enim, quo justificamur, redimimur; *Justificati ejus sanguine;* Rom. v. 9. Ecce, justificat nos, qui et redemit, sanguis *θεανθρώπου*.

Perge vero: Dedit hoc Deus. Numquid sine te? Istane ut sine interventu, sine operatione, Liberi Arbitrii transigantur? Dicant mihi serio Burdegalenses monachi[r], dicat Andradius, dicat ipsemet (flosculus Scholæ Pontificiæ) Bellarminus, dicat, qui volet, Pontificius[s].

Solius ergo Christi est, quod imputatur; quod inhæret, nostrum est. "Omnes enim," inquit Augustinus[t], "qui per Christum justificati, [et] justi non in se, sed in illo: et illud, quia Christi, perfectissimum; et hoc, quia nostrum, debile et imperfectum[u].

[i] Aug. de Correp. et Grat.

[k] Socr. l. iv. c. 23. [l] In Vita ejus.

[m] In Bonaventura non peccavit Adam. [ut Alex. Alensis dicere soleret non videri Adam in Bonaventura peccasse.] Vita S. Bona. [Opp. Rom. 1588. p. 9.]

[n] Hier. advers. Pelag. ad Ctesiphontem. (p. 220.) [Ed. Ben. t. iv. pars ii. p. 476.]

[o] Theod. l. iv. c. 11.

[p] Hier. in Dial. advers. Pelag. in procemio.

[q] Innoc. Patr. Milevit. [cur mihi opus Deo? Rescript. Innoc. Papæ ad Milevit. Conc. Clementina. Col. Agr. 1569. p. 558.]

[r] Abjurat. Artic. 45.

[s] Iren. de Ptolemæo. l. i.

[t] Aug. Tr. 3. in Joann. [t. iii. pars 2. p. 309. Ed. Ben.]

[u] Optat. Milev. l. ii.—Ipse solus perfectus est; [perfectus solus Dei filius Christus] cæteri omnes semi-perfecti sumus. [Paris. 1631. p. 56.]

Homines nos finxit Deus, non Deos. Matura satis in cœlis perfectio est.

Merito ridet Ctesiphontem Hieronymus[x], nos Pontificium: "O te felicem, O nimium beatum, [beatam *scilicet viduam*] si justitia, quæ jam non nisi in cœlis creditur, apud te solum inveniatur in terris!" Sat nobis interea est, defectus nostros deflere, odisse injustitiam. Vera Donatistarum vox est, "Non habeo quod ignoscas[y]."

Claudet nunc scenam hanc Bernardus[z]. "Non peccare, Dei justitia est; hominis vero justitia, indulgentia Dei."

Imputari ergo et inhærere, non minus distant, quam ab homine Deus, a Cœlo Tridentum. Quocirca fateantur illi demum, quod Scriptura, quod Patres, quod modestiores suæ Ecclesiæ Doctores et senserunt, et veluti communem Ecclesiæ prioris vocem laudarunt; ecce, nos istic unum sumus: alioqui quid Deo cum Beliale commercii est, quid luci cum tenebris?

Sect. VIII.—*De Libero Arbitrio.*

Vicinus huic qui de Libero Arbitrio locus est.

Omittamus leviora quæque de voluntatis natura; de viribus quæratur. Neque illud in naturalibus, humanis, aut vero moralibus: (tuta satis hic pax, silentiumque plane nocturnum, ni forte verba inter se litigent; et, ubi res convenit, quis non verba contemnat, pulchre Augustinus[a]?) sed in spiritualibus et divinis.

Volumus quidem, volumus libere; neque aliter quicquam velle possumus. Quis negat? Nulla hic determinatio physica, vis nulla; sed velle bonum, bene velle, non possumus[b]. Libere credimus; actus enim voluntatis fides: quin et cooperamur gratiæ: neque nos hic ut lapides insensati, quod vere Augustinus.

Sed unde hoc? Ex nobisne, an ex Deo? Numquid ex gratia, an quod damnat Arausicanum Concilium, per vigorem naturæ? Id demum quæritur.

Utrisque perplacet illud Augustini: "Libere velle, opus naturæ est; bene velle, gratiæ; male velle, corruptionis:" sed (mi-

[x] Hier. advers. Pelag. lib. iii. [ed. Bened. t. iv. pars 2. p. 544.]

[y] Optat. l. ii. contr. Donat.

[z] Ser. in Cant. [xxiii. §. 15.] et Ser. iv. de Verbis Esa.—Rectam forsitan justitiam, sed non puram, &c.

[a] Aug. de Ordin. 2. [Si enim de verbis inter nos controversia est, facile contemnetur, dummodo rem ipsam quam concepisti mente videamus. Ed. Ben. t. i. p. 330.]

[b] Aliud est velle, aliud velle bonum. Bern. [Bernard. De Grat. et Arb. c. 6.]

serum me!) non magis astuti sunt istic Tridentini, quam Jesuitæ inconstantes.

Adhuc tutum est, quod e Ruardo suo Bellarminus[c]: "Opus pium, quatenus opus, ab arbitrio esse; quatenus pium, a sola gratia; quatenus opus pium, ab arbitrio et gratia."

Illud vero ingenuum, planeque evangelicum, quod contra suos Catholico-Pelagianos docet[d], in rebus quæ ad pietatem et salutem pertinent, nihil posse voluntatem humanam absque auxilio gratiæ Dei. Vox Jacobi est. Consta tibi modo, Bellarmine; dispereat qui contra ierit.

Pergo sperare et legere: en quid libro plane eodem deinceps occurrit[e]; Conversionem esse in potestate liberi arbitrii; quoniam potest semper converti, quando voluerit: sed et illud[f]; Ante omnem gratiam, habere nos liberum arbitrium, etiam ad opera pietatis et supernaturalia. Ante omnem? (etiam prævenientem? Quin saniores edit recognitiones Cardinalis?

Non prævenit ergo nos nunc Deus, quod Augustinus olim[g], ut velimus; sed nos Deum prævertimus, quia volumus.

Sed, ne nimis crasse istud, ligata quidem est libertas; et sic se habet, ut potentia videndi, absente specie sensibili: libere videre possumus, absente objecto; libere velle possumus, absente gratia.

Dicat mihi nunc Bellarminus: numquid vel ad malum liberiores sumus? Adeone deliravit unquam Pelagius? Malum velle possumus; neque, nisi a judicio practico sub falsa specie determinatum, volumus tamen.

Sed faxo hoc illi indultum; quale vero est hoc Dei auxilium? Prævenire, inspirare, excitare, adjuvare, Dei est: inclinare voluntatem, nostri est. Quomodo nunc non plus nobis debemus, quam Deo? Quid hoc aliud est, quam Pelagianum illud, toties ab Augustino damnatum[h], ita liberum arbitrium a Dei gratia separare, tanquam sine illa vel cogitare aliquid, vel agere, secundum Deum ulla ratione possimus[i].

[c] Bell. de Grat. l. vi. c 15. p. 10. [Ingolst. 1593. t. iii. p. 929.]

[d] De Grat. l. vi. c. 4. in titulo. [ibid. t. iii. p. 881.]

[e] Resp. ad Secund. l. vi. c. 15. [ibid. p. 923.]

[f] De Grat. l. vi. c. 15. Sent. I. [ibid. p. 919.]

[g] Aug. de Corr. et Grat.—Nolentem prævenit, ut velit; volentem subsequitur, ne frustra velit.

[h] Aug. Epist. 46 et 47. [Ed. Ben. Ep. 214, 215. t. ii. pp. 791, 792.]

[i] Petr. Chrysol. Ser. 113.—Christus quicquid suarum virtutum est, refert ad gloriam Patris; et homo, cujus suum nihil est, sibi vindicare, quod per Christum resurrexerit, elaborat. [Colon. 1541. fo. 117.]

Posse viribus nostræ voluntatis evitare peccata; "tentationum leviores quasque titillationes," ut cum Bellarmino loquar, superare; mandata Dei servare, quod Scotus[k] et Durandus[l]; inspirationem Spiritus abjicere vel recipere, quod Tridentini[m]; disponere nos ad susceptionem gratiæ, quod Thomas et Suarez; cooperari gratiæ naturaliter, et conversionem facere efficacem, quod Tapperus[n]: quid est hoc aliud, quam suffurari Deo, quo naturam hanc morticinam superbe decoremus?

Modeste Tiberius[o] e multis, quæ restituisset perfecissetque ædificiis, nullum sibi vindicavit; sed nomina illorum `indidit, a quibus ædificari cœpta: at isti sibi arrogant ædes, quibus ne tegulam quidem unam imposuerint.

Absit hoc a nobis turpe sacrilegium, cum vindicet id sibi Deus vere sancteque zelotypus, operari in nobis et velle, et facere: ipsum velle credere, ut recte Augustinus[p]. Ecce, non excitat, sed ἐνεργεῖ. *Operatur ergo,* et, quod primum est, *velle; et,* quod ultimum, (ἐνεργεῖν) *perficere;* Phil. ii. 13.

"Velle et currere, meum est: sed, absque Dei semper auxilio, non erit meum;" scite Hieronymus[q]. *Sine me nihil potestis,* inquit Christus; Joh. xv. 5; immo, *ne cogitare quidem,* inquit Paulus; 2 Cor. iii. 5. Quid nos istic? non mutili, sed *mortui in peccatis?* Eph. ii. 1. Creanda ergo in nobis, influxu Spiritus, vita nova, quæ non erat; non excitanda, quæ inerat: Col. iii. 1. juxta Psaltis illud, *Crea in me cor mundum;* non excita: Psal. li. 10. Sed neque huic adhuc locus: destruendum cor prius; indendum aliud. *Auferam cor lapideum, dabo carneum,* inquit, Ezechielis ore, Deus; cap. xxxvi. 26.

"At forsan," ais tu, "dispositis a se prius paratisque:" immo vero, non parum reluctantibus. Φρόνημα σαρκὸς ἐχθρά. At sunt inimicitiæ quædam intestinæ, quæque se nunquam exerant; ecce vim publicam: οὐχ ὑποτάσσεται; Rom. viii. 7.

"At parebit fortassis aliquando:" nec illud; οὐ δύναται; Rom. viii. 7.

Ecce rebellem usque Deo conditionem. Quæ hic ad bonum propensio est; quæ exequendi potestas?

[k] Scot. 2. d. 28. [l] Dur. ibid. qu. 4.
[m] Sess. 6. c. 5. et Can. 4. [Bin. t. iv. pp. 806–809.]
[n] Citat. Bell. ibid. [ut supra.]
[o] Xiphilin. Tiber. [Dion. Lutet. 1551. p. 101.]
[p] De Grat. et Lib. Arbit. c. 16. [ut supra t. x. pp. 734–5.]
[q] Hier. ad Ctesiphont. [ut supra t. iv. pars ii. p. 478.]

Sacrificent sibimet, quod Sejanus[r] olim solitus est, si volunt, Pontificii. Ruat profecto cœlum; nos ista nobis arrogare, quæ Deo soli sacra quadam ἀκοινωνησιᾷ competere deprehenduntur, nec audemus, nec possumus.

Tutum quidem est Pontificiis ad nos (ubi lubet) accedere: nobis ad illos descendere absque horrendo animarum præcipitio non licet. Testetur G. Cassander[s]; Testetur (ipso teste) Bonaventura: "Hoc (inquit) piarum mentium est, ut nil sibi tribuant, sed totum gratiæ Dei: unde quantumcunque aliquis det gratiæ Dei, a pietate non recedet; etiamsi multa tribuendo gratiæ Dei, aliquid subtrahit potestati naturæ, vel liberi arbitrii: cum vero aliquid gratiæ Dei subtrahitur, et naturæ tribuitur quod gratiæ est, ibi potest periculum intervenire." Hæc ille.

Nos autem totum gratiæ tribuimus, Pontificii aliquid naturæ; et quod illi naturæ, nos Deo adscribimus. Quod ergo piarum mentium est, id nos facimus, dicimusque: illi quod a pietate recedit, et cum animarum periculo, vel Bonaventura teste, conjunctum est.

Sect. IX. *De Merito.*

Basis justificationis Pontificiæ, libertas est voluntatis. Justificationis autem parietibus superstruitur *Meritum*.

De voce nulla lis erit[t]. Sanctis Ecclesiæ Patribus[u] non male sonuit, nostris omnibus ultro suffragantibus, nomen quod posteri misere vitiarunt.

De re, lis erit æterna[x]. Pollicemur et nos quidem bonis operibus mercedem, quinimmo æternam. Verum illud verbum Judæorum, "Qui laboravit in Vespera, comedet in Sabbatho:" pollicitus enim est, præstabitque Deus: qui tamen *coronat nos in misericordia et miserationibus*, ut vere Psalmista, Ps. ciii. 4; non, uti Pontificii[y], "ex ipso rigore justitiæ;" non, ut Andradius[z], "secundum operis debitum:" "ex gratuito Dei dono, non ex nostris meritis," cordate Cajetanus[a]: "sed et ex justitia (si quis mavelit), ratione pollicitationis suæ, non ipsius operum dignitatis."

"Justi hominis opus, in rei veritate, valorem condignum habere præmio cœlesti," quod ex Professore illo Anglo-Duacensi[b] refert

[r] Xiphil. Epit. Dionis. [ut supra p. 116.]
[s] Cass. Consultat. cit. Bonavent.
[t] Bucer. cit. a Cassandr. [opp. Paris. 1616. pp. 921-2.]
[u] Cypr. l. iii. Ep. 20. [Ed. Fell. 25.]
[x] Petr. Chrysolog. Ser. 43, 83, et 116. —Salutem per veniam, vitam per solam sperare gratiam, &c. [ut supra fol. 121.]
[y] Conc. Trident.
[z] Orthod. Expl. l. vi.
[a] Cajet. Com. in Galat.
[b] Weston. de Tripl. Hom. Offic. l. ii. Vid. Provoc. pro Test. l. ii. c. 11.

Philoponus noster Mortonius; "et convenientem habere proportionem æqualitatis et dignitatis cum præmio ipso vitæ æternæ," quod Pererius[c]; "idque in seipso, absque ulla meritorum mortisve Christi ratione," quod non erubuere Suarez[d] et Bayus[e]; nobis blasphemiæ proximum merito videri solet.

"At vero," quod moderatiores Papistæ præ se ferunt, "meritum hoc nostrum meritus est Christus:" "nec alia quidem opera hoc sibi vindicare possunt, quam quæ in Deo facta," ut loquitur Andradius; "quam tincta Christi sanguine," ut paulo elegantius nuperi Pontificiorum. Quid est, nisi hoc sit, fucum facere, glaucomamve ob oculos objicere imperitis? Peccata nostra Christi sanguine tincta legimus; non merita. Meruitne vero Christus, ut perfecta sint quæ facimus? Quomodo ergo ita claudicant vel optimorum opera? Meruitne, ut, dum imperfecta sint, adhuc tamen mereantur? Quæ hæc Deo injuria est! quæ terminorum contradictio!

En modo tot servatores, quot bonos! Quæ facio, mea sunt; mea sunt, quæ mereor; quisquis vel facere dederit, vel mereri.

Claudo quisquis equo insederit, non potest non incertis impeditisque gressibus promoveri. Superbos vero suorum operum æstimatores, Pontificios, qui, quæ ipsi fecerint, condigna cœlo venditent! Quibus nos merito, quod olim Acesio Novatiano Constantinus[f], "Erigite vobis scalas, Papistæ, et ad cœlum soli ascendite."

Quis ferat notatissimum illud Bellarmini, "Homo justus, duplici titulo, jus habet ad eandem gloriam: uno, ex meritis Christi, sibi per gratiam communicatis; altero, ex meritis propriis?" contra quam Spiritus Sanctus, *Stipendia peccati mors; donum autem Dei vita æterna.* In quæ, paulo sanctius Cardinalis alter, Cajetanus; "Non dicit, quod stipendia justitiæ vita æterna; sed *donum Dei vita æterna;* ut intelligamus non ex nostris meritis, sed ex gratuito Dei dono, assequi nos pro fine vitam æternam: propter quod et subdit, *in Christo Jesu, Domino nostro;* Rom. vi. 23. Ecce meritum, ecce justitiam, cujus stipendium est vita æterna; nobis autem donum, ratione ipsius Jesu Christi." Hæc Cajetanus[g]. Quid planius vel Lutherus, vel Calvinus, vel quis alius Evangelicorum?

Quam imperfecta in nobis, et munera Dei, et nostra opera,

[c] Com. in Rom. vi. [Perer. Select. Disp. Ingolst. 1603. Disp. xi. p. 710.]
[d] Tom. i. in Th. 3. d. 11.
[e] De Merit. Oper. l. i. c. 9.
[f] Socr. l. i. c. 10.
[g] Cajet. Com. in Rom. vi. [ut supra.]

clamitat ubique Scriptura! Et sunto quidem illa gratiæ munera suis numeris absolutissima; at nostra non sunt: sunto opera; at nimium debita sunt: si vero debita Deo, quæ nobis inde merces debetur transcendentis gloriæ! Ecce, nos et servi, et inutiles. Οὐκ ἄξια, inquit Deus: "Sunt condigna," regerunt Pontificii. *Gratia servati estis per fidem, idque non ex vobis*, inquit Deus; Eph. ii. 8. "Gratia quidem; sed tamen ex nobismet," Pontificii. Quæ hæc insolentia est! Accersant nunc sibi scilicet ultroneam paupertatem monachi; qui spirituales divitias, supra quod Ezekias suos auri acervos, tam nimium ostentant.

Vere Hieronymus[h]; "Difficilius arrogantia, quam auro caremus et gemmis: his enim abjectis, interdum gloriosis tumemus sordibus."

Puduit certe scelestæ hujus arrogantiæ Greg. Ariminensem; puduit Durandum, Pighium, aliosque modestioris ingenii Theologos. Utinam æque puderet Jesuitas, æque Tridentinos, horumque lictores Inquisitorios.

At illi ab aliis pie ac veraciter dicta perfidiose expunxerunt. Consulatur Index Madriticus[i]: "Ex libro cui inscribitur, Ordo Baptizandi cum Modo Visitandi, impresso Venetiis, anno 1575, deleantur illa; "Credis non propriis meritis, sed passionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi virtute et merito, ad gloriam pervenire?" Et, paulo post[k], "Credis quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus pro nostra salute mortuus sit; et quod ex propriis meritis, vel alio modo nullus possit salvari, nisi in merito passionis ipsius?"

Nimirum, quod de Origenis erroribus Hieronymus[l], hi scorpiones et colubri veterum; inter quos incedendum fuisset lectori, ni incolumitati nostræ studuisset probe Senatus Inquisitorius.

Quæ nunc spes istic concordiæ? nisi ipsi, (quod tutissimum asseruit Bellarminus,) relictis, propter non tam incertitudinem, quam imperfectionem justitiæ, et periculum inanis gloriæ, suorum operum meritis, fiduciam totam in sola Dei misericordia et benignitate reponere et velint et doceant.

Sect. X.—*De Satisfactionibus.*

Affinis est merito *Satisfactio*; et revera, quasi surculus quidam, ex eadem radice suppullulat: qua nihil unquam fingi potuit in Christi merita contumeliosius.

[h] Hier. Epitaph. Fabiolæ. [Epist. ad Ocean. Ed. Ben. t. iv. pars 2. p. 657.]

[i] Ind. Expurg. Madriticus. p. 149.

[k] Ex eod. libro, fol. 34. ad med. [Index Lib. Prohib. Madrit. 1667. p. 816.]

[l] Hier. Lib. de Lib. Orig. Περὶ Ἀρχῶν. [Ep. 94. ad Avitum. Ed. Ben. t. iv. pars 2. p. 761.]

Nec displicuit Patribus vocabulum, nec, illorum sensu, nobis. Illud modo fas monuisse: Incautas καταχρήσεις vocum, magno Ecclesiæ malo, rerum induxisse confusionem: uti, e contra, vere Tertullianus[m]; "Fides nominum salus proprietatum."

Nihil nobis istic cum civili Satisfactione; nihil, cum Ecclesiastica: de qua Lutherus non incommode, vel Cassandro judice[n]; "Ecclesia mater, pio affectu, præventura manum Dei, castigat filios suos Satisfactionibus quibusdam, ne incurrant flagella Dei." Canonica hæc quæ plerisque dicitur, nimis profecto jamdiu utrinque exolevit.

Quin et nos pœnitentiam a nostris necessario requiri, et exercitia quæque salutaria, veluti fructus ἀξιοὺς τῆς μετανοίας, vel ad ravim usque ingeminamus: non quod pretium aliquod dignum et sufficiens diluendis peccatis offerri postulemus, ut vere Cassander; sed quod officia illa præstari debere doceamus, quæ Deus a peccatore, cui Filii sui satisfactionem impertiri velit, requirat[o].

Ista satisfactiones appellent, condonamus. Sed, post absolutissimam Christi passionem, remanere quasdam pœnarum reliquias, a nobis, seu istic seu in Purgatorio, eo animo luendas, ut justitiæ divinæ exhinc satisfiat, sive illæ a Deo, sive a sacerdote, seu denique a nobis, ut distinguunt Tridentini, imponantur, ferre nec debemus, nec possumus.

Quicquid enim illi operose distinguant, fieri non potest, quin sacrilega horum opinio, vere ἰλάστικον Christi sacrificium, imperfectionis cujusdam insimulet. Consistere posse (sat scio) contendunt satisfactionem utramque, θεανθρωπίκην et humanam: quarum alteram Bonaventura plenam, semiplenam alteram appellavit[p]. Et hæc verba quidem sunt. Sed dicant mihi sophistæ: quod plenum est, annon continet in se quod semiplenum? Aut quid hoc opus, ubi illud suppetit? quicquamne denique addi potest perfecto?

At hæc duo cautiores quidam nec opponi forte volunt, nec subordinari. Pudet enim dicere quid Suarez, quid Durandus, et alii crassiores Pontificii, hac de re disseruerint. Illud (si mavolunt) teneant (quæ tamen non a Cardinale[q] modo, sed et a tribus etiam Pontificibus[r] vapulat opinio;) hominum satisfactiones applicare

[m] Tert. de Præscript. [De Carne Christi, L. iv. c. 13.]

[n] Consult. c. de Satisfact. [Art. xii. de Confess. Paris. 1616. p. 948.]

[o] Satisfactio pœnitentialis nihil aliud est, quam conatus infectum reddendi quod factum est.—Alphons. Virvesius adv. Luther.

[p] Cit. Cass. Ibid. [p. 947.]

[q] Bellarm. de Indulg. l. i. c. 4.

[r] Sc. Pio V. Greg. XIII. Clem. VI.

solummodo, quod Christi promeruere. Sed neque hoc illis effugium: Christi enim satisfactio (uti ipsi docent) æternam pœnam spectat, non temporalem. Quomodo igitur vel semel cogitari potest, nos satisfactionibus nostris efficere, ut quod ad æternæ pœnæ expiationem destinatum est, temporali diluendæ inserviat? Quare vero nos istud potius effecerimus, quam ipse Christus? Sed et quam istud absurde, ut qui minas pro nobis larga manu solverit, denariolos quosdam nobis e tam tenui peculio numerandos reliquerit!

Quæro autem; Nunquid aut non potuit, aut forte noluit, Christus temporales hasce pro nobis pœnas subire? Non potuisse, impium est; noluisse, audax et illiberale. Ubi restrictio ulla est? aut qui fines hujus misericordiæ?

"Culpa remittitur," inquit Conciliabulum Tridentinum; "non condonatur pœna." Nunquam hoc dixerit Orientalis Ecclesia, quæ strenue se semper huic errori opposuit. Quale vero hoc opprobrium est infinitæ condonantis miserationi? quale et justitiæ? Cui debetur pœna, nisi culpæ soli? Unquamne pœnas inflixit Deus indebitas? Sæpe quidem, quas meruere peccatores, quasque illis merito interminatus est, remisit: nullus unquam, quas remisit, repetiisse comperitur.

Punit nos hercle Deus; castigat potius; sæpe etiam fortasse severius; vel post remissam delicti: non quo sibi de nobis satisfiat; nam qui illi ita cordi esse potest, nobis ut sit male? sed, quo nos sibi conformes efficiat; quo emendatiores. Nihil nunc vindice manu nobis imponit Deus, sed paterna.

Patimur nos istic, ergo, non satisfacimus. Solius hoc æterni Sacerdotis est, Sacerdotii æterni; neque minus, quam persona ipsius, angelis sanctisve communicabile. Et fecit ille quidem quod suum est; redemit nos ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου: legalis autem pœnæ pars ultio temporalis.

Nobis, ergo, dextras istic conjungere, perfidiosum hercle foret, planeque proditorium. Quod si nostris seu cruciatibus, seu bonis operibus, quantumlibet etiam pœnalibus, hoc fieri non posse constet, quanto minus aliorum! Nemo non sanctorum jure usurparit illud virginum prudentiorum, οὐκ ἀρκεσῇ ἡμῖν καὶ ὑμῖν; Matt. xxv. 9. Sed "Non necesse habet convinci, quod sua statim professione blasphemum est," pulchre Hieronymus[s].

[s] Hier. ad. Ctesiphont. [Adv. Pelag. Ed. Ben. t. iv. pars 2. p. 482.]

SECT. XI.—*De Purgatorio.*

Ex satisfactionum opinione, pendent et *Purgatorii* fabulæ, et Indulgentiarum; lepidæ profecto ambæ, et iambis non indignæ: quo de utroque opportune mihi succurrit illud Lutheri *σκῶμμα μαισώνικον*, e Propheta excerptum: *Domine, non possum vesci stercore humano;* Ezek. iv. 14.

Quod si modo dubitanter et problematice Purgatorium suum Ecclesiæ propinassent, facile quidem nobis esset connivere: haud scio interibi, splenisne potius negotium esset, an viscerum; risune dignius, an miseratione. Sed cum ad Catholicam fidem pertinere doceat Bellarminus, scituque omnino necessarium velit Roffensis, non possumus hercle non indignari.

Scripturæ quam istuc misere detorqueantur, dispeream nisi novennes pueri facile possint persentiscere. Quod de sui temporis hæreticis Hieronymus[t], "Ad sensum suum incongrua aptant testimonia: quasi grande sit, et non vitiosissimum, docendi genus, depravare sententias, et ad voluntatem suam Scripturam trahere repugnantem."

Nec alia certe fide Antiqui: e quibus Origenes, Ambrosius, Hilarius, Lactantius, Hieronymus purgatorium aliud; Augustinus incertum fluctuansque; reliqui prorsus nullum somniarunt.

Fallor: Platonem[u] sententiæ hujus patronum laudant Eusebius[x] et Augustinus[y]. Homerum vero et Virgilium quis nescit?

Gregorii demum ævo flagrare cœpit hic sacer ignis: et, ex illo, Alcorani fide non parum auxit.

Hoc illud est, quod Roffensis noster ingenue, Flammam hanc sero Ecclesiæ cognitam fuisse: nobis vero extorqueri e manibus non potest illud Pauli; *Cum terrena hæc domus fuerit dissoluta, habere nos in cœlis ædificium ἀχειροποίητον*, 2 Cor. v. 1. Quando autem illud (*ἐὰν*) Pauli? Joannes interpretabitur: *ἀπάρτι ἀποθνήσκοντες*, Apoc. xiv. 13. Quando demum illud *ἀπάρτι*? *Hodie,*

[t] Hier. [Paulin. Ep. 2. ad Paul. t. iv. pars 2. p. 571.]

[u] Plato, in Phædone.—Itaque, quicunque in vita quodammodo medium tenuisse ita comperiuntur, ad Acherontem profecti vehiculis, quæ unicuique adsunt, in paludem perveniunt Acherusiam; ibique habitant; purganturque, pœnas dantes injuriarum: et cum purificati, &c. Lugd. 1590. p. 400 E. *καὶ οἱ μὲν ἂν δόξωσι μέσως βεβιωκέναι, πορεύθεντες ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχέροντα, ἀναβάντες ἃ δὴ αὐτοῖς ὀχήματά ἐστιν, εἰς τὴν λίμνην, καὶ ἐκεῖ οἰκοῦσι καὶ καθαιρόμενοι, τῶν τε ἀδικημάτων διδόντες δίκας ἀπολύονται*, &c.

[x] Euseb. de Præpar. Evang. l. xi. c. ult.

[y] Aug. de Civitat. Dei, l. xxi. c. 13. qui et ibid. Virgil. citat.

inquit Christus, Luc. xxiii. 43. vel ab animæ egressu. *Commendent animas suas Deo*, inquit Petrus, 1 Pet. iv. 19.

Sed quid inde? Quod extinguet prorsus commentitium hunc ignem, commentitius ille Salomon (Pontificiis genuinus,) Δικαίων δὲ ψυχαὶ ἐν χειρὶ Θεοῦ, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἅψηται αὐτῶν βάσανος, Sap. iii. 1. Ecce vel animas absque purgatione, vel purgationem absque dolore.

At quid nos ista moramur? Agedum: coeant in unum Pontificii doctores: conveniant inter se de situ sui purgatorii, de cruciatibus, de subjecto, de duratione, de tortoribus, de animarum inibi detentarum conditione; et dein nostrum post illa assensum præstolentur.

Interea temporis quin liberum nobis sit, cum Suarez[z], vagis defunctorum manibus non credere, nisi metaphorice? et non minus Purgatorium illud plebeium denegare, quam Bellarmino[a] aliud novum admittere nobile ac senatorium?

Sect. XII.—*De Indulgentiis.*

Reum est *Indulgentiarum* Purgatorium, fatente Roffensi. Utrumque peperit superstitio, aluit avaritia. Leviore manu istas tango.

Diu est, ex quo ingenuos quosque Romæ alumnos puduit hujus piæ fraudis.

Amo hic Cassandrum[b], qui sic modeste, et vere: "Pœnarum Canonicarum imminutio, et relaxatio, olim Indulgentia dicebatur: quæ hodie ad privatas quasque satisfactiones traducta est; et ab Episcopis, ad solum Romanum Pontificem, plenum Indulgentiarum tribuendarum jus delatum, circa quarum usum et praxin, optimi quique correctionem et moderationem fieri desiderarunt; ut quæ, parum dextre tractatæ, hujus dilacerationis Ecclesiæ præcipuam occasionem dedere. Hic optandum esset, ut Pontifices publicæ paci aliquid concedant." Hactenus Cassander. Cui etiam concinit Polyd. Virgilius: nigro carbone dignior uterque quam bonus ille Roffensis, quem male notavit Valentianus[c]. Nec defuere e suis, Bellarmino[d] teste, qui et Thesaurum Ecclesiæ, et Indulgentias, in discrimen vocarint. Nec defuerunt, qui vel esse, vel prodesse, audacter negare ausi.

[z] Tom. iv. in Th. 9. d. 46.
[a] Bellar. de Purg. l. ii c. 7. [Ingolst. 1596. t. i. p. 2056.]
[b] Cap. de Indulg. [ut supra 949. 950.]
[c] Gr. Val. de Indulg. c. 4.
[d] De Indulg. l. iv. c. 4.

Et sane quis, non nimium philtris illius meretricis ebriolatus, ferat, ut, cum imputatio meritorum Christi ad peccatoris justitiam, nobis a Deo facta, passim inter illos deridiculo sit; merita tamen et passiones hominum sanctorum, e communi quodam thesauro, ad levandas animarum pœnas ab homine imputentur?

Quis ferat, ut mortalium aliquis satis superque faciat Deo?

Quis ferat prodigas indulgentiarum concessiones, et nundinationes turpissimas?

Quis ferat precularum quarundam supinæ obmurmurationi (neque enim opus est, si Casuistis credimus, vel intentione animi, vel devotione) concessam, a Joanne XXII, annorum decies centenorum millium Indulgentiam[e].

Quis ferat, cum non ultra mundi conflagrationem sævire hanc flammam posse autument, uno tamen libello[f] paulo minus quam annorum undecies mille millenorum Indulgentiam, credulis devotisque animis offerri? Quid multis? Præ manibus mihi est liber manuscriptus[g], membranaceus, carie tineisque erosus, in quo præter alias absurdissimas blasphemasque pollicitationes, uni perbrevi oratiunculæ facultas datur, infernales pœnas, recitanti forte debitas, in purgatorias commutandi; postmodum vero purgatorias, in summa cœli gaudia. Consuluisset sibi probe Bellarminus, si, quod aliis quibusdam visum fatetur, ipse suo probasset calculo[h], Bullas hasce non a Pontificibus datas, sed a quæstuariis potius *αἰσχροκέρδως* confictas. Sed quis candor Jesuitis? quamque senex psittacus, quod ille olim, nescit ferulam!

Quis ferat inhumanam hanc *προσωπολημψίαν*? ditiores ut loculis redimere possint sacrum hunc Ecclesiæ thesaurum; animasque suas et suorum e diro hoc carcere nummis liberare: dum indigentiores quique, absque omni spe veniæ, maturæve relaxationis, ad extremum usque diem torqueantur?

Denique, quis ferat, ut cum penes Christi Vicarium sit miseras animulas ab igne cruciatorio, quem sola æternitate superare dicitur infernus, evocare, sinat eas tamen usque ejulare, ac torreri crudelissime; nec omnes thesauri sui cumulos, tot captivorum spirituum spirituale pretium, pia manu profundat? Infelix, quod de divite Ambrosius[i], cujus in potestate est tantorum animas a morte defendere, et non est voluntas. Quorsum illi indulsisset

[e] Horæ. B. Virg.
[f] Stat. Rom. Rhythmic.
[g] Horæ B. Mar. Virg. ad usum Sarisb.
[h] Lib. de Indulg.
[i] Amb. de Nabuthe. [c. 13. Paris. 1586. t. i. p. 712.]

Deus hanc Indulgentiarum potestatem, ni aliis beneficam voluisset? Et ubi paterfamilias largus est, dispensator non debet esse tenax[k]. Porrigat ilicet hasce siliquas porcis suis Circe illa Romana.

Sect. XIII.—*De distinctione Peccati mortalis et venialis.*

Præ se quidem ferunt Indulgentiæ notissimam *Peccati Mortalis et Venialis* discriminationem; quam nec Deus admittere unquam voluit; nec, ipso reclamante, Evangelici.

Gradus esse quosdam mali, agnoscimus nos æque ac docemus: ut merito hic Campiani, Duræi, Coccii, Burdegalensium, qui Stoicæ cujusdam et Jovinianicæ paritatis opinionem nobis exprobrarint, et fidem et frontem desideremus: etiam desiderarit ante nos Bellarminus.

Atrociora quædam sunt aliis delicta; letifera tamen naturæ suæ malignitate universa: ut, e venenis, quædam lentius mitiusque, celerius quædam et impetuosius enecant; mortem tamen accersunt omnia.

Sed et ratione immensæ Dei misericordiæ, quin et subjecti vere fidelis ac pœnitentis, habita; nullum non peccatum, Prudentii verbo, veniabile: ipsius vero *ἀνομίας*, nullum non æterna morte dignissimum.

Omne peccatum vipera est[l]. Nulla vipera non morsu interimit, modo ipsam bestiolæ naturam spectes: at si qua forte in Pauli manum inciderit, in ignem inulta excutitur. Nemo minus fugiat noxium animal, quod incolumem Apostolum intuetur. Pariter se habet fideli peccatum.

Symbolum est Joannis, *Peccatum omne ἀνομία*, 1 Joh. iii. 4. Symbolum Pauli, *ὀψώνια peccati mors*, Rom. vi. 23. Conjiciantur hæc duo; naturalis peccati venia evanescit.

Rhemenses nostri[l], acuti homines, conversionem propositionis non minus ferunt, quam suam. "Est quidem," inquiunt, "omne peccatum *ἀνομία*, sed non omnis *ἀνομία* peccatum." Convertit, ergo, ipsemet Apostolus: *πᾶσα ἀδικία ἐστιν ἁμαρτία*, 1 Joh. v. 17. "Omnis autem *ἀνομία, ἀδικία* est," teste Augustino[m]; "regula enim justitiæ Lex: prævaricatio ergo Legis injustitia." Sed et ipsum nomen os illis plane obstruit: quomodo enim peccatum univoce vel veniale vel mortale est, si veniale peccatum non est? *Peccati* vero *stipendium mors*.

[k] Chrys. vel, Auth. operis imperfect. [l] In 1 Johan. iii. [m] Com. in locum.

Quod ergo ogganniunt Pontificii, Mereri in se veniam peccatum hoc (nisi meritum καταχρηστικῶς solummodo consecutionem interpretemur[n], cum Stapletono): quod Bellarminus et Navarrus, Venialia non esse contra, sed præter Legem: quod Franciscus a Victoria[o], Benedictionem Episcopi, Orationem Dominicam, tunsionem pectoris, aquam benedictam, et similia, sine quocunque alio motu bono, sufficere ad venialia remittenda: ita nimium ab omni et pietate et justitia videtur abhorrere, ut nobis necessum sit ab his naturæ, immo peccati, lenonibus æternum dissentire. Vetus illa regula est, et æque profecto vera: "Facilitas veniæ incentivum tribuit delinquendi[p]."

Sed et (bone Deus!) quæ illis audiunt vulgo venialia? Ebrietas, adulterium, irati hominis blasphemia, avaritia; quin et furari, mentiri, maledicere parentibus (quanta flagitia!) istuc accenseri solent[q]. Insignite sit improbus oportet, qui istanc licentiam non perhorrescat.

De istis vaticinatum puto Socratem historicum, dum ait[r]; "Nonnulli scortationem rem quidem indifferentem arbitrantur, sed tamen de diebus festis tanquam de vita decertant."

Mitto quæ περὶ τῆς πρωτῆς ἁμαρτίας, ut appellat Chrysostomus, nomine, re, conditione, ac pœna, utrinque non levi verborum lite, ut Cassandro visum, disceptari solent. Nec attingo Evangelicam votorum perfectionem, nec periculosissimam temere voventium servitutem, nec incommoda monachatus; quæ tot ac tanta sunt, ut delecti illi a Paulo Tertio Cardinales unanimiter pronuntiarint, "Conventuales Ordines abolendos putamus esse omnes[s]."

Quod ad ipsam tamen vitæ conditionem attinet, fiat modo quod monent Cassander et Clingius ille Franciscanus: removeatur falsa opinio, et præpostera fiducia; ne in his operibus fiducia collocetur, quæ in solo Christi merito collocanda est: nec quis inde putet se promereri justitiam, et remissionem peccatorum, et gratiam: addo etiam, absit otium, superstitio, et necessarii ligaminis imperium, nos non adeo improbandam judicamus.

Nec alia putamus Collegia nostra, quam sacratiora quædam ἀσκητήρια; in quibus, juxta Pelagii Papæ præceptum, sacris Dei ac Ecclesiæ muneribus obeundis mature instrui et aptari possimus.

[n] Τὸ ἐπιτυχὸν.

[o] Fr. a Vict. Summa Sacr. Pœnitentiæ. nu. 100. p. 63.

[p] Decr. 23. q. 4.—Est injusta, &c. [Grat. Decr. pars 2. Caus. 23. qu. 4. c. 33.]

[q] Peter Alagona. Comp. Manual. Navarri, pp. 91, 267, 140, 191, 352, 400.—Adulteria, et alia leviora peccata. Pontificale.

[r] Socr. l. v. c. 22.

[s] Osiand. Papa non Papa.

Talia fuere et Veterum monasteria: ut vel ex una ædicula decem in Clerum emisisse Augustinum, author sit Possidonius[t].

Sect. XIV.—*De Canone Scripturæ.*

Nunc demum (ne nimius sim) ab his, quæ nosmetipsos non oblique spectare mihi visa sunt, festino ad ea, quæ Deum ipsum propius attingunt, hastamque in cœli terminos minaciter conjiciunt.

Ea vero sive Scripturam, verbum Dei *προφόρικον*; seu Christum, Verbum *ἔμφυτον*; seu denique Cultum divinæ majestati debitum, respiciunt.

Et *Scripturæ* quidem dica triplex impingi solet, eaque profecto gravis grandisque. Prima, Aucti Canonis: secunda, Negatæ *αὐταρκείας*: tertia, Suspensæ ab Ecclesia Authoritatis.

Corruptissimam enim Sacrarum Literarum versionem, Tridentinis unice authenticam, (de qua, jure bono Reuchlinus, Hieronymi[u] vestigia premens, "Hebræi fontes, Græci rivos, Latini paludes bibunt"), sciens prudensque prætereo.

Inprimis quis ferat *ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου* adsui panno veteri? aut quid hinc, nisi *χεῖρον σχίσμα*? Quis ferat, ut, contra Hebræorum fidem; contra Melitonis[x], Cyrilli[y], Athanasii[z], Origenis[a], Hilarii[b], Hieronymi[c], Ruffini[d], Nazianzeni[e] clarissima testimonia; contra Doctores medioxumos nuperosque, vel suos[f]; sex integri libri, sub anathematis pœna, Deo ipsi ejusque Ecclesiæ a Tridentinis Paterculis[g] imperiosius obtrudantur? quorum etiam aliqui magicas præstigias, alii *αὐτοφονείας*, mendaces plane fabulas alii, alii ritus ethnicos, alii denique crudelia facinora, non sine publico quodam applausu, lectoribus propinent.

Istos quidem candide, ut sæpe solet, Cajetanus, Hieronymum secutus[h], in Canonem voluit a Veteribus adscitos, non Fidei, sed Morum.

Et certe Syracidis, fictitiique Salomonis, et Esdræ præcepta pleraque non parum redolent sapientiæ: at quales, obsecro, ab historiis hisce mores, vel a Catechumenis, ad quos relegabat istos Athanasius, edisci imbibique possunt? Vere ego de istis dixerim,

[t] Possid. in Vita Aug.
[u] Hier. advers. Helvidium.
[x] Ep. ad Ones. cit. ab Eus.
[y] Cyr. cat. 4.
[z] Ath. in Synops.
[a] Orig. cit. ab Eus.
[b] Lib. vi. et Præf. in Ps.
[c] Hier. Prol. in Gal.
[d] Ruf. Symb. [e] Naz. in Carm.
[f] Recensuimus hæc largius, Præf. ad Pacem Romæ.
[g] Sess. 4. Decr. de Sacr. Scr. promulg. 8 Aprilis, &c. [Bin. t. iv. p. 802.]
[h] In fin. Com. Vet. Test.

quod Chius ille servus de domino suo, vinum vendente aliis, epotante vappam; Cum adsunt bona, quærunt mala.

Sint vero hi, quantumvis, olim fatente Epiphanio[l], ἐν ἀμφιλεκτῷ, sacri omnes; sint, quod voluit Carthaginensis Synodus, totiesque provocatus istic Augustinus, δεύτερο-κανόνικοι; divini tamen ut sint, quis hominum vel Angelorum præstare unquam poterit? Novimus nos quidem satis, quantæ impietatis sit, Deo Cœli supponere humani ingenii fœtus: nec quid movere nos potest Anathematis Tridentini inanis crepitatiuncula[k], cum tonantem audimus Deum, *Si quis apposuerit ad hæc, apponet Deus illi plagas scriptas in hoc libro,* Apoc. xxii. 18.

SECT. XV.—*De Scripturarum Insufficientia.*

Nec scio certe iniquiorisne audaciæ sit, affingere Deo quæ non scripserit; an eorum, quæ vere scripsit, authoritatem enervare, tollere sufficientiam.

Palam faciunt Papistæ.

"Nos asserimus," inquit Bellarminus[l], "non expresse in Scripturis contineri totam doctrinam necessariam, sive de fide, sive de moribus." Et Tridentini, "pari pietatis affectu, pari veneratione," suscipi jubent Traditiones, cum ipsis Scripturarum libris. "Non scriptæ veritates," inquit Morus nostras[m], "æquipollent verbo Dei."

Quis hic concordiæ locus?

Sunt res quædam mediæ, ritus adiaphori (non inficiamur), in quibus aliquid Ecclesiæ, Traditionibus aliquid tribuendum: sed quæ ad salutem simpliciter necessaria sunt, seu factu, seu scitu, ea, "vel per verba, vel per sensum," ut Aquinas distinguit, in Sacris Scripturis non reperiri, merito quidem ἀθεόλογον, cum Erasmo, definimus.

Διατυπώσεις quædam, publici ordinis ergo, ab Ecclesia sunt[n]: at ὅροι quique necessarii a Dei voce petendi.

Vere hic Nysseno κάνων ὄρθος καὶ ἀδιάστροφος. *Lex Domini perfecta est,* Davidi, Ps. xix. 7; quin et *perfectum facit,* inquit Paulus, 2 Tim. iii. 17. Quid vero addi potest perfecto? aut quæ perfectio, ubi desit necessarium; immo ubi, verbis Hosii, pars maxima?

[i] Epiph. l. i. sect. viii. [§ 6. Paris. 1622. p. 19.]

[k] Si quis libr. (Hester., Dan., Baruc., Eccl., Sap., Judith, Tob., Maccab.) pro Canonicis non susceperit, Anathema sit. —Sess. 4. [ut supra.]

[l] Bellar. de Verbo non Scripto. l. iv. c. 3. sect. 1. [t. i. p. 204.]

[m] Contr. Præf. Tyndalli. Nec dissim. Roff. Art. 37. contr. Luth.

[n] In Can. Nicen. Græc. codex Pisan. Binii Conc. tom. i. [Ed. 1606. p. 344.]

Quam nunc frustra est Spiritus! Scripsit hæc, ut crederemus; ut credendo salvaremur. Atqui jam, Tridento judice, credamus quæ scripserit licet, salvi non sumus tamen, ni quæ non scripserit pariter amplexemur.

O male edoctum! male locutum Constantinum! cui tamen nemo ex heroibus illis Nicenis facili reprehensione vel aurem tetigerit, dum ait[o], "Evangelici et Apostolici libri, necnon Antiquorum Prophetarum Oracula, plane instruunt nos sensu numinis."

O misere occæcatos Patres ad unum omnes[p], qui nullam aliam fidei regulam, aut agnoverint unquam, aut viderint!

Inviditne vero humano generi Deus plenariam hanc voluntatis suæ perpetuis literarum monumentis consignationem? Aut non expedire censuit, in hoc communi veritatum conclavi, ut Roffensis appellat, necessaria quæque reponere? Aut num forte incertius est, quod literis fideliter mandamus, quam quod vagis hominum rumoribus circumgestari, et aëreo hoc fluxu ad sera nepotum secula derivari, solet?

Quale est, ut sapienter Irenæus[q], et Prophetarum et Domini et Apostolorum relinquentes nos vocem, attendere his, nihil sani garrientibus!

Vel, si istud expedit, quam mihi nunc frustra estis, ὀαρίσται Θεοῦ, Prophetæ, Apostoli, Evangelistæ! Et, quod ille olim de unguento, εἰς τι ἡ ἀπολεία αὕτη? Matt. xxvi. 9.

Perniciosa sunt hæc quidem Ecclesiæ; et a divinæ tum sapientiæ tum bonitatis gloria, non parum abhorrentia parodoxa. Teneant ergo ista, qui ausint. Nos profecto nunquam committemus, ut quæ duæ hæreticorum notæ ab Irenæo quondam assignatæ sunt[r], in Scripturæ simplicis authoritate non acquiescere, Traditiones alias jactitare, eæ nobis ambæ merito inurantur.

Sect. XVI.—*De Authoritate Scripturæ.*

Sed illud adhuc longe iniquissimum est, αὐτοπιστίαν verbo Dei denegare; et ita suspendere ab Ecclesia Scripturas, ut necesse illis sit authoritatem suam omnem ab humanis suffragiis emendicare.

Bonus ille Eckius, in repurgato a se demum Enchiridio,

[o] Theod. l. i. c. 7.

[p] Tert. de Præscr. [c. xxxvii.] et lib. contr. Her.—Orig. in Rom. xvi.—Atha. in Synops.—Ambr. Hex. l. iii. c. 3.—Aug. Ego solis Scripturis, &c. De Nat. et Gr. c. 61.—Opt. Milev. l. v.—Tho. in Mag. l. iii. d. 3. q. 1. art. 1. Citat ex Hieron. Non mihi credas, si quid tibi dixero, quod ex Novo Testamento vel Veteri haberi non possit.—Decr. caus. 11. q. 3. c. 101. Is qui præest, &c.

[q] Iren. l. ii. c. 1.

[r] Iren. l. iii.

"Scriptura," inquit[s], "non est authentica, sine authoritate Ecclesiæ:" cui sententiæ, ut vere aureæ ac nobili, adjicitur in margine, gratulantis ovantisque calami plausus; "Achilles pro Catholicis."

Mitto Hermanni ac Hosii, sub Swinckfeldii fortassis nomine[t], blasphemias. Mitto horrendam glossematis illius turpissimi[u] impietatem, quod Salomonis textum a Papæ canonizatione fidem suam mutuari docet.

Instar omnium erit ipse Bellarminus, qui, Septenarium Sacramentorum numerum Concilii Tridentini authoritate (hæc enim illis ἱέρα ἀγκύρα) suffulturus, "Omnium," inquit[x], "Conciliorum veterum, et omnium dogmatum firmitas pendet ab authoritate præsentis Ecclesiæ." Et, paulo ante, "Si tollamus authoritatem præsentis Ecclesiæ, et præsentis (Tridentini scilicet) Concilii; in dubium revocari poterunt omnium aliorum Conciliorum decreta, et tota fides Christiana."

O instabiles, misereque vacillantes Pontificiorum animas! Quot noncapita modo, sed et regna integra, eaque profecto florentissima, fatentibus ingemiscentibusque Romanis, Tridentini Concilii authoritatem omnem etiamnum pertinaciter rejiciunt! Quæ illis fidei certitudo? quæ spes salutis? Ain' vero, "Tota fides Christiana?" "Dogmata omnia?" Etiam quæ digito Dei exarata? etiam quæ a Spiritu Sancto dictata? Quid hoc aliud est, nisi Deum ipsum hominibus emancipare; humanoque tribunali sistere Cœli Fabricatorem? Deus erit Deus; erit quæ est Dei Scriptura; quantumlibet reclamantibus Roma, Tridento, Orco. Et, ni nos istud arctissime teneamus, nulla nobis cum Deo pax erit; ni denegemus, nulla cum Pontificiis.

SECT. XVII.—*De Transubstantione.*

Hæc quidem Scripturas: quæ sequuntur, *Christi* spectant *seu Personam, seu Munera.*

Mitto quam περὶ τῆς αὐτοθεότητος meram profecto, judice Bellarmino, λογομαχίαν instituerunt Censores Pontificii[y]; gravioribus insisto.

[s] Eckii Enchir. recognitum ann. 1586. fol. 8.

[t] Jun. Animadvers. in Bellar. de Verbo Dei. [Gen. 1607. t. ii. p. 498.]

[u] Gloss. in Decretal. l. ii. tit. 23. [Greg. ix. de præsumpt. Paris. 1601. p. 786.]

[x] Bellar. de Num. et Effect. Sacr. l. ii. c. 25. p. 300. [Ingolst. 1597. t. ii. p. 243.]

[y] Genebrard. de Trin. l. i.—Lindan. Dial. 2.—Canisius in Præf. Lib. de Jo. Bapt.—Bell. de Chron. l. ii. c. 19. Calvinus, sine dubio, in modo loquendi

Utinam certe humani corporis veritatem non prorsus destrueret explosissimum illud *μετουσίας* dogma, et, quæ illius radix est, *πολυπαρουσίας*.

Bone Deus! fierine potest, quod Averroes olim lusit, ut panaceum sibi Deum fingant Christiani? ut quis hominum credat, Christum suum ipsius corpus altera manu gestasse? porrexisse deglutiendum sanctis hospitibus, qui illum, et inter manducandum, et post sacrum illud frustulum pie devoratum, præsentem intuiti sunt, alloquentem audierunt? ut ipse Filius Hominis se totum simul devorarit, integer tamen et incolumis interea discubuerit? ut gloriosum corpus Christi in rancidulos ventriculorum meatus deferatur: ut vel in corporis nostri substantiam inibi demum convertatur; vel, contra quam Spiritus olim, *Nec sines Sanctum tuum videre corruptionem*, Ps. xvi. 10. putredini obnoxium sit, vel in nihilum evanescat, vel redeat in cœlum illud, in quo erat antequam rediit, dum rediit; vel a muribus (piis animalculis!) corrodi, vel venenis denique misceri possit?

Quæ hæc ineptiarum portenta sunt! Quam hæc insana, quam impia fatuorum hominum pertinacia est, ipsa naturæ principia, rerum ordinem, Servatoris Humanitatem, veritatem Sacramenti, constantem Scripturarum sententiam, fundamenta Theologiæ, convellere, ac susque deque habere; cœlum terræ miscere denique, potius quam ut tropicam loquendi rationem (ubi necesse est) admittere velint; clamante interim omni Patrum senatu [z] Symbola *ἀντίτυπα*, signa, exemplar, similitudinem, figuras; indignante cœlo, ridentibus Ethnicis, reluctante Ecclesia!

Occidit hæc litera, cordate (quod non semper solet) Origenes. Quæ nunc istic concordiæ spes?

Vere hic offerri, vereque percipi, verum Christi corpus, quis nostrum non constanti fide docuit usque, et defendit[a]? At qui demum istud? non corporeo tactu, ut Cyrillus et Ambrosius, sed fide. Illud vero corporaliter, carnaliter, oraliter adesse; et (quæ Berengario præivit bonus ille Papa Nicolaus, illumque secutus, Alanus noster) dentibus teri dilaniarique; impium nobis semper videbitur, et, Augustino judice[b], flagitiosum.

erravit; sed, dum rem ipsam discutio, non facile audeo pronuntiare illum in hoc errore fuisse.

[z] Tertull. contra Marcion. l. iv.—Beatus Rhenanus fatetur hunc errorem Tertull. in Berengario refutatum.—Aug. Psal. iii.—Epist. 162.—Ps. xcviii.—De Doct. Christ. l. iii. c. 16.—Chrys. Hom. 46. in Joh.—Theod. Dial. 1. et 2.—Naz. Epit. Cæ.

[a] Bell. de Euchar. l. i. c. 1. [Disp. t. ii. p. 463.]

[b] De Doct. Christ. l. iii.

Placet hic Ariæ Montani candor, qui in Lucæ xxii. 19[c]. *Hoc est corpus meum;* "Id est, verum corpus meum in hoc Sacramento panis continetur sacramentaliter;" subditque[d], uti Nicodemus alter, nocturnus Christi alumnus, "Cujus arcanam et mysteriis refertissimam rationem ut explicatiorem habeant Christiani, dabit aliquando Dominus."

Hæc ille. Interea nos prodigiosum Transubstantiationis dogma, quod unum tot in se absurdos errores continet, quot momenta temporis ab ejus prima efformatione, id est, a Concilio Lateranensi[e], ad hanc usque horam intercesserunt, ut insomnium plane diabolicum, execrabimur[f].

SECT. XVIII.—*De Multipræsentia Corporis Christi.*

Istud vero *ἀκέφαλον μυθὸς* edidit certe illa altera, quæ de *πολυτοπίᾳ* Christi corporis fabula est, et in scenam produxit. Nec scio utri primas deferam fatuitatis, fraudisque sophisticæ.

Ut mille in locis sublunaris hujusce mundi sit idem Christi corpus; quod tamen interea totum in cœlis est: ut integrum corpus Christi in minuta quadam placentula ita delitescat, membra ut se non penetrent, sed distincta et inter se disposita sint, habeantque figuram et ordinem humano corpori convenientem, (quæ Bellarmini verba sunt,) non rationem modo exsuperat, sed fidem.

Neque jam, ut olim, *Ecce, hic Christus, aut illic,* Matt. xxiv. 23; sed, quod longe turpius, "Ecce et hic Christus, et illic."

Æternæ veritatis illud est receptissimum in Scholis axioma: "Unitas numerica rei finitæ consistere non potest absque continuitate[g]."

Quem non pudeat hic Jesuitarum? Loca ipsa, in quibus Christi corpus est, inquit Bellarminus, discontinua sunt: sed et Christi corpus divisum est a se, respectu loci; sed non respectu propriæ substantiæ, sive quantitatis. Quasi ulla esset divisio substantiæ, nisi per terminos: quasi solo loco non et terminari soleat quantitas, et commensurari: quasi certissima non esset loci ad locatum relatio[h].

Atqui hoc non jam soli competit Christo. Sanctus ille Xavierius

[c] Montan. in Luc. xxii. 19.

[d] In vers. 18.

[e] Antea enim libera erat cuique sua hac de re sententia.—Tonst. de Verit. Corp. et Sang.—Idem, Scot. et Biel. ut citantur a Suarez.—Scot. in 4. d. 11. q. 2. [Pars 2. p. 25. ed. Ven. 1597.]

[f] Dicendum quod Ecclesia declaravit istum intellectum esse de veritate fidei in illo Symbolo, edito sub Innoc. 3, in Concil. Lateranensi.

[g] Conr. Vorst. Epitrib. [see Anti-Bellarm. Hanov. 1610. pp. 398 et seqq.] —Jul. Scal. Exercit. in Card.

[h] Aug. Epist. 57.—Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, et nusquam erunt. [Ed. Ben. Ep. 187. t. ii. p. 683.]

nostro ævo (unus ex pullis Loioliticis[i]) et in navi simul visus est, et in scapha: retulit Tursellinus. Ego divo ludicro, et parili fabulatori, Plautinum Amphitruonem committo:

> ———tun' id dicere audes
> Quod nemo antehac vidit, nec potest fieri? uno tempore
> Homo idem duobus locis ut simul sit?
>
> *Plaut. Amphit.* Act. ii. Scen. i.[k]

Quam nunc frustra est decus scholæ, Aquinas; qui, "Ejusdem est rationis," inquit[l], "angelis simul esse in duobus locis, et in quibuscunque pluribus!" Ecce nunc vel ubique Xavierium, vel fraterculi corpusculum angelica natura subtilius: denique, vel falsum Aquinatem, vel Papistas ubiquitarios.

Quam nimium audaces sunt hodie multipræsentiæ hujus patroni, Jesuitæ! Scilicet Bellarminus, contempta Thomæ, Ægidii, Carthusiani, Capreoli modestia; "Quia existimamus," inquit[m], "posse corpus Christi esse in pluribus locis, etiam localiter et visibiliter, ideo dicimus corpus idem posse esse, circumscriptive, et etiam definitive, in pluribus locis. Nam ut corpus sit circumscriptive in aliquo loco, tantum requiritur, ut commensuretur illi loco; ita ut termini loci et locati sint simul: non autem requiritur, ut non sit alibi, tanquam in alio loco." Absurdam vero ἀντιθεσιν! Circumscribi loco, et esse alibi! ut termini præsentis locati et loci sint adæquati, et tamen locatum unum numero sit, loca mille! ut hoc loco commensuretur quid, quod in aliis est fere infinitis! ut locus alius remotus minus impediat circumscriptionem, quam pars alterius proximi! Quid delirare est, si hoc sit sapere? Quis non rideat horum sapientem stultitiam; quod de Valentinianis Irenæus[n]?

Sed lubens audio illud Chrysostomi; "Ex philosophia res divinas intelligere, est candens ferrum non forcipe, sed digitis contrectare:" quin et Augustini: "Da Deum aliquid posse, quod tu non possis intelligere." Aëtium hæreticum in errorem illum Arii putidissimum seduxisse fertur Aristoteles[o]: quin et omnes hæreses a philosophia subornari docuit nos Tertullianus[p]. Quid Athenis et Hierosolymis? quid Academiæ et Ecclesiæ? Tolle argumenta, ubi quæritur fides; ut candide ex Ambrosio Thomas[q].

[i] Citat Matth. Sutclivius, Resp. ad Bellarm. de Euchar.

[k] Plaut. Amphitr. Act. ii. [Sc. i.]

[l] Tho. in Mag. l. i. d. 32. q. 1. art. 1. [Tho. Aquin. in iv. Libb. Sentt. Venet. 1593. l. i. dist. 37. qu. 1. art. 2. p. 34. col. 4.]

[m] Bellarm. de Euchar. l. iii. c. 4. p. 297. in 8. [Disp. ut supra, t. ii. p. 683.]

[n] Iren. l. i. c. 9.

[o] Socrat. l. ii. c. 35.

[p] Tert. Lib. de Præscript. (s. 7.) [Paris. 1622. p. 204.]

[q] Tho. in Mag. l. i. q. 3. art. 1. [Tho. Aquin. ut sup. l. 1. art. 2. p. 2. col. 4.]

Sed, quid hæc illi nobis? Bene est, idque ex animo nostris gratulari libet, quod, omnium sibilis excepta, evanuerit illa Surii (memoratui non illepida) de Carolostadio et Melancthone philosophiam exterminantibus, fabella; quæ tamen Binio[r] pridem complacuit. Ecce jam nimis profecto philosophos, homines Evangelicos.

Atqui nos facile quidem concedimus, multa fieri, quæ nos intelligere non possumus: ista tamen non concedimus, quia fieri non posse intelligimus[s].

In totam Entis naturam (ut vere Thomas) absolutam habet potestatem Deus; sed non ut in non ens redigat, et tamen interim esse faciat. Hoc sane (ingeniose Sadeel) *Deus potenter non potest.* Objectum potentiæ divinæ est (fatente etiam ultro Jesuitarum Schola) quicquid in se non implicat contradictionem. Jam vero, idem numero corpus, eodem tempore, discumbere et non discumbere; visibile esse et invisibile; divisibile et continuum, discontinuum et indivisibile; esse hic totum, esse totum alibi; majus esse hic, minus illic; esse unum et plura; ταὐτὸ καὶ ἕτερον; recedere non recedere; cœlo capi, non capi cœlo; esse quantum, absque spatio; commensurari et adæquari loco, locum non occupare; accidentia esse, et non inhærere; esse, et tamen fieri; fieri, et non fieri; aliter esse in locis, quam in loco; esse ὅλως ὅλον, et tamen corpus; esse verum corpus, et esse spiritualiter ad modum Dei; vapulet (me quidem censore) quisquis puerorum contradictoria non agnoverit.

Sed quid ego spinosioribus hisce immoror? Scenæ totius illud est: Impium hoc par dogmatum veræ Christi humanitati vim palam inferre; neque unquam posse, *salva fide,* cum veritate Evangelica conciliari.

Sect. XIX.—*De Sacrificio Missæ.*

Munus Christi Sacerdotale non leviter impetunt quotidiana Sacrificii Missalis Oblatio, et Numerus Mediatorum.

Quod ad primum; Esse quidem in Sacra hac Cœna, quo sensu Patres olim locuti sunt, sacrificium, nemo nostrum est, qui unquam dubitarit[t]: illud nempe sive λατρεύτικον (ut Bellarminus non male distinguit), sive εὐχαριστικον: est hic (ut Chrysostomus) ἀνάμνησις τῆς θυσίας[u]; id est, interprete Augustino, memoria Dominicæ pas-

r Binius in Vita Adrian. VI. [ut supra t. iv. p. 657.]

s Petr. Mart. Dial. de Omni-præs.

t Vid. Valent. Vannii de Miss. cit. ab. Luc. Osiandr. Confut. Thes. [Refut. Apol.] Costeri.

u Hom. in Heb. xvii. [Ed. Ben. t. xix. p. 169.]

sionis, in Ecclesia celebrata. Et ex hac suavi redemptionis nostræ commemoratione, aliud emergit sacrificium, *θυσία αἰνεσέως*; et ex illo denique, pacificum.

Tria ergo cum hic se offerant sacrificia; propitiatorium certe, nisi forte (ut Glossa interpretatur) repræsentative, nullam est: nullum essentiale; nullum (quod Tridentini[x] contendunt) verum ac proprium.

Immo, nec esse potest. Quid enim? Idemne offert sacerdos, quod Christus obtulit? an aliud?

Si aliud, non ergo propitiatorium; solus enim Christus *ἱλασμος*.

Sin idem, tum non *ἀναίμακτος*; cruentum enim erat Christi sacrificium: tum esse Christi naturale denuo destrueretur: tum finiti valoris foret (animus horret cogitare) sanguis Mediatoris. Immo, Christus ipse non in mensa sacrificavit, sed in cruce: etenim si perfectum in cœna sua sacrificium obtulit, pleneque propitiatorium, quid opus illi erat mori postmodum? quorsum illi in cruce effusus cruor, qui, transubstantiato illo necdum emisso sanguine, mundum prius redemisset?

Quod si incruentum, tum non propitiatorium: *nulla enim*, inquit Apostolus, *χώρις αἱματεκχυσίας remissio*, Heb. ix. 22.

Aut quæ demum oppositio est inter Melchisedechi ordinem et Aaronis, Christum et veteris Legis Sacerdotes, si munus istud per longam mortalium successorum seriem transeat æque, ac descendat? Aut quorsum iterata sunt toties legalia veterum sacrificia, nisi quod parum perfecta extiterint? qui vero potest, aut quorsum debet, quod perfectissimum est, iterari?

Denique, quid planius vel dici vel cogitari potest? *ἅπαξ προσενεχθεὶς, μία θυσία, μία προσφόρα*, Heb. ix. 28; x. 12, 14. Et tamen adhuc sacrificuli Pontificii, sacerrimi homines, Christum crucifigunt immolantque; dumque Filium Dei Patri suo pie offerunt, rogant supplices, religiosa plane blasphemia, ut hostiam illam benedicere et acceptam habere velit[y]. Nobis non licet esse tam devotis. Commemorabimus nos quidem sanctissimum Christi sacrificium, quod Cassander bene monuit; gratoque animo recolemus: non iterabimus. Accipiemus oblatum a se Patri, oblatumque nobis a Patre Servatorem: non Patri offeremus. Quod unum

x Trid. Conc. Sess. 22. [Bin. ut supra t. iv. pp. 844–5.]

y Hostiam, Domine, suscipe benignus oblatam. *Et statim;* Quam oblationem tu, Deus, in omnibus, quæsumus, benedictam, ascriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptibilem, facere digneris, &c. Munera, quæsumus, Domine, oblata sanctifica, &c. Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, et accepta habere, &c.—Canon. Miss. Consult de Sacrif.

dum (uti par est) recusamus, anathemate Tridentino statim percellimur. Pax ergo hic nulla.

Sect. XX.—*De Numero Mediatorum et invocatione Sanctorum.*

Ad sacerdotium Christi non magis spectat, ipsum se victimam ἄμεμπτον in ara crucis pro nobis semel immolare; quam precum nostrarum thymiama, (ὀσμὴν εὐώδιας,) in ara cœli, Patri sue jugiter offerre. Ut ergo infinita fere sacrificia, sic et innumeri Mediatores Christum plane exautorare nobis videri solent.

Neque certe magis in hoc mundi senio crevit intercessorum numerus, quam impietas invocandi. Enimvero modestius Scholæ prioris acumen ita finxit sibi mediationis distinctionem, ut alteram ejus speciem Christo propriam vindicarit, alteram sanctis participandam censuerit: succedanei autem Doctores, ruptis non tam Logicarum, quam Theologicarum legum repagulis, in omnia Mediatoris officia temere involarunt; et quicquid cuiquam sequestri quovis jure competere potuit, totum illud sanctis suis tribuerunt.

Hinc alius Beatissimæ Virgini, "O Servatrix, salva me:" alius, "Impetra veniam, applica gratiam, præpara gloriam:" alii, si Cassandro credimus, celebres viri, dixerunt, "Deum regni sui, quod constat ex justitia et misericordia, dimidium (hoc est, misericordiæ) in B. Mariam transtulisse:" alii, "exhinc a foro justitiæ Dei posse ad curiam B. Mariæ provocari." Alii sic Franciscum cum Christo compararunt, ut uter horum, horreo dicere, Jesus typicus fuerit, plane dubium lectori videatur[z]. Ecce ἐνθουσίασμον Tursellini:

Qui Franciscus erat, jam tibi Christus erit.

Et statim,

Jam Franciscus erit, qui modo Christus erat[a].

O! præcidendam linguam, quod Vigilantio Hieronymus[b], et per partes ac frusta dilacerandam!

Idemque Dominico præstitit (pari blasphemia) pius Archiepiscopus Antoninus. Nihil hic, quantum video, defit, præter "æternum illud Fraterculorum Evangelium:" parum vero abfuit, si credimus historiis[c], quin obtinuisset:

O, quam perfatuæ sunt tibi, Roma, togæ![d]

[a] Lib. Conform. Sedul.

[z] Tursell. cit. a Possevin. Bibliothec. Select. [pars 2.] p. 295. [Romæ. 1593.]

[b] Hier. advers. Vigilant. [Ed. Ben. Ep. 36. t. iv. p. 278.]

[c] Henr. Steph. Apolog. Herodot. (p. 517. ed. 1579.) et Fox in Martyr. (v. ii. p. 520. edit. 1837.)

[d] Martial. [Eheu quam fatuæ—Epig. l. x. 18.]

Alii Litanias, Psalteria, et quicquid ad Dei gloriam Spiritus accommodavit, ad Sanctæ Virginis nomen ore sacrilego traduxerunt. Et utinam profecto ista privata foret superstitiosuli alicujus maleque feriati homuncionis δεισιδαιμονία. Lubenter quidem fovere vellet opinionem hanc charitas nostra, credula illa certe, et quæ, Apostoli jussu, οὐ λογίζεται τὸ κακὸν, 1 Cor. xiii. 5. ni etiam in Ecclesiis quibusdam publice decantari moneat Cassander, istud (bone Deus) quale carmen!

O felix puerpera,
Nostra pians scelera,
Jure matris impera
Redemptori:[d]

ni hæc omnia a piissimis Ecclesiæ Romanæ censoribus, rigidis morum magistris! ipsorumque Pontificum suffragiis, palam comprobata essent: nisi eadem hodie (testor Bencii et Bonarscii musas) et dicerent et scriberent Jesuitæ.

Sed relegentur tamen ista (si quis mavelit) ad suos Bernardinos, Antoninos, Bartolomæos Pisanos, Tursellinos. Prodeant qui magis sobrie sapere visi sunt, Polidori, Cassandri, Ludovici; ne horum quidem sententia nobis unquam arridebit, qui quovis modo sanctos invocandos esse docuerint.

Vere (quod Bellarminus[e]) Protestantes dicunt, sanctos pro nobis orare; sed tantum in genere. Vere Bucerus[f], inesse sanctis summam nostri charitatem, nostræque salutis voluntatem: quin eadem proculdubio et angelis εὐδόκια est. Hinc tamen ut nos quemlibet beatorum spirituum, ad auxilium nostri, ad intercessionis cœlicæ munus evocemus? Absit! Etenim qua demum fide nitentur hæ preculæ? nisi forte, quod Hosius, credere et in sanctos debeamus?

Quam nobis certo constat, neminem posse sanctorum, vel fontem orationum corda lustrare, vel mille supplicum vota, locis a se totidem dissitorum, una inaudire! Quin, uti nulli mihi videntur poni debere religioni termini, ubique (si placet) terrarum, uni alicui sanctorum devoti clientes se unanimiter commendent, prosternantque; non celeritas naturæ, ut Hieronymus[g], sed vera ubiquitas, ut fatetur Bellarminus[h], istic, ad preces hasce percipiendas, requireretur.

[d] [Cassand. Consult. Paris. 1616. p. 971.]

[e] Lib. de Beatit. Sanct. [l. i.] c. 15. [Disp. t. i. p. 2154.]

[f] Cit. Cass. in Consult. de Invocat. Sanct. [p. 971.] Idem fatentur Luther. Œcol. Melancth. Brentius. — Quære Mort. Appell. Protest. l. ii. c. 12. s. 1.

[g] Contr. Vigil. l. i.

[h] Bell. de Beat. Sanct. l. i. c. 20. [Disp. t. i. p. 2179.]

Quid nunc obstat, quo minus qui sanctorum animas in divos, divorum spiritus in Deos aliquando transmutent?

Deinde vero, quis Prophetarum, quis Apostolorum jussit? quis fecit sanctorum prisci ævi? Aut quid denique aliud, si qua Theodoreto fides, sub θρησκείᾳ τῶν ἀγγελῶν Colossensibus suis interdixit Paulus? Aut quæ Collyridianorum hæresis fuit, si hæc pietas habenda sit?

Tutissimum ergo nobis illud erit semper Epiphanii: Ἐν τιμῇ ἔστω Μαρία· ὁ δὲ Πατὴρ, καὶ Υἱὸς, καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα προσκυνείσθω[i]. Nihil hic periculi est, quin tuto liceat adire, qui nos ad se vocat, Deum; ejusque Christo, benignissimo Servatori, provolvi. Nullus sanctorum, honorem hunc invidit Deo: nullus sibi aut arrogavit, aut passus est unquam exhiberi. Nec quis omnium est, cui permisit Deus, aut arripere hoc sibi, aut aliis communicare, aut, ab aliis sibi forte communicatum, serena fronte, animo æquo, suscipere.

In nostram ergo sententiam pedibus eant Pontificii, licet hercle, et juvat; nos cum illis sentire absque manifesto Idolomanias discrimine non possumus.

SECT. XXI. *De cultu superstitioso, ethnico, ridiculo Pontificiorum.*

Quod si quis facilioris ingenii Conciliator, ejusmodi contendat esse gravissima hæc differentiarum capita, ut, quam quisque velit opinionem, tacite fovere possit; ita quidem, quod olim Alexandro et Ario Constantinus[j], ut animorum dissidentium pax interea conservetur; intelligat is demum, *religiosi cultus πράξιν continuam* nihilo inimicitiarum minus et serere et propalare.

In cultu nostro, publicisque pietatis exercitiis, locisve sacris, nihil est quod oculum animumve Pontificium offendat; præter nuditatem, simplicitatemque vere Apostolicam: facile vero vitium; et cui vix ulla candoris laus est, ultro connivere: jamdiu enim in lituras abierunt illæ (quotquot erant) Precum Publicarum clausulæ, quæ, avorum nostrorum seculo, religionis Pontificiæ ulcus vel leviter tetigisse visæ sunt.

In templis contra Pontificiis, vix quicquam vel dici vel peragi solet, cujus nos, illæsa mente, aut participes, aut vero testes fieri possimus. Enecant nos ipsi quidem parietes. Cultum vero sive ridiculum, sive dæmoniacum quis ferat?

[i] Epiph. Hæres. 79. [Paris. 1622. t. i. p. 1064.]

[j] Socrat. l. i. c. 7.

Honoramus nos, uti condecet, felicissimam sanctorum memoriam; imprimis vero, præcipuam cœlicolarum, meritoque beatissimam, Virginem Deiparam: et quicquid illa sibi, Dominoque suo, non plane dedecori fore autumarit, id illi lubentissime totum largiemur.

Neque modo Deum in sanctis suis, quod monet, edoctus ab Augustino, Durandus, glorificabimus; sed et sanctos in Deo seque ipsis, propter eximias virtutes, ac res præclarissime gestas, summa laude, uti opus erit, efferemus: horum singularem constantiam, fidem, robur animi, sanctimoniam mirabimur, prædicabimus, et, quantum possumus, imitabimur: scilicet horum, quod de Claudiano suo Sidonius,

Mens et gloria non queunt humari[k].

Sed, ut sancta illorum ossa (venia sit Lutheri verbo) ex quietis jamdiu sepulchris effodiamus; ut ante hæc semesa piorum monumenta supplices procumbamus; ut divinam ab illis virtutem, sive sanationum, sive sanctificationis expectemus; ut æque suspiciamus Francisci cucullum, Annæ pectinem, caligam Josephi, Thomæ calceum, (quod Erasmus queritur,) ac ipsum Dei filium; vix ullo nobis piaculo luendum videri solet.

Neque nobis, aut homines inter Deos, aut bestias inter divos referre, placebit unquam. Placuit certe Cardinali illi, cujus in hortis videre est hoc, cani suæ, (vah, quam nimium dilectæ!) Epitaphium:

Quod potui, posui tibi, fida Catella, sepulchrum,
Digna magis cœli munere, quam tumuli[l].

Nos, profanum vulgus scilicet, ocreas Martini; Georgii vaginam; cultrum Crispini calcearium; aut (quæ in quadam Liguriæ urbe asservari dicitur[m]) caudam asini, cui insedit Christus; aut Rochi canem; aut Antonii suem, colere nescimus: næ, illæ Elephanti corio circumtectus est, non suo, qui istoc fecerit.

Serio vero, ut geniculationes hasce legitimas demus ac pias; quis mihi Macarius, inter tot densas arborum sylvas, veram crucem dabit? aut, quæ Helena, e tot ferreis montibus, clavos? Et ipsi aruspices arrident sibi, dum hæc populo ostentant; sed et subolet nunc ipsi plebeculæ, quod isti machinati sunt, neque hercle sine deducto rictu.

[k] Sidon. in Epitaph. Claud. Mamert. [Lib. iv. Ep. ii. l. 25. Corp. Lat. Poet. Lond. 1713. p. 1416.]

[l] Poem. Illust. Poetar. Italorum.

[m] Moresin. Scot. Orig. Papist.

Mittamus ergo hic ridendas sacrificulorum artes, fraudemque insignitam; appellemusque, hac quidem in causa, unam Cassandri ἐπιείκειαν; qui, post Basilii, Ambrosii, Augustini non dissimulatas hac de re querimonias; "Constat," inquit[n], "posterioribus temporibus, nimium reliquiis et memoriis sanctorum indultum et tributum fuisse: sic ut a bonis quoque viris, pio zelo præditis, summa quasi religionis in hujusmodi reliquiis conquirendis, auro et gemmis exornandis, et memoriis, seu templis, sumptuosissimis ædificandis posita putaretur: et ab improbis quoque hominibus, falsa fiducia in cultu inepto et superfluo reliquiarum collocaretur. Quare in Concilio Cabilonensi reprehenduntur, qui Romam aut Turonum, sub prætextu orationis peragrant; putantes frequentatione horum locorum se a peccatis purgari, et impune peccare. Accesserunt et alia mala; quod, avaritiæ causa, ad simplicem populum illiciendum, falsæ reliquiæ supponebantur, et ficta prædicabantur miracula; iisque miraculis populi superstitio alebatur, ut magis in admiratione miraculorum raperetur, quam ad sanctorum imitationem provocaretur. Nonnunquam autem astu et illusione Dæmonis, hominum superstitione abutentis, per insomnia et visa, novæ reliquiæ revelabantur, et, ejusdem operatione miracula edi videbantur." Hæc ille; vere Germanusne, an Israelita?

At nos, edocti melius, libere de nobis fidenterque prædicare audemus, quod, Christianorum omnium nomine, professus est olim Hieronymus[o], "Nos, non dico martyrum reliquias, sed ne solem quidem et lunam, non angelos, non archangelos, non cherubim, non seraphim, et omne nomen quod nominatur, et in præsenti seculo, et in futuro, colimus et adoramus; ne serviamus creaturæ magis, quam Creatori, qui est benedictus in secula."

Deinde vero, ut a reliquiis ad imagines descendamus; fierine potest, ut nobis aliquando non displiceat insana Romanæ Synagogæ superstitio? ut, contra sacras Dei tabulas, contra Apostolorum instituta, contra veteris Ecclesiæ morem, contra manifestissima Conciliorum decreta, contra Patrum clarissimas ubique refragationes, Deo et hominibus plane renitentibus, Christianorum basilicæ nihilo secius, ac Gentilium templa, simulachris undique repleantur? ut, quod olim questus est Hieronymus[p], candor Ecclesiæ Ethnicorum sordibus polluatur? ut, quod Eusebius amentiæ merito insimulat, Deo Invisibili et Incorporeo imago visibilis et corpo-

[n] Cass. Consult. de Reliq. Sanct. [ut sup. p. 973.]

[o] Hier. ad Riparium, advers. Vigilant. [Ed. Ben. Ep. 37. t. iv. p. 279]

[p] Hier. Magno Oratori Rom [Ibid. Ep. 83. t. iv. p. 654.]

rea statuatur? ut in Agnis Dei, granis, luminibus, rosis, gladiis, insignibus, campanulis, ridiculo more incantatis[q], fiducia collocetur? ut magicis quibusdam exorcizationibus, ab illis Dei creaturis arceatur Diabolus, quas nullus unquam occuparat? Inibimus profecto cum Satana ipso fœdus, ubi Diabolicis hisce ἐθελοθρησκείαις viam semel aut veniam concesserimus.

Profanum illud operis operati παράδοξον; otiosas peregrinarum precum submurmurationes; sacramentorum et numerum et virtutem; sacrilegam eucharistiæ mutilationem; et mille alia cum opinionum, tum ceremoniarum prodigia, videns prudensque prætereo.

Satis nunc superque errorum est. Et utinam profecto hæc, quæ diximus, ejusmodi non essent, ut necesse nobis sit, in hisce omnibus, vel Deo vel Romæ æternum disconvenire.

Dum igitur flecti nec possit veritas, nec velit erroris pertinacia; nos sub Imperatore Cœlesti merebimus usque alacres; et Hæresibus Pontificiis ἄσπονδον πόλεμον et indicemus merito, et inferemus.

Sect. XXII.—*De mediorum reconciliationis impossibilitate.*

Jam vero, cum nemo sanus illud de nobis suspicari unquam possit, fore, eo uti insaniæ diveniamus aliquando, ut, relictis Dei signis, ad Antichristi illius Romani castra perfide transfugiamus; ecqua spes est, posse demum Pontificios ad sanam mentem Primævæ Antiquitatis revocari? O, si indulgeret illud Deus Orbi Christiano! si liceret nos tantæ felicitatis vel omine solo consolari!

Quam jucundum foret illud, dignumque Deo spectaculum; ut, quod de Novatianis et Orthodoxis fertur[r], viri, mulieres, pueri, patris utriusque, procul omni simultate, lapides cæmentumque ad Ἀναστάτικον vere templum comportaremus!

Compellabimus nos quidem illos, lubentes, (idque, si opus erit, summissis genibus,) Cypriani verbis[s]: "Quia nos, Ecclesia, sana scilicet, derelicta, foras exire et ad vos venire non possumus; ut vos magis ad Ecclesiam Matrem, et ad nostram fraternitatem revertamini, quibus possumus hortamentis petimus et precamur:"

Ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν
Πείθεσθ'· ἄμφω δ' ἄμμιν ἀνεψιὼ ἐκ πατρὸς ἐστόν·
Δαιμόνιοι, τί μάχης ἰμείρετε[t];

At, at, citius Romam novam crearit Deus, quam reformarit veterem. Immo necesse est se prorsus exuat Ecclesia illa retexatque, quæque modo est esse desinat, prius quam ut, quæ olim fuit, esse nunc denuo incipiat:

[q] Lib. Sacr. Cerem. (p. 80–83. edit. Col. Agrip. 1557.)
[r] Socr. l. ii c. 38.
[s] Cypr. Lib. iii. Ep. 2. [Ed. Fell. Ep. 46.]
[t] Theocr. Idyl. κβ'. [Διόσκουροι, v. 169, 170; 145.]

Nunc simul res, fides, fama, decusque et virtus
Deseruerunt, ego sum in usu factus nimio nequior,
Atque .....non videor mihi
Sarcire posse ædes meas, quin totæ perpetuæ ruant,
Quin [cum] fundamento perierint, nec quisquam esse auxilio queat[u].

Plaut. Mostell. Act. i. Scen. ii.

. Quod si ullum vel remedii specimen etiamnum a nobis sperari possit, illud certe vel a se, vel ab aliis, necessario adhibebitur.

Nunquid a se; quæ suos erorres pertinaciter, non calamo et lingua modo, sed flamma et ferro defendit? quæ vel errare se posse nunquam elargietur? quæ a moderatissimo selectorum Cardinalium judicio damnatas *κακοηθείας* emendare pridem recusarit? quam denique novissimi pessimique parasitorum, Jesuitæ, blandis suppalpationibus non securam modo, sed et solito superbiorem præstiterint?

Nunquid ab aliis? Quoties hoc frustra tentatum! Expugnari quidem potest Roma, quod sæpius factitatum est, militum manu; monitis vero, criminumque et errorum convictionibus, censuris, literis expurgari non poterit. Succurrit mihi istic, quod olim Sisinnius lector Nectarium Episcopum monuisse dicitur[x]; Exploratum habere se, disceptationes non solum non reconciliare schismata, sed hæreticos præterea ad contentionem multo magis accendere.

Denique, numquid a se et aliis? Nugæ, nisi aut alii possint, aut velint ipsi! Certe enim, si quid bonæ spei adhuc reliquum sit, illud totum in Concilii Œcumenici vindiciis decernendis situm est: talis autem Synodus non minus quam pax ipsa, impossibilis est[y]. Quis etenim convocabit? quis præsidebit? qui intererunt, ferentque suffragia? quæ definiendi regula erit? quæ ratio exsequendi?

Ostentent nobis Tridentinæ seu sororem, seu filiam: quis non rideat simul et indignetur? Actum scilicet nobiscum erit, (quod ingeniose Lutherus de indictione Concilii a Paulo III,) ac ab illis solet, qui famelico cani illudunt frustulo et cultello. Quin stet nobis, cum Nazianzeno[z], ejusmodi *πάντα σύλλογον φεύγειν Ἐπισκόπων· ὅτι μηδεμίας* (τοιαύτης, nimirum) *Συνόδου τέλος* [εἶδον] *χρῆστον· μηδὲ λύσιν κακῶν μάλλον ἐσχηκυίας ἢ προσθήκην.*

[u] Plaut. Mostellar.

[x] Socr. l. v. c. 10.

[y] Poteruntne vero pacem esse pati pacis dissolutores? Synod. Ariminens. ad Constant. apud Theod. Hist. Eccles. l. ii. c. 19. [*πῶς γὰρ εἰρήνην οἷόν τε ἄγειν τοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην καταλύοντας.*]

[z] [Basil. 1550. p. 329.]

Concilium, a ciliis oculorum, memini dictum Isidoro[a]; quod in unum omnes dirigant mentis obtutum. Concilium ergo agere non possunt, qui publicam usquequaque dissidentiam profitentur. Frustra nos hoc tentabimus, nisi illorum quisque apud se domi pacem meditari occœperit; animumque induxerit, abjecto omni præjudicio, ac pertinaci partium studio, veritati (ubi illa semel affulserit) ingenue assentiri, animisque demum suis consulere potius, quam fortunis.

Æquumne enim forte videbitur, quæ nunc rerum conditio est, ut in eadem causa iidem testes, rei, actores, judices admittantur[b]? Aut, numquid fortasse sperabimus, quæ, pessima jamdiu fide, ac aperta tyrannide, privilegia hactenus usurparint Pontificii, illis, acta nunc demum pœnitentia, homines ingenuos candide abrenuntiaturos? aut, contra sua ipsorum capita Anathematum suorum fulmina vibraturos? Speret hoc ilicet, quisquis fatuorum nescit vetus illud, toties a Lipsio decantatum,

Moribus antiquis Res stat Romana, virisque.

Nos ista, nisi solus Ille miraculorum Architectus, exerta e cœlis dextra, potentissime istud præter spem omnem effecerit, fieri non posse satis utique novimus.

Illud modo unum, quod pollicitus est Deus, fideliter expectamus; fore, ut *τὸν ἄνομον*, 2 Thess. ii. 8. jam olim Ecclesiæ suæ revelatum, Dominus Jesus oris sui spiritu interficiat; et gloriosi adventus sui *ἐπιφανείᾳ* plene detegat, ac deturbet. Ilicet non mediis solum, sed et fine, adversa est cœlo Roma. Cœlum transibit immutatione sui, non abolitione[c]; abolitione, non immutatione sui, Roma. De nobis ergo, atque illis, illud olim cantabitur Theocriteum:

Τὼ δ' ἄορ' ἐκ κολεοῖϊν ἐρυσσαμένω, φόνον αὖθις
Τεῦχον ἐπ' ἀλλάλοισι· μάχης δ' οὐ γίνετ' ἐρωή[d].

LAUS DEO!
VICTORIA VERITATI!
HÆRESI BELLUM!
PAX ECCLESIÆ!
AMEN.

[a] Isid. in Præfat. Concil. Binii. [ut supra, t. i. p. 3.]

[b] Optat. Milev. l. vii. Decr. 2. (caus. 2. q. 1. s. 18.) Multi. [Grat. Decr. Paris. 1601. p. 787.]

[c] Hier. in Matt. xxiv. [ut supra, t. iv. p. 117.]

[d] Theocr. Idyl. *κβ'*. [*Διόσκουροι*, v. 191, 192.]

LECTORI S.

Quod te monitum volui, Lector, Polemices nostræ Pars Altera (quæ "Societas Anti-Jesuitica" inscribitur) diu apud me latuit, litavitque Nocti ac Silentio: non modestiam quidem causata, non metum; sed consultius forte rata (quod negotiosi istius cœpti ingenium est) privatis nostrorum manibus teri, quam passim ac promiscue per ora hominum volitare. Non desunt ex optimis maximisque, qui illam et oculis usurparint, et calculis etiam suis (quantum sat erat) benigne comprobarint. Quorum si quando jussu evocata fuerit, evolabit illa (quo lubet) in vulgus illico, Jesuitasque (superciliosum genus hominum, et nimio quam turbulentum) ultro irritabit. Excidit mihi interea, homini credulo, exemplar unum. Quod quidem cujus in manus devenerit, nec scio, nec suspicor; quicunque is demum fuerit, moneo, si a lege sibi Plagiaria cautum velit, ut Sigalionem mecum sedulo colat; sicque latere pergat, ut fallat usque natus, moriensque.

SACRED POLEMICS.

PART THE FIRST.

NO PEACE WITH ROME:

WHEREIN IS PROVED, THAT,
AS TERMS NOW STAND, THERE CAN BE NO RECONCILIATION,
OF THE REFORMED RELIGION WITH THE ROMISH:
AND THAT THE ROMANISTS ARE IN ALL THE FAULT.

WRITTEN FIRST IN LATIN BY
J. H.,
AND NOW ENGLISHED.

What peace, so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel and her witchcrafts are so many?—2 Kings ix. 22.

THE OPINION OF GEORGE CASSANDER,

A LEARNED PAPIST AND GRAVE DIVINE:
THAT, BY TWO SEVERAL EMPERORS, FERDINAND AND MAXIMILIAN, WAS SET
ON WORK, TO COMPOSE THESE QUARRELS OF THE CHURCH.

In his Consultation, pp. 56 and 57.

YET I cannot deny, but that in the beginning many, out of a godly zeal and care, were driven to a sharp and severe reproof of certain manifest abuses; and that the principal cause of this calamity and distraction of the Church is to be laid upon those, which, being puffed up with a vain insolent conceit of their ecclesiastical power, proudly and scornfully contemned and rejected them which did rightly and modestly admonish their reformation. Wherefore my opinion is, that the Church can never hope for any firm peace, unless they make the beginning, which have given the cause of the distraction; that is, unless those, which are in the place of ecclesiastical government, will be content to remit something of their too much rigour, and yield somewhat to the peace of the Church; and, hearkening unto the earnest prayers and admonitions of many godly men, will set themselves to correct manifest abuses, according to the rule of divine Scriptures, and of the ancient Church from which they have swerved.

TO THE

TRUE SOUND AND HOLY CHURCH OF GOD,

WHERESOEVER WARFARING UPON EARTH.

I PRESENT unto thee, dear and holy mother, this poor unworthy token of my love and loyalty; the not so pleasing as true report of thy future broils. How much gladder should I have been, if thy Spouse had so thought good, to have been the messenger of thy peace and security! But since the great and wise Moderator of all things hath thought a palm fitter for thee than an olive, it is for thee to think of victory, not of rest. Thou shalt once triumph in heaven, and rest for all; but in the meantime, here is nothing to be looked for but ambushes, skirmishes, tumults. And how cheerfully must thou needs both bear and overcome all oppositions, that art not more sure of the necessity of thy warfare, than of the happiness of thy success; whilst thou seest thy glorious Husband not only the leader of this field, but a most just and merciful crowner of thy conquest! Certainly, it is as impossible for thee to miscarry, as to sit still and not fight. Behold, all the forces of heaven and earth conspire, and rejoice to come voluntaries unto this holy war of thine, and promise thee a most happy issue. Address thyself, therefore, as thou art wont, courageously to this work of God: but remember first to inquire, as thou dost, at Abel. Spare no tears to thy desperate sister, now thine enemy; and calling heaven and earth to witness, upon thy knees beseech and entreat her, by her own soul, and by the dear bowels of Christ, by those precious drops of his bloody sweat, by that common price of our eternal redemption, that she would at the last return to herself, and that good disposition which she hath now too long abandoned; that she would forbear any more, as I fear she hath hitherto wilfully done, to fight against God. But if she shall still persist to stop her ears against thee, and to harden herself in rebellion against her God; forget, if thou canst, who she once was; and fly mercilessly upon this daughter of Belial, that vaunts herself proudly in the glory of her munition. Go, smite, destroy, conquer, and reign, as the worthy partner of thine Husband's throne. For me, I shall in the meantime be as one of thy rude trumpets, whose noise shall both awaken thy courage unto this spiritual battle, and whose joyful gratulations shall, after thy rich spoils, applaud thy happy return in the day of thy victory.

J. H.

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SECT. I.—*The State of the now Roman Church.*

THERE is no one question doth so rack the minds of men at this day, as this of the Church.

The infancy of the Church was sore and long vexed with heresies of an higher nature, concerning God, concerning Christ, which still struck at the head: but her vigorous and hoary age is exercised with a slighter quarrel concerning ourselves, which yet raiseth up the greater broils everywhere, by how much every man naturally loves himself more than God.

Not to meddle with any foreign questions of this nature, too many seem unto me to misconceive the state of our Church, and the Romish, as if they had been always two: as if, from their first foundations, they had been sensibly severed in time and place, like to Babylon and Jerusalem, or those two famous cities opposed in St. Austin's learned discourse.

Hence are those idle demands of some smattering questionists: Where our Church hath thus long hid itself? What year and day it came to light? In what age that other Church lost itself? Why

we have withdrawn ourselves no further from them? What is become of our forefathers? Which was the religion of the former world?

From hence have those sharp and rigorous censures passed on both sides; whether of novelty, or of the desperate condition of those souls which have departed out of their own way.

Alas! what monsters both of opinions and questions have risen hence, and have vexed, not their own authors only, (for the Delphic Oracle said well, "It is fit a man should have as he doth,") but, together with them, the whole Church of God! How many silly souls have splitted upon this rock, which had never needed any votive monument of their wreck, if they had but learned to hold no other difference betwixt us and Rome than must needs be granted betwixt a church miserably corrupted and happily purged; betwixt a sickly, languished, and dying Church, and one that is healthful, strong, and flourishing!

Neither therefore did that Valdus of France[a], nor Wickliffe of England, nor Jerome of Prague, nor Luther of Germany, ever go about to frame a new church to themselves, which was not; but only endeavoured, not without happy success, to cleanse, scour, restore, reform that church which was, from that filthy soil both of disorder and errors wherewith it was shamefully blemished. All these rather desired to be accounted physicians to heal, than parents to beget a church.

And the same have we carefully done ever since, and do seriously and ingenuously profess of ourselves at this day.

Rome is alike to us as it was of old to Jerome, with Eugubium, Rhegium, Alexandria; save that this city is both more famous and more near us. Places do not vary either faith or title. What church soever God shall call daughter, we will call sister: and so we safely may.

How many honest and chaste matrons have we known, that have been ashamed of a lewd sister, and have abhorred filthiness in one of their own blood! So it fareth now with us. Rome is overgone with heresy, with idolatry. Let her practise her whoredom at home by herself: it was not for us, with the safeguard of our honesty, to dwell with such a partner.

Not only her wickedness hath thrust us out; but her violence. We yield, therefore, and sorrowfully complain with the prophet,

[a] [Peter Wald, a merchant of Lyons, the sect of Waldenses—but this is stated by Mosheim to be the founder of doubtful.]

How is the faithful city become an harlot! It was full of judgment, and justice lodged therein; but now it is full of murderers. Thy silver is become dross, and thy wine is brewed with water, Isaiah i. 21, 22.

Away with the imperious name of a mother! We are all the same Church, by the virtue of our outward vocation, whosoever, all the world over, worship Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, and Saviour of the world, and profess the same common creed. Some of us do this more purely, others more corruptly; in the mean time we are all Christians, but sound Christians we are not.

But how harshly doth this sound to a weak reader, and more than seems to need reconciliation with itself, that the Church should be one, and yet cannot be reconciled! Certainly, yet so it is. The dignity of the outward form, which comprehends this unity in itself, avails nothing to grace, nothing to salvation, nothing to the soundness of doctrine. The net doth not strait make all to be fish that it hath dragged together; ye shall find in it vile weeds, and whatsoever else that devouring element hath disgorged.

The Church is, at once, one in respect of the common principles of faith; and yet, in respect of consequences, and that rabble of opinions which they have raked together, so opposed, that it cannot, by any glue of concord, as Cyprian speaketh, nor bond of unity, be conjoined. That which Rome holds with us makes it a church; that which it obtrudes upon us makes it heretical. The truth of principles makes it one; the error and impiety of additions makes it irreconcilable.

Neither doth this late and spurious brood of traditions more oppose us than it doth those very principles of religion which the authors themselves desire to establish.

Look on the face therefore of the Roman church, she is ours and God's; look on her back, she is quite contrary, antichristian.

More plainly, (for it is no disputing in metaphors, as Clemens said well,) Rome doth both hold the foundation and destroy it. She holds it directly, destroys it by consequent. In that she holds it, she is a true church, howsoever impured: in that she destroys it, whatever semblance she makes of piety and holiness, she is a *church of malignants*, Ps. xxvi. 5. If she did altogether hold it, she should be sound and orthodox; if altogether she destroyed it, she should be either no church or devilish:

but now that she professes to hold those things directly, which by inference of her consequences she closely overthrows, she is a truly visible church, but an unsound. In what she holds the principles, we embrace her; in what she destroys them, we pity her error, and hate her obstinacy.

The common bond of Christianity never ties us to favour gross errors so much as with silence. There is no such slavery in the dear name of a sister, that it should bind us to give either aid or countenance to lewdness: *Have no* such *fellowship*, saith St. Paul, *but rather reprove,* Eph. v. 11. So we have done, both modestly and earnestly. The same is befallen us which befell the blessed apostle; we are become their enemies for telling the truth, Gal. iv. 16.

Behold, now we are thrust out of door, spat upon, railed at, and, when opportunity serves, persecuted with most curious torments. And, lest any mischief should be wanting, obstinacy is now at last added unto error, and a cruel rage, arising from impatience: and now their wickedness began to please them more, because it displeasedus.

And what should we now do in such a case; we, the despised and rejected patrons of this spiritual chastity? To let fall so just a cause, we might not, unless we would cast off that God who challenges this plea for only his. To yield and give in, were no other than to betray the truth of God, and damn our own souls. No course remains but this one; (and here is our only safety;) with all our courage and skill to oppose the wicked paradoxes and idolatrous practices of the Romish church, till either she be ashamed of herself, or repent that ever she was.

SECT. II.—*The Commodities and Conditions of Peace.*

Beautiful is the name of Peace, as Hilary speaketh, and truly sacred, and such as scarce savoureth of the earth. Neither did the Hebrews by any other term choose rather to express all happiness and perfection of living. Neither is there any thing which the angels did more gladly congratulate unto men, or which Christ did more carefully bequeath, or the apostles more earnestly enjoin. How oft, and how vehemently, doth the Spirit entreat and command us to have peace!

"But this," thou sayest, "is every man's wish, to have peace: but what if peace will not be had?" Lo, then, St. James charges

us *to make peace*, James iii. 18, by our endeavours, by our patience. Once made, and had; what if it will not stay with us? Then St. Paul bids to *follow those things which concern peace*, Rom. xiv. 19. What if it will needs away and hide itself? Yet then St. Peter commands to *follow*, and *inquire after it*, 1 Pet. iii. 11. What if, once found, it refuse to come, as Abraham's servant presupposed of Rebekah? Even then *study to be quiet*, saith St. Paul; or, as the word implies, *be ambitious of peace*, 1 Thess. iv. 11.

So let the Author of peace love us as we love peace! Who is there that would not rather wish, with Constantine, quiet days, and nights free from care and vexation? It was a speech worthy of an emperor and a Christian that fell from Jovianus about that querulous libel of the Macedonians: "I hate contention; and those that are inclined to concord, I love and reverence."

Our adversaries would make us believe they profess and desire no less with an equal zeal of charity and agreement. God be judge betwixt us both; and whethersoever persists to hate peace, let him perish from the face of God and his holy angels! Yea, that this imprecation may be needless, he is already perished: for, as Cyprian, according to his wont, gravely, "They cannot come to the reward of peace, which have broken the peace of God with the fury of discord."

And surely, what but the flames of hell can determine the ambition of these fiery and boiling spirits? Basil observes well, that God's fire gave light, and burned not: contrarily, the fire of hell burneth without light; and therefore is well worthy of those who, despising the light of truth, delight themselves in the flames of contentions.

Those are the true haters of peace which do wilfully patronise errors contrary to the Christian faith. So long as we must dwell by these tents of Kedar, we shall too justly complain, with the Psalmist, *I love peace; but, in the mean while, they are bent to war*, Ps. cxx. 7.

And as for us, which profess ourselves the ingenuous clients of peace, since we must needs fight, it is not for us to do nothing. For that blessed choir of angels, before their *Peace upon earth*, well sung, *Glory to God in the highest heavens*, Luke ii. 14: and St. James describes the wisdom of God to be *first pure, then peaceable*, James iii. 17: and that Chosen Vessel implies no

less, when, to his charge of peace, he adds, *if it be possible*, Rom. xii. 18.

That is as impossible to every good man which ought not to be done, as that which cannot be done. Neither, indeed, as the rule of lawyers runs, can we be said to be able to do that which we cannot honestly do. *God*, saith St. Paul, *is not the author of confusion, but of peace.* It is a wicked peace, it is no peace, that necessarily breeds confusion. That peace is worthy of a defiance which proclaims war with God. And I would to God that peace, which Rome either can perform or dare promise, were of any better, of any other nature.

Well, then, let it be our present task carefully to discuss St. Paul's condition of possibility; and teach how vain it is to hope that a true, holy, and safe peace can be either had or maintained with our present Romanists: whether we regard the averse and stubborn disposition of the one side, or the nature of the matters controverted, or, lastly, the impossibility of those means whereby any reconciliation may be wrought.

These three shall be the limits, wherein this our not unprofitable nor yet unseasonable work shall suffer itself to be bounded.

SECT. III.—*The obstinate and averse disposition of the Romanists.*

And as for the first, I suppose we need not labour much. Indeed, God can easily make the wolf to dwell with the lamb, and the leopard to lodge with the kid, Is. xi. 6. How easy is it for him, so to soften the adamantine hearts of men, by bathing them in the blood of that Immaculate Lamb, that they should melt into pure love! But, as the times now are, it would be no less miraculous to find a popish heart truly charitable to us, than to see the lions fawning upon Daniel.

Even where there is strife about indifferent things, there is necessarily required a conspiring of the minds of them which would be reconciled; neither is it enough, that one side is content, together with arms, to lay down hatred. And how will our Romanists endure this? Surely, that hatred of Eteocles to his brother, or that of Vatinius*, is but mere love to this of papists.

Alas! when and where are we not spat upon as the most

* [The proverbial hatred between Vatinius and Cicero. See Orat. in Vatin. Cic. Opp. Oxon. 1783. t. vi. p. 61.]

desperately heretical enemies of the Church? Rome admits Jews into her bosom, from whose hands their pope's holiness disdains not to receive the book of the Law of God; but protestants she may not endure. That which Socrates complains, as injuriously done by Theodosius, a Grecian bishop, against the very Macedonian heretics, is daily done by them against us. No Arians, no Circumcellion heretics, were ever more cruel: and these idle fablers, in the mean time, slander us to the world, as guilty of the same outrageous proceedings against them.

What heresy is there in all times which that Romulean wolf and her bawling clients are not wont to cast upon us? One while, we are the scholars of Simon Magus, because we do but once mention grace and salvation; for what have we else to do with that wicked sorcerer? Another while, we are fetched from the cursed school of Eunomius, for that we attribute too much to faith; and yet no more than that holy heretic St. Paul. One while, we are Pepuzians, that ascribe too much to women. Then we are Origenists, for holding the image of God to be defaced in man; then contrarily, Proclians, for holding the sin of concupiscence not enough defaced. One while, we are the followers of Sabellius, because, I think, we lived in the same age with Servetus; another while, of Eutyches, because we lived in the time of Swinckfeldius; for what business have we ever had else with those branded heretics? We are Pelagians, one while, for holding the wages of sin to be death; then we are Donatists, for admitting none but the just into the church of the elect. Sometimes we are Manichees, for denying freewill; straight we are Arians, for refusing traditions; then Novatians, for taking away penance. Another while we are Aërians, for rejecting oblations for the dead and fastings; then Jovinianists, for not allowing a slippery and varnishing faith; the followers of Vigilantius, for disclaiming the adoration of relics; of Nestorius, for disliking the asservation of the sacramental bread. Now we are Xenaites, for demolishing of images; then we are Lampetians, for disallowing the servitude of idle vows.

It matters not, whether the foul mouth of that hired strumpet accuse Timotheus the Presbyter, or Athanasius the Bishop, so that somebody be smitten. It matters not what be spoken, so it be malicious. That is fully resolved of, which Nazianzen hath: "No man shall hold in the reins of a riotous and lawless tongue." For, as Jerome saith well, "It is the pastime of the wicked, to

slander the good." That therefore which was the solemn fashion of the Lindians, never to do service to their Hercules without railing, the same is too ordinary with these public heralds of our patience: "Our daily furnace," as Austin speaks wittily, "is our adversaries' tongue."

How easily might I here unload whole carts of reproaches that have been heaped together by the scurrilous parasites of Rome! What rivers of blood, what bonfires of worthy saints, might I here shew my reader! All these the world knows and feels too much.

And as for those honest and goodnatured men which would needs undertake to be sticklers of these strifes, as Cassander, Fricius, the Interimists, and that nameless apologist of the French, how ill have they sped on both parts! with whom it hath no otherwise fared, methinks, than with some fond shepherd that thrusts himself betwixt two furious rams running together in their full strength, and abides the shock of both. Neither may it ever succeed better to those kind Philistines which will be bringing this ark of God into the house of Dagon.

And for us, since we must needs be put to it, we shall not here, as it often falls out in other quarrels, strive to our loss. Abraham fared well by the dissensions of Lot; all the milk and honey of whole Palestine hereupon befell to him; whereof he should else have shared but the half. Doubtless these contentions, through the goodness of God, shall enrich us with a great increase both of truth and glory.

SECT. IV.—*That the Confession of the same Creed is not with them sufficient for Peace.*

It is not Cassander's speech only, but every wise and honest man's, that the Creed is the common cognizance of our faith; and we all do with one voice willingly profess it.

Surely Theodoret, when he would by a favourable report allay the bitter contentions of those ancient Christians of Antioch, writes thus: "Both parts," saith he, "made one and the same confession of their faith; for both maintained the Creed of the Nicene Council." And yet this position is spitefully handled by cardinal Bellarmine, and can scarce draw breath since his last stripes: "What care we," saith he, "for the same Creed? Faith is not in words, but in the sense."

And indeed, I remember what Ruffinus reports done by Arius.

That worthy Constantine had charged him to write what faith he held: he delivered him a Creed, in words, ours, in sense, his own. And how right his wicked brood took after their father in the ensuing times of the Church let histories witness. Sure I am, whosoever shall read the Creeds of their several sects shall hardly fetch out any thing which an orthodox censurer would think worthy of reproof. How oft do they yield Christ to be God, yea, God of God, and yet perfidiously reserve to themselves in the mean time that absurd conceit, that he was created *ex non entibus!*

As therefore Severianus the Syrian, in Theodoret, spake Greek as a Grecian, but pronounced it like a Syrian; so there may be many which may speak truths, but pronounce them heretically. "For all heresies," saith Irenæus, "talk of one God, but mar him with their misconceits." "Yea, for the most part, all heresies," saith Chrysologus, "set a face of the Trinity." To little purpose. It was not ill said of Gratian, "That no man is to care for words, since that not the meaning should serve the words, but the words rather the meaning."

Let us grant all this, and more. Let it be said of the Creed, as Jerome said of the book of Job, that every word abounds with senses. "There is no divine word," as Tertullian speaketh wisely, "so dissolute and diffused, that only the words may be defended, and not the true meaning of the words set down." To put the cardinal out of this needless fear, the proper and native sense of the Creed may be fetched out: and I add yet more (except but that one article of Christ's descension into hell, which Ruffinus confesses he could not find either in the Roman or eastern Creeds) is openly confessed on both parts.

And yet for all this we are never the nearer to peace; for from these common principles of faith the subtle device of heretical pravity hath fetched strange and erroneous consequences, which, by their sophistical and obstinate handling, are now improved into heresies; and dare now threaten, not only opposition, but death unto those very principles from which they are raised.

Of this kind are the most of those Romish opinions which we undertake to censure in this discourse.

But if, by the universal consent of all, it should appear that both word and sense are entire, that both the principles and necessary conclusions thence deduced are undeniably sound, "yet," saith Bellarmine, "there can be no peace with Lutherans." Let all the world know this and wonder.

Our king, (be it spoken to the envy of those which cannot emulate him, an incomparable divine for a prince, yea, a prince of divines, a king of men, and a wonder of kings, mighty both with his sceptre and his pen,) going about in that learned and ponderous discourse to clear himself from the aspersion of heresy, which that foul hand had unworthily cast upon him, professes solemnly and holily, that whatsoever is contained either in the sacred Scriptures, or the three famous Creeds, or the four first General Councils, that he embraces with both arms; that, he proclaims for his faith; that, he will defend with his tongue, with his pen, with his sword; in that, he will both live and die.

Yea, but this is not enough, saith that great antagonist of princes; for there are other points of faith wherewith religion is now of late times enlarged; as transubstantiation, purgatory, the pope's primacy; a whole dozen of these goodly articles hath the Tridentine council created in this decayed age of the world, lest the fathers of Italy should seem to come short of the apostles, and the Pope of Christ; any parcel whereof whosoever shall presume to call in question is an heretic presently, and smells of the fagot.

And how ordinarily is that laid in every dish, "That he cannot be a member of the Church which withdraws his obedience from their pope the head of the Church."

Neither is that any whit milder which Gratian cites from pope Nicholas the Second: "Whosoever goes about to infringe the privilege of the Roman church, or derogates from her authority, is an heretic."

But that is yet well worse which the allowed table of the decree hath peremptorily broached: "Whosoever obeys not the pope's commandment incurs the sin of idolatry," or (as Gregory the Seventh, from whom Gratian would seem to borrow this, which yet is not to be found in his epistles,) "of paganism."

Whatsoever therefore Christ Jesus, whatsoever the apostles, whatsoever the councils and fathers of the primitive church have commended to us to be believed, shall avail us little, neither can ever make us friends, unless we will be content to beslave our faith unto their popeling.

And can they think we will look at peace upon such a condition? That hope were bold and foolish that could expect this. Neither do they more scornfully cast us out of the bosom of their church for spitting at these articles of straw, which their vanity

hath devised, than we can confidently condemn and execrate their presumption which have so imperiously obtruded such trash as this upon the Church of God.

SECT. V.—*The impuration or corruption of the Roman church, and their impossibility of reconciliation, arising from that wilful fable of the Pope's infallibility.*

But to leave this first head of our adversaries' indisposition to peace; say that the papists could be content to hearken to an agreement (which I can never hope to see while Rome is itself); say they should seek it; yet, as things now stand, while they will not, and we may not, stir one inch from our station of judgment, God forbids, the truth debars our reconciliation. We dare not, whatsoever some kind-hearted mediators may persuade us, either divide Christ or betray him with a kiss. The truth is on high: "They may well ascend to us," as Leo said of old; "but for us to descend to them is neither safe nor honest."

First of all, how too plain is it that the Roman church is palpably declined from that ancient purity of religion which she once professed! It is not more certain and sensible that the city of Rome is descended from her seven hills to the Martian plains that lie below them, or that the spiteful heathens of old, as Eusebius reports, turned the sacred monument of the tomb of Christ into the temple of their Venus.

What a cloud of witnesses have we of this noted decay of that church! yea, witnesses of their own!

To begin with the other sex. Hildegardis, a nun, and a famous prophetess of her time, accuses the apostolical order of the utter extinguishing of religion amongst them: Matilda, or Maud, who lived in the same age, censures them with common apostasy from the Christian faith: and both of them, by some extraordinary revelation, clearly and directly prophesied of this religious and holy restoration of the Church which our days see accomplished. St. Bridget, the foundress of the order of St. Saviour, which was canonized by pope Urban, sticks not to teach openly in her writings that the pope doth "torment, yea, crucify the souls of the elect;" and boldly foretells that all his followers and abettors and whole clergy shall be cut off, and that his see shall sink down into the bottom of hell; and this she doth so tartly and vehemently, that the Romanists of those times threatened and endeavoured to burn her alive. Robert, our bishop of

Lincoln, to whom the greatness of his head gave a homely but famous name, whom Illyricus misnamed Rupertus, a worthy and peerless man in his age, durst before the pope's own face openly accuse the pastors of his time to be the spoilers of the earth, the dispersers and devourers of God's flock, the utter wasters of the holy vineyard of God. That Carthusian of Cologne, which is said to have gathered that book of the Bundle of Times, complains that truth was then perished from the sons of men. Petrus de Aliaco, a cardinal, confesses that the ancient divines built up the Church, but the then present seducers destroyed it. And unto these agree John de Rupescissa, a monk; Picus, earl of Mirandula; Trithemius, the abbot; Laurence Valla; and those worthy lights of the Council of Basil, the cardinal of Arles and Thomas de Corsellis. But Nicholas Clemangis, the archdeacon of Bayeux, speaks nothing but stones and bullets; who, in a whole volume, hath freely painted out the corrupt estate of the Church: neither did Dominicus, bishop of Brixia, speak any whit more sparingly; who, even in those times, durst set before his book this title, "The Reformation of Rome." To say nothing of Joachim, of Peter of Ferrara the lawyer; of the three Theodoricks; of Lyra, Petrarch, Gerson, Everard the Bishop of Saltzburg, Erasmus, Cassander, Espencæus, the jury of cardinals selected by Paul the Third, (amongst which, Gasper Contarini, James Sadolet, and our cardinal Pole were, as they might, of eminent note,) Alvarus Pelagius, Savonarola of Florence, and whomsoever those times yielded at once both learned and good. Even pope Adrian himself, the sixth of that name, while he instructs his legate in his message censures the Church, and ingenuously complains that all was gone to wreck and ruin.

What shall we then say to this? Can any man be so partial as to think that so many saints of both sexes, prophets, prophetesses, monks, doctors, cardinals, popes, should, as Jerome speaks of the Luciferian heretics, merely devise these slanders to the disgrace of their holy mother? If any man can be so mad, he is well worthy to be ever deceived.

Indeed, Rome was once *an holy city*, Matt. iv. 5; but now, as no less famous the other way, she is become *a city of blood*, Ezek. xxiv. 6. 9. This grape is grown a dry raisin. Neither did that good hermit, Antony, so justly say of his Alexandria as we may now of Rome; "Woe to thee, thou strumpetly city, into

which the devils out of all the rest of the world have assembled themselves."

Certainly, therefore, so shameful and general a deformity could not but be discerned by our latter papists; and, to avoid all shifts, we have gently and lovingly laid our finger upon these spots. But in the mean time, how heinously have they taken it! and, as Ruffinus speaks of Apollinaris the heretic, while they are transported with the vicious humour of contention, and will be crossing every thing that is spoken, out of the vain ostentation of a strong wit, they have improved their idle brabbles to heresies. Jerome said wittily, "They use to wink and deny which believe not that to be done which they would not have done."

It is therefore a most lamentable and fearful case, that a church, which of her own favourites is justly accused of many and dangerous errors, should block up against herself the way whereby she should return into the truth, and, as Francis à Victoria honestly complains, should neither endure her own evils nor their remedies. For while she stands upon it that she cannot err, and stubbornly challenges unto her chair a certain impeccancy of judgment, that we may borrow a word from Tertullian, what hope can now remain of recovering the truth? How are we now too saucy that dare mutter aught against her! The first hope of health must needs be fetched from the sense and acknowledgment of the disease. That of Epicure is common and true; "The beginning of recovery is the knowledge of the fault." "Thou must find thyself amiss," saith Seneca, "ere thou canst amend thyself." Rome brags that she cannot be sick: what do we now talk of medicines for her? These doctrinal principles, as our Stapleton calls them, are they from which a certain fatal necessity of erring must needs follow.

For to what purpose is all this we do? If upon the sentence of this Romish Oracle (for in the closet, or prison rather, of his breast, as Jerome objected to John of Jerusalem, the Church is included) all things do so depend that, whatsoever he shall determine must be received without all contradiction, and his decree can by no inferior means be repealed; in vain do we wrangle for truth; in vain have all those former synods both met and defined; in vain do we either teach or learn aught of any other master. Is it possible she should ever be drawn to remorse for her error which eagerly defends that she cannot err? Either, therefore,

let our papists suffer this vain opinion of infallibility to be pulled up by the very roots out of their breasts, or else there can be no hope so much as of a consultation of peace.

And do we think that our masters beyond the Alps will ever abide themselves stripped of this darling which they have made so dainty of all this while? Why do we not as well demand St. Peter's throne and his revenues, and, together with his patrimony, all the body of religion? For what one tittle is there of the now Roman faith that hangs not on this string? Let them give us this, and Rome falls alone, and lies shamefully in the dust. Let them deny it us, and she shall be still that great harlot, still an enemy to peace, still hateful to Heaven. But so far are their modern doctors from an ingenuous rejection of infallibility, that no age ever knew so well how to flatter a pope. For not only have some yielded this unto him without a council, as Albert Pighius, Gretser, Bellarmine, and all Jesuits whereso-ever, but some others, as Gregory of Valentia, have fastened this upon him without any care or study required on his part. O happy chair of Peter, firm, eternal, full of prodigious virtue! which, if we might imagine a wooden one, I should sure think were made of Irish oak—there is no spider of error can touch it but presently dies. Behold the tables written with God's own hand were soon broken and gone, but the bars of thy frame can feel no age, cannot incur the danger of any miscarriage. Sure I think Vibius Rufus is alive again which because he sat in the same seat wherein Julius Cæsar had sat, and married Cicero's wife, had wont to vaunt of both; as if he should sure be Cæsar for his seat, or for his wife Cicero. Belike all the virtue of it is from Peter. It is well that his other successors conferred nothing towards it, lest perhaps Alexander the Sixth should have turned the succeeding popes into lechers; Clement, into sacrilegious church-robbers; Julius, into swaggerers; Benedict, Gregory, Sylvester, into simonists; Paschalis, into perjurers; Pope Joan of Mentz, into women; Martin, and that other Sylvester, into magicians; the two Johns, into devils incarnate.

Now, on the other part, can any man be so foolish to hope that our Church will ever be so mad as thus basely to bolster up the great bridge-maker of Tiber; as though we could be ignorant how Christ never either performed or promised them any such privilege? For where is it written, as Luther jested well, unless perhaps at Rome, in St. Peter's, upon some chimney, with a coal?

Christ said indeed, *Thou art Peter*, Matt. xvi. 18; but "Thou art Paul the Fifth," he never said. He said, *I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not*, Matt. xxvi. 32; so he said too, *Go behind me, Satan; thou savourest not the things of God*, Matt. xvi. 23. Now let this oracle of the chair teach us how he can at once make himself full heir of the promise and yet shift off the censure at pleasure.

Yet, to tread in the steps of the times, as though we could not know that the following ages knew not of this; not Polycrates and Irenæus, which resisted Victor the pope; not Cyprian, which opposed Stephen; not the Fathers of Chalcedon, which would not yield to Leo; not the eastern bishops, which would not yield to Julius; nor the Fathers of Constantinople, which refused to yield to Vigilius and Honorius; yea, of the later divines, those which have had either sense or shame, as John Gerson, chancellor of Paris, Turrecremata, Almaine, Alphonsus de Castro, pope Adrian the Sixth, archbishop Catharinus, cardinal Cajetan, Franciscus à Victoria, and who not, of the best rank of their doctors, have not feared openly to deny and disclaim this fancy. And Alphonsus shall give a reason thereof for all: "There are many unlearned popes," saith he, "that know not so much as the rules of grammar: how then should they be able to interpret the holy Scriptures?"

As though we knew not which of their popes favoured Arius, which Montanus, which Nestorius, which Acacius, which the Monothelites, which the Sadducees, and which were in league with devils; which of them have defined contrary to their fellows, and which contrary to God; and, that I may use Jerome's words, how silly a pilot hath ofttimes steered the leaking vessel of the Church!

As though every tapster and tinker nowadays could not point their finger to the long beadroll of popes, and say, "Such and such were the monsters of men: such," as Platina, Lyra, Genebrard confess, "were apotactical and apostatical miscreants." Ywis their life hath been long the table-talk of the world, as Bernard speaks.

There can therefore be no peace possible unless they will be content to be headless, or we can be content to be the slaves of Rome. Imagine they could be so ingenuous as to confess that the same serpent which insinuated himself of old into paradise, might perhaps creep closely into Peter's chair; yet

there would be no less controversy *de facto* than of the possibility of error.

Besides, there are other popish opinions of the same stamp, but more pragmatical, which are not more pernicious to the Church than to commonweals; as those of the power of both swords, of the deposition of princes, disposition of kingdoms, absolving of subjects, frustration of oaths, (sufficiently canvassed of late, both by the Venetian divines and French, and ours,) which are so palpably opposite to the liberty of Christian government, that those princes and people which can stoop to such a yoke are well worthy of their servitude.

And can they hope that the great commanders of the world will come to this bent? "We all," as the comic poet said truly, "had rather be free than serve;" but much more princes. Or, on the contrary, can we hope that the tyrants of the Church will be content to leave this hold? What a foppery were this! For both those princes are grown more wise and these tyrants more arrogant, and, as Ruffinus speaks of George the Arian gallant, they insolently govern an usurped bishopric, as if they thought they had the managing of a proud empire and not of a religious priesthood.

SECT. VI.—*That the other Opinions of the Romish Church will not admit reconciliation.*

But let us be so liberal as to grant this to ourselves which certainly they will never grant us; for this old grandam of cities thinks herself born to command, and will either fall or rule. Neither doth that mitred moderator of the world affect any other emblem than that which Julian jestingly ascribes to Julius Cæsar, τὸ πρωτεύειν, "to rule all;" or to Alexander the Great, πάντα νικᾶν, "to conquer all." It was a degenerating spirit of Adrian the Sixth which caused to be written upon his tomb in the church of St. Peter, "That nothing in all his life fell out so unhappily to him as that he governed." Let this, I say, be granted us.

There want not, I know, some milder spirits, (Theodosians, that can play with both hands,) which think, if these busy points were by the moderation of both parts quietly composed, it might be safe for any man, so it be without noise, to think what he list concerning the other differences of religion.

These are the ghosts of that heretic Apelles, whose speech it was, That it is sufficient to believe in Christ crucified, and that there should be no discussing of the particular warrants and

reason of our faith; or the brood of Leonas, one of the courtiers of Constantius, and his deputy in the Seleucian Council, which, when the Fathers hotly contended, as there was good cause, for the consubstantiality of the Son, "Get you home," said he, "and trouble not the Church still with these trifles."

St. Basil was of another mind from these men, who, as Theodoret reports, when the lieutenant of Valens the emperor persuaded him to remit but one letter for peace-sake, answered, "Those that are nursed with the sincere milk of God's word may not abide one syllable of his sacred truth to be corrupted, but rather than they will endure it are ready to receive any kind of torment or death."

Eleusius and Silvanus, which were orthodox bishops, and those other worthy guardians, and, as Athanasius's title was, champions of the truth, were of another mind from these cool and indifferent mediators.

So far as the sacred truth will allow us, we will accompany them gladly; but if they urge us farther, we stand still or start back. And those two courses, which Epiphanius advised as the remedies of heresy, *heed* and *avoidance*, both those do we carefully use and perform. Great is the offence of discord, and unexpiable, and such, in the grave judgment of Cyprian, as is not purged with the blood of our passion. And justly do we think that fiend of Homer worthy of no place but hell. But yet we cannot think concord a meet price of truth, which it is lawful for us to buy at any rate, but to sell upon any terms is no less than piacular.

Let us therefore a little discuss the several differences, and, as it uses to be done when the house is too little for the stuff, let us pile up all close together. It shall be enough in this large harvest of matter to gather some few ears out of every shock, and to make a compendious despatch of so long a task.

The grossest of the popish heresies, and, as Jerome objects to Origen, the most venomous opinions of Rome, which have bred so much trouble and danger at this day to the Church of God, are either such as do concern ourselves, not without some respect to God or such as concern God, not without some respect to us.

Of the former sort are those which in a certain order (such as it is) of discourse are conversant about justification, freewill, the merit of our works, human satisfaction, indulgences, purgatory, and the differences of mortal and venial sins.

These therefore first offer themselves to our examination.

SECT. VII.—*The Romish Heresy concerning Justification.*

That point of *justification*, of all other, is exceeding important, insomuch as Calvin was fain to persuade, that if this one head might be yielded safe and entire, it would not quit the cost to make any great quarrel for the rest.

Would to God that word of Cassander might be made good which doubted not to say, "That which is affirmed, that men cannot be justified before God by their own strength, merits, or works, but that they are freely justified by faith, was always allowed and received in the Church of God, and is at this day approved by all ecclesiastical writers."

Yea, I would they would be ruled by their Thomas Aquinas in this, who attributes justification to works; not as justification is taken for an infusion of grace, but as it is taken for an exercise, or manifestation, or consummation of justice. If this were all, in this point all would be peace.

But whilst the Tridentine Fathers take upon them to forge the formal cause of our justification to be our own inherent justice, and thrust faith out of office; what good man can choose but presently address himself to an opposition? Who would not rather die than suffer the ancient faith of the Church to be depraved with these idle dreams?

Go, now, ye great Trent divines, and brag of yourselves, as Aëtius did of old, by Theodoret's report, that God hath now, at last, revealed to you those things which he would have hitherto concealed from all the world.

In the mean time we cannot but scorn to see the souls of men so shamefully deluded, while we hear the Spirit of God so often redoubling—*without works—not by works, but by faith—by their works no flesh shall be justified—being justified freely by his grace*, Rom. iv. 6; Gal. ii. 16; Eph. ii. 8; Rom. iii. 20, 24. By the power whereof, Arias Montanus, an ingenuous author (and, as Jerome said of Apollinarius, a man of approved labour, though in many things, as the times then were, faulty in opinion), being utterly convinced, "It follows," saith he, "that faith is reputed for righteousness to him that works not in the law, and that, according to the purpose of the grace of God."

If we cast our eyes back to the ancient Fathers, they are all ours: "Not according to the worth of our works," saith Basil: "Only to believe," saith Nazianzen: "Faith alone is sufficient,"

saith Jerome: "By believing are men justified," saith Augustin. And with these consort the rest; Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Athanasius, Ambrose, Primasius, and that whole sacred choir of antiquity. But to what purpose do I instance in these, when as the Expurgatory Index of Spain hath purposely wiped both out of the tables and text of Chrysostom, Jerome, Cyril, most clear testimonies for the sole justification by faith? The book is everywhere abroad: it is needless to recite the severals. See now the inquisitors guilty to themselves both of error and fraud. To whom I must sing the same note that Ambrose did of old to the Arians: "Ye may blot out the letters, but the faith you can never abolish: those blurs bewray you more, those blots condemn you more than the writing."

But some perhaps may think this a mere strife of words, and not hard to be reconciled; for that which to the papists is inherent justice, is no other to the protestants than sanctification; both sides hold this equally necessary, both call for it equally. True, but do both require it in the same manner? do both to the same end? I think not. Yea, what can be more contrary than these opinions to each other? The papists make this inherent righteousness the cause of our justification; the protestants, the effect thereof. The protestants require it as the companion or page; the papists, as the usher, yea, rather as the parent of justification.

"But what matters it," say they, "so both ascribe this whole work to God? as though it comes not all to one to pay a sum for me, and to give it me to pay for myself?" I know not how these things seem so little dissonant to these men's ears which the Spirit of God hath made utterly incompatible: *To him that worketh, the wages is not imputed of grace, but of debt,* Rom. iv. 4: *If by grace, now not of works; or else grace should be no more grace,* Rom. xi. 6: "For neither is it grace any way if it be not free every way," saith Augustin. But these men say, "Therefore of grace because of works."

Not of works, lest any man should boast, saith the Spirit, Eph. ii. 9: "But of works, and yet a man shall boast in the Lord," saith Bellarmine. And wherefore shall he boast? because he is just? because void of sin? Perhaps some Isidore may say thus of himself, which voluntarily protested that for forty years' space he found not in himself any sin, not so much as in his

thought, not so much as any consent to anger or inordinate desire. Or perhaps, some Baronius or Bellarmine may report this of their late St. Gonzaga; or the offal of the schools may say so of Bonaventure, in whom, if we believe them, Adam sinned not; or Manichæus may say it of his elect masters; or, perhaps, Priscillian, Evagrius, Jovinian, the Messalians, may brag thus of themselves.

But far otherwise is that speech of Ambrose; "I will not boast because I am just, but because I am redeemed; I will boast, not because I am void of sin, but because my sins are forgiven me." Otherwise we shall come to that point which Innocentius condemned in the Pelagians, "What need have we now of God?"

But thou sayest, "God hath given me this whereby I am just." Indeed this seems at the first a great and glorious praise of the grace of God, and at the first hearing sounds well to an ignorant ear; and yet, when it is better considered, under a pretence of piety spoils Christ of his glory. Why dost thou not as well say, "He hath given me wherewith I may redeem myself?" for by the same wherewith we are justified we are redeemed, *being justified by his blood*, Rom. v. 9. Behold, the blood of him that is God and man justifies us, and the same redeems us.

But go on a little: God hath given thee this. But hath he given it thee without thyself? Is this done without the intervention, without the operation of our freewill? Let the monks of Bourdeaux speak in their abjurations; let Andradius, let Bellarmine (the flower of the popish school), let any papist deny this if he dare.

It is only Christ's therefore which is imputed; that which is inherent is ours. "For all," saith Austin, "which are justified by Christ are just, not in themselves, but in him. That which is Christ's, because it is his, is most perfect; that which is ours, because ours, is weak and imperfect. God hath made us men, not gods. Our perfection is seasonable in heaven."

Justly doth Jerome deride Ctesiphon; we, the papists: "O blessed, O happy men, if that justice which is not thought to be anywhere but in heaven may be found with you only upon earth!" In the mean time it is sufficient for us to mourn for our wants, to hate our injustice. It is the very speech of Donatists, "I have nothing for thee to pardon."

Let Bernard now, to conclude, shut up this stage: "Not to

sin," saith he, "is God's justice; but the justice of man is the pardon of God."

To be imputed therefore, and to be inherent, differ no less than God and man, Trent and Heaven. Wherefore let our Romanists confess that which both Scriptures and Fathers and all their modester doctors have both thought and reported to be the common voice of the former Church in all times, and we are agreed; otherwise, what fellowship hath God with Belial, light with darkness?

Sect. VIII.—*Concerning Freewill.*

Bordering upon this is the point of *freewill.*

To let pass all lighter quarrels of the nature of our will, let us inquire of the power of it; and that, not in natural, human, or moral things, (here is all peace and silence, save that the words jangle with themselves; and, when the matter is agreed upon, who would not contemn words, as Augustin saith well?) but in spiritual and divine matters.

We do will indeed. We will freely; neither can we otherwise will any thing. Who denies it? Here is no physical determination, no violence; but to will that which is good, or to will well, we cannot. We do freely believe, for faith is an act of the will; yea, and we do cooperate with grace; neither are we herein like to senseless stones, as Austin truly speaks.

But whence is all this? Is it of ourselves or of God? Is it of grace, or, which the council of Arausica condemned, by the power of nature? This must be our question.

Both sides like well that speech of St. Augustin: "To will freely is the work of nature; to will well, of grace; to will ill, of corruption:" but when we come to the point, the doctors of Trent are not more subtle than the Jesuits inconstant.

It is yet good and safe, which Bellarmine cites from his Ruardus: "A good work, as it is a work, is from freewill; as it is good, from grace; as both a work and good, both from freewill and grace."

But that is exceeding ingenuous and truly evangelical which the same Bellarmine affirms against some Semipelagian catholics in those things which pertain to piety and salvation, that man's will can do nothing without the help of God's grace. It is the voice of Jacob. If the cardinal would hold him there, cursed be he that should oppose him.

I go on to hope and read; and see what stuff I meet with soon after in the same book: That our conversion is in the power of our freewill, because it may be always converted when it will: and yet further; That, before all grace, we have freewill, even in the works of piety and supernatural things. Before all grace? what! before the grace of prevention? It were well the cardinal would set forth some better recognitions.

Now then, God doth not prevent us, as Austin said of old, that we might will; but we prevent God, because we will.

But lest this should seem too gross, this liberty is tied up, and is altogether in the same state as the faculty of seeing when a sensible species is absent: we can freely see while the object is absent; we can freely will in the absence of grace.

Let Bellarmine now tell me, are we any whit more free to evil than he feigns us to good? Did ever Pelagius dote thus much? We can will evil; but yet, unless it be determined under some false semblance, by the verdict of our practical judgment we will it not.

But, if we should yield him thus much, what help is this that God gives us? To prevent, inspire, excite, and help, is of God; to incline the will is of ourselves. How are we not now more beholden to ourselves than to God? What is this but that Pelagian conceit so oft condemned by Augustin, so to separate freewill from grace, as if without it we could do or think any thing answerable to the will of God?

That we are able by the power of our will to avoid sins; that we can overcome "the slighter motions of temptation," as Bellarmine speaks; that we can keep God's commandments, as Scotus and Durandus; that we can reject or receive the inspiration of the Spirit, as the Tridentine Fathers; that we can dispose ourselves to the receiving of grace, as Thomas and Suarez; that we do naturally cooperate with grace, and make our conversion effectual, as Tapperus; what is it else, but to steal glory from God, that we may prank up this carrion-nature of ours?

Yet it was modestly done of Tiberius, who, of those many buildings which he repaired and perfected, challenged not one to himself, but gave them still the names of those men, by whom they were begun to be built; but these men challenge the whole house, whenas they have not laid so much as one tile upon the roof.

Far be this shameful sacrilege from us, when that truly jealous

God challenges to himself to work in us both the will and the deed; yea, that we can will to believe is his work; as Austin rightly speaks. See, then, he doth not excite, but work in us, ἐνεργεῖ: He *works in us both* that which is first, *to will, and* that which is last, *to work*, Phil. ii. 13.

Jerome says worthily, "To will and to run is mine, but without God's continual help it will not be mine." *Without me, ye can do nothing*, saith Christ, John xv. 5; no, *not think any thing*, saith Paul, 2 Cor. iii. 5. Alas! what can we do, who are not lame, but *dead in sins?* Ephes. ii. 1. By the influence of God's Spirit therefore a new life must be created in us that was not, and not the former life excited, Col. iii. 1, which was; according to that of the Psalmist, *Create in me a clean heart*, Psalm li. 10, and not, Stir up that clean one I have. Neither indeed is there as yet any place for this; the first heart must be taken out, another must be put in: *I will take away their stony heart, and give them an heart of flesh*, saith God, by the mouth of Ezekiel, chap. xxxvi. 26.

"He will give it, but," thou sayest perhaps, "into their breasts which have predisposed and prepared themselves for the gift;" yea contrarily, to those which do not a little resist him. The wisdom of the flesh is enmity: but there are some enmities more secret, and which do not outwardly bewray themselves; but, behold, here is public resistance, οὐκ ὑποτάσσεται, *it is not subject*, Rom. viii. 7.

"But perhaps it will once yield of itself:" οὐ δύναται, *It cannot*, saith the Spirit of God, Rom. viii. 7.

See in how rebellious an estate we are to God. What proneness is here to will good? what ability to perform it?

Let the papists, if they will, sacrifice to themselves, as Sejanus had wont of old, or to their nets, as the Prophet speaketh. As for us, come what can come upon our opposition, we neither can nor dare arrogate unto ourselves those things which by an holy reservation and incommunicableness, are proper only to the Highest.

It is safe indeed for the papists, when they will, to come up to us, but we cannot go down to them without a fearful precipitation of our souls. Let Cassander witness this for us; let Bonaventure himself witness it for him: "This is the property of holy minds, to attribute nothing to themselves, but all to the grace of God: so that how much soever a man ascribe to the

grace of God, he swerveth not from true piety; though, by giving much to grace, he withdraw something from the power of nature or freewill: but when any thing is withdrawn from the grace of God, and aught attributed to nature which is due to grace, there may be great danger to the soul." Thus far those two ingenuous papists.

But to infer; we give all to grace, the papists something to nature; and what they give to nature we give to God. Therefore we do and say that which is fit for holy minds; they, if Bonaventure may be witness, that which swerves from piety, and is joined with much danger of their soul.

SECT. IX.—*Concerning Merits.*

The foundation of popish justification is the freedom of our will, and upon the walls of justification is *merit* raised.

We will have no quarrel about the word. The holy Fathers of old, as we all grant, took the word in a good sense which the later divines have miserably corrupted.

About the thing itself we must strive eternally. We promise a reward to good works, yea, an everlasting one. It is a true word of the Jews, "He that labours on the even shall eat on the sabbath:" for God hath promised it, and will perform: who yet *crowneth us in mercy and compassion*, as the Psalmist speaks, Ps. ciii. 4; not as the papists, "in the rigour of justice;" not as Andradius, "according to the due desert of our work:" "by the free gift of God, and not our merits," as Cajetan, wisely and worthily; or if any man like that word better, "God doth it in justice, but in respect of his own promise, not the very dignity of our works."

"That a just man's work in the truth of the thing itself is of a value worthy of the reward of heaven," which industrious and learned Morton cites out of the English professor of Doway; "and hath a meet proportion both of equality and dignity to the recompense of eternal life," as Pererius; "and that in itself, without any respect of the merits and death of Christ," which Suarez and Bayus shamed not to write, seems justly to us little less than blasphemy.

"But," say our moderate papists, "Christ hath merited this merit of ours;" "neither can any other works challenge this to themselves but those which are done in God," as Andradius speaks; "but those which are dipped and dyed in the blood of

Christ," as our later papists elegantly and emphatically speak. But what is this but to cozen the world, and to cast a mist before the eyes of the unskilful? Our sins are dyed in the blood of Christ, not our merits; or if they also, hath Christ then deserved that our works should be perfect? How comes it about that the works of the best men are so lame and defective? Hath he deserved that though they be imperfect yet they might merit? What injury is this to God! what contradiction of terms!

Behold now so many saviours as good men! What I do is mine, what I merit is mine, whosoever gives me either to do or to merit.

Whosoever rides on a lame horse cannot but move unevenly, uneasily, uncertainly. What insolent overweeners of their own works are these papists, which proclaim the actions which proceed from themselves worthy of no less than heaven! to whom we may justly say, as Constantine said to Acesius the Novatian, "Set up ladders, O ye papists, and climb up to heaven alone."

Who can abide that noted speech of Bellarmine, "A just man hath by a double title right to the same glory; one, by the merits of Christ imparted to him by grace; another, by his own merits?" contrary to that of the Spirit of God, *The wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life.* Upon which words another cardinal, Cajetan, speaks in a holier fashion thus: "He doth not say that the wages of our righteousness is eternal life, but, *the gift of God is eternal life;* that we may understand and learn that we attain eternal life, not by our own merits, but by the free gift of God: for which cause also he adds, *by Jesus Christ our Lord,* Rom. vi. 23. Behold the merit, behold the righteousness whose wages is eternal life; but to us, in respect of Jesus Christ, it is a free gift." Thus Cajetan. What could either Luther or Calvin or any protestant say more plainly?

How imperfect doth the Scripture everywhere proclaim both God's graces in us and our works to him! and though the graces of God were absolutely perfect, yet they are not ours: if our works were so, yet they are formerly due: and if they be due to God, what recompense of transcendent glory is due to us? Behold, we are both servants and unprofitable. *Not worthy,* saith God; "worthy, and more," say the papists. *By grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves,* saith God, Eph. ii. 8: "By grace indeed, but yet of ourselves," say the papists. What insolency is this! Let our monks now go and

profess wilful poverty, while Hezekiah did never so boast of his heaps of treasure as these of their spiritual wealth.

Jerome said truly, "It is more hard to be stripped of our pride than of our gold and jewels; for even when those outward ornaments are gone, many times these inward rags swell up the soul."

Gregory Ariminensis, their old schoolman, was ashamed of this wicked arrogance, and so was Durandus, and Pighius, and other their divines of a more modest temper. I would the Jesuits could have had the grace to have been no less ashamed, and the Tridentine doctors, together with their executioners, the inquisitors.

But what other men have holily and truly spoken, that they have perfidiously wiped out. Witness their Index of Madrid, in these words: "Out of the book which is intitled, The Order of Baptizing, together with the Manner of Visiting the Sick, printed at Venice, in the year 1575, let these words be blotted out: 'Dost thou believe that, not by thine own merits, but by the virtue and merit of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou shalt come to glory?"' And soon after: "'Dost thou believe that our Lord Jesus Christ died for our salvation, and that no man can be saved by his own merits, or any other means, but only by the merit of his passion?'"

Ywis, these are the scorpions and snakes of the ancient divines, as Jerome termed the errors of Origen, amongst which the reader must needs have walked, had not the grave senate of the inquisition wisely provided for our safety.

What hope is there now of peace? unless they could be content, (which Bellarmine grants to be the safest way,) renouncing the merits of their works, not so much for their uncertainty as the imperfection of their justice and danger of vainglory, both to resolve and teach men, to repose their whole confidence in the mercy and bounty of God, which we can at once both wish and not hope for.

SECT. X.—*Concerning Satisfaction.*

Satisfaction hath near affinity with merit, and indeed is but as another twig arising from the same root; than which no opinion could be devised more injurious and reproachful to the merits of Christ.

The word was not displeasing to the ancient Fathers, nor in their sense to us. Only this let me touch in passing by: That the heedless abuses of words, to the great wrong of the Church, hath bred confusion of things: as contrarily that of Tertullian is approved; "The assured sense of words is the safety of proprieties."

We have nothing to do here with civil satisfaction, nothing with ecclesiastical; whereof Luther not unfitly said, even in Cassander's own judgment, "Our mother, the Church, out of her good affection, desiring to prevent the hand of God, chastises her children with certain satisfactions, lest they should fall under the scourges of God." This canonical satisfaction, as many call it, hath been too long out of use on both sides.

Yea, more than this; in all our sermons to our people, we beat importunately upon the necessity of penitence and all the wholesome exercises thereof as fruits worthy of repentance; not, as Cassander well interprets it, as if we desired they should offer unto God a ransom worthy and sufficient for the clearing of the score of their sins, but that we teach them those offices must be performed by them which God requires of those sinners on whom he will bestow the satisfaction of his Son.

Let them call these *satisfactions* if they will; we give them leave. But that after the most absolute passion of Christ there should be yet behind certain remainders of punishment to be discharged by us, either here or in purgatory, with a purpose thereby to satisfy the divine justice, whether they be imposed by God or by the priest or by ourselves, as the Tridentine distinction runs, we neither may nor can endure.

For how nicely soever these men distinguish, it cannot be but this sacrilegious opinion must needs accuse the truly propitiatory sacrifice of Christ of some imperfection. I know they say that both satisfactions may well stand together—that of the Mediator and this of man; whereof Bonaventure calls the one perfect, the other semi-perfect. But these are words. Let the sophisters tell me, Doth not the full vessel contain in itself the half? or what need the one half apart when we have the whole? and lastly, can any thing be added to that which is perfect?

But some of their heedfuller divines will neither have these two opposite nor subordinate to each other. For it is a shame to speak what Suarez, what Durand, and other grosser papists have discoursed of this point. Let them rather, if they will, hold (which

opinion yet hath been controlled, not by the cardinal only, but by three popes before him) that men's satisfactions serve only to apply unto us that which the satisfactions of Christ have promerited for us. Yet even this shift will not serve: for Christ's satisfaction, as they teach, respects eternal punishment and not temporal. How then can it once be imagined, that we, by our satisfaction, should procure that his suffering which was destinated to the expiation of an eternal punishment should serve to the discharge of a temporal? And why should we do this rather than Christ himself? Besides, how absurdly doth this sound, that He whose bounty hath paid our pounds for us hath yet left us out of our poor stock to pay some few farthings for ourselves!

Let me demand then; Whether could not Christ undertake these temporal punishments for us, or would he not? That he could not, is impious; that he would not, is bold to say, and illiberal to do. For where is there any restraint? or what are the limits of his mercy?

"The fault is remitted," saith the Conventicle of Trent: "the punishment is not pardoned." The Eastern Church would never have said so, which always stoutly opposed herself to this error. And indeed what a shameful reproach is this to the infinite mercy of the Forgiver! what a wrong to his justice! Whereto is the punishment due but to the fault? Did ever God inflict punishments that were not due? Many a time hath he forgiven to sinners those plagues which both they had deserved and he threatened: but never did he call back for those arrearages which he had forgiven.

God punishes us indeed, or chastens us rather, and that sometimes well and sharply, after the remission of our offence, not that he may give himself satisfaction of us, for how can it be so pleasing to him that it should be ill with us? but that he may confirm us to himself, that he may amend us. He lays no stroke upon us with a revenging hand, but with a fatherly.

We suffer therefore now, but we satisfy not. This is proper only to that eternal Priest and to his eternal priesthood; and is no more communicable to saints and angels than his own person. And certainly that which was his part he hath performed; he hath redeemed us from the curse of the Law; and part of the legal punishment is this temporal revenge.

For us therefore to give hands to them in this, it were no better than perfidious and shamefully traitorous. And if it be more

than manifest that this cannot be done either by our own torments inflicted or good works performed (how penal soever), how much less shall it be effected by others'! There is none of the saints which will not justly take up that answer of the wiser virgins, *There will not be enough for you and for us*, Matt. xxv. 9. But, as Jerome said well, "There is no need of any great conviction where the opinion carries blasphemy in the face."

Sect. XI.—*Concerning Purgatory.*

Upon this conceit of satisfactions depend those other fables of *purgatory* and indulgences; pleasant ones both, and not unworthy of a satire; whereof so oft as I think, I cannot but remember the scornful frump of Luther, alluding to that of the prophet, *Domine, non possum vesci stercore humano*, Ezek. iv. 14.

Yet, if they had only doubtfully and problematically commended their purgatory to the Church, we might easily have favoured them with a connivance; although you cannot say whether it would have been more worthy to set the spleen on work for laughter or the bowels for commiseration. But now, when Bellarmine teaches us that it pertains to the catholic faith, and our Fisher of Rochester will have it altogether necessary to be known and believed, we cannot entertain this presumptuous folly without indignation.

How miserably the Scriptures are wrested to this purpose if any schoolboy could not easily see, he were worthy of whipping. As Jerome said of the heretics of his time, "They frame some unfitting testimonies to their own sense: as if it were a worthy, and not rather an abominable kind of teaching, to deprave sentences, and to drag the Scriptures perforce to their own bent."

Neither are the ancient Fathers better used in their citation: of which Origen, Ambrose, Hilary, Lactantius, Nyssen, Jerome, gave intimation of a quite other purgatory from the Romish. Augustin speaks of it at peradventure, waveringly, uncertainly. The rest never dreamed of any at all.

But yet I mistake it. Now I remember, St. Plato is cited by Austin and Eusebius for the patron of this opinion, and who knows not that St. Homer and St. Virgil are flat for it?

Yet this fire never began to burn out but in Gregory's time; and since that, the authority of the Alcoran hath not a little mended it.

This is it that their Rochester ingenuously confessed of old, that this purgatory flame came but lately to the knowledge of

the Church: but for us, that of St. Paul shall never be wrung from our hands; Ἐὰν ἡ ἐπίγειος, *If* or *when this earthly house shall be dissolved, we have a building not made with hands, eternal in the heavens*, 2 Cor. v. 1. And when is this St. Paul's ἐὰν? St. John shall interpret it: ἀποθνήσκοντες ἀπάρτι, *those that die, a modo, from henceforth*, Apoc. xiv. 13. And when is this *a modo*? *To-day thou shalt be with me*, saith Christ; Luke xxiii. 43, even instantly upon the egress of the soul. Let them *commend their souls to God*, saith St. Peter, 1 Pet. iv. 19.

But what of that? That which doth utterly quench out this fabulous fire, the counterfeit Solomon (though true to the papists) adds, "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and no torment shall touch them;" Wisd. iii. 1. Behold then either the souls without a purgatory, or a purgatory without pain.

But what stick we at this? Let the popish doctors go together and agree among themselves of the fire of their purgatory, of the torments of the subject, of the duration, of the executioners, of the condition of the souls there detained; and then afterwards let them look for our assent.

In the mean time, why is it not as free for us as for Suarez not to believe the walking ghosts of the dead but metaphorically? or why may not we as well deny the ordinary common purgatory as Bellarmine may devise a new one, more noble and easeful than the first?

SECT. XII.—*Concerning Pardons.*

Purgatory is guilty of *indulgences*, as their Rochester confesses. Both of them were bred by superstition and nursed by covetousness. I touch these with a light hand only.

It is long since all ingenuous clients of Rome were ashamed of this holy fraud.

I cannot but commend Cassander, which writes thus modestly and truly: "The abatement or relaxation of canonical punishment was of old called *indulgence;* which at this day is drawn to all private satisfactions, and the full right of bestowing them withdrawn from all other bishops to the bishop of Rome alone. About the use and practice whereof all good men have desired a correction and moderation, as of things which being hitherto ill handled, have given the chief occasion of this breach in the Church. Here therefore it were to be wished that the popes would yield something to the public peace." Thus far Cassander. With whom agrees Polydore Virgil, both of them more worthy

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SECT. XIII.—*Concerning the distinction of mortal and venial Sin.*

Pardons do both imply and presuppose that known distinction of *mortal and venial sin;* which neither hath God ever allowed, neither, while he gainsays it, will ever the protestants.

That there are certain degrees of evil, we both acknowledge and teach: so as we may here justly tax the dishonesty and shamelessness of Campion, Dureus, Coccius, and the monks of Bourdeaux, who have upbraided us with the opinion of a certain stoical and Jovinianish parity of sins; yea, Bellarmine himself hath already done this kind office for us.

Some offences are more heinous than other; yet all, in the malignity of their nature, deadly: as of poisons, some kill more gently and lingeringly, others more violently and speedily; yet both kill.

Moreover, if we have respect unto the infinite mercy of God, and to the object of this mercy, the penitent and faithful heart, there is no sin which, to borrow the word of Prudentius, is not venial; but in respect of the anomy or disorder, there is no sin which is not worthy of eternal death.

Every sin is a viper. There is no viper, if we regard the

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of a black coal than their honest Rochester whom Gregory of Valence hath so foully branded. Neither have there wanted some of their own, as Bellarmine witnesseth, which have called both the treasure of the Church and pardons into question. Neither have there wanted those which have boldly and flatly denied them either to be of use or to be at all.

And indeed who that is not too much intoxicate with the potions of that harlot can endure that, whilst the imputation of Christ's merits to the justifying of a sinner applied by God to us is everywhere a common scoffing-stock to these men, yet that the merits and sufferings of holy men, out of a certain common treasure, should by a man be imputed to men for the deliverance of their souls from torment?

Who can abide that any mortal man should over-satisfy God for his sins?

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Who may abide this unjust and inhuman acceptation of persons? that the wealthier sort may by their purses redeem this

holy treasure of the Church, and by money deliver the souls of themselves and their friends from this horrible prison, while the needy soul must be still frying in that flame, without all hope of pardon, or mature relaxation, until the very last judgment day?

Lastly, who can endure, that while it is in the power of Christ's Vicar to call miserable souls out of this tormenting fire, which hell itself is said to exceed only in the continuance; yet that he should suffer them to lie howling there, and most cruelly broiling still, and not mercifully bestow on them all the heaps of his treasure, as the spiritual ransom of so many distressed spirits? A wretched man is he, as Ambrose said of the rich man, which hath the power to deliver so many souls from death, and wants the will. Why hath God given him this faculty of indulgences, if he would not have it beneficial to mankind? And where the owner of the house will be bountiful, it is not for the steward to be niggardly. Let that Circe of Rome keep these husks for her hogs.

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Moreover, if we have respect unto the infinite mercy of God, and to the object of this mercy, the penitent and faithful heart, there is no sin which, to borrow the word of Prudentius, is not venial; but in respect of the anomy or disorder, there is no sin which is not worthy of eternal death.

Every sin is a viper. There is no viper, if we regard the

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of a black coal than their honest Rochester whom Gregory of Valence hath so foully branded. Neither have there wanted some of their own, as Bellarmine witnesseth, which have called both the treasure of the Church and pardons into question. Neither have there wanted those which have boldly and flatly denied them either to be of use or to be at all.

And indeed who that is not too much intoxicate with the potions of that harlot can endure that, whilst the imputation of Christ's merits to the justifying of a sinner applied by God to us is everywhere a common scoffing-stock to these men, yet that the merits and sufferings of holy men, out of a certain common treasure, should by a man be imputed to men for the deliverance of their souls from torment?

Who can abide that any mortal man should over-satisfy God for his sins?

Who can abide the prodigal grants and shameful marts of their pardons?

Who can endure to hear that to the careless mumbling over of some short prayers (for if we believe their casuists there is no great need of any intention of mind, of any special devotion) there should be granted by John XXII a pardon for no less than a million of years?

Who can endure, since by their own confession this fire must last but till the conflagration of the world, that yet in one little book there should be tendered unto credulous poor souls pardons of but eleven thousand thousand of years? What should we make many words of this? There is now lying by me a wormeaten manuscript, with fair rubrics, in which, beside other absurd and blasphemous promises, there is power given to one little prayer to change the pains of hell—due perhaps to him that says it—into purgatory; and after that again, the pains of purgatory into the joys of heaven. Bellarmine had wisely respected his own credit if he had given his voice according to that which he confesseth to have been the judgment of some others; that these-like bulls were not given by the popes, but lewdly devised by some of his base questuaries for an advantage. But that which he should excuse he defends. What ingenuity or shame is to be expected of Jesuits? and how clean hath an old parrot, as he said of old, forgotten the wand!

Who may abide this unjust and inhuman acceptation of persons? that the wealthier sort may by their purses redeem this

holy treasure of the Church, and by money deliver the souls of themselves and their friends from this horrible prison, while the needy soul must be still frying in that flame, without all hope of pardon, or mature relaxation, until the very last judgment day?

Lastly, who can endure, that while it is in the power of Christ's Vicar to call miserable souls out of this tormenting fire, which hell itself is said to exceed only in the continuance; yet that he should suffer them to lie howling there, and most cruelly broiling still, and not mercifully bestow on them all the heaps of his treasure, as the spiritual ransom of so many distressed spirits? A wretched man is he, as Ambrose said of the rich man, which hath the power to deliver so many souls from death, and wants the will. Why hath God given him this faculty of indulgences, if he would not have it beneficial to mankind? And where the owner of the house will be bountiful, it is not for the steward to be niggardly. Let that Circe of Rome keep these husks for her hogs.

SECT. XIII.—*Concerning the distinction of mortal and venial Sin.*

Pardons do both imply and presuppose that known distinction of *mortal and venial sin;* which neither hath God ever allowed, neither, while he gainsays it, will ever the protestants.

That there are certain degrees of evil, we both acknowledge and teach: so as we may here justly tax the dishonesty and shamelessness of Campion, Dureus, Coccius, and the monks of Bourdeaux, who have upbraided us with the opinion of a certain stoical and Jovinianish parity of sins; yea, Bellarmine himself hath already done this kind office for us.

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nature of the beast, but kills whom she bites: but if one of them shall haply light upon the hand of Paul, she is shaked into the fire without harm done. Let no man fear that harmful creature ever the less, because he sees the Apostle safe from that poison. So is sin to a faithful man.

St. John's word is, *all sin is ἀνομία, transgression of the law*, 1 John iii. 4; St. Paul's word is, *the wages of sin is death*, Rom. vi. 23. Put these two together, and this conceit of the natural pardonableness of sin vanishes alone.

Our Rhemists, subtle men, can no more abide this proposition converted than themselves: "All sin indeed," say they, "is *ἀνομία, a transgression of the law;* but every transgression of the law is not sin." The Apostle therefore himself turns it for us: *All unrighteousness*, saith he, *is sin*, 1 John v. 17. "But every *ἀνομία* is unrighteousness," saith Austin upon the place; "for the law is the rule of righteousness: therefore the prevarication of the law is unrighteousness." Yea, their very own word shall stop their own mouth; for how is sin univocally distinguished into venial and mortal if the venial be no sin? and *the wages of* every *sin is death.*

That therefore which the papists presume to say, that this kind of sin deserves pardon in itself, unless they will take the word *merit* catachrestically, with Stapleton; and that which Bellarmine and Navarrus add, that venial sins are not against, but beside the law; and, lastly, that which Franciscus à Victoria writes, that a bishop's blessing, or a Lord's Prayer, or a knock on the breast, or a little holy-water, or any such like slight receipt, without any other good motion of the heart, is sufficient to remit venial sin; is so shamefully abhorring from all piety and justice, that these open bawds both of nature and sin must be eternally defied of us. It is an old and as true a rule, "Easiness of pardon gives encouragement to sin."

And beside, what manner of sins do they put in the rank of venials? Drunkenness, adultery, angry curses or blasphemies, covetousness, yea, stealing, lying, cursing of parents, (horrible offences!) shroud themselves with them under this plausible title of venial. He must needs be shamelessly wicked that abhors not this licentiousness.

Surely Socrates the historian prophesied I think of these men; "There are some," saith he, "that let go whoredom, as an in-

different matter; which yet strive for an holy-day as for their life."

The ordinary and not slight controversy, as Cassander thinketh, of the name, nature, condition, punishment of "the first sin," as Chrysostom calls it, I willingly omit. Neither do I meddle with their evangelical perfection of vows; nor the dangerous servitude of their rash and impotent votaries; nor the inconveniences of their monkery: which yet are so great and many, that the elect cardinals of Paul the Third doubted not with joint consent to affirm, "All the orders of convents we think fit to be abolished."

But, for the condition of that single and solitary life, let that be done which Cassander and Clingius the Franciscan advise in this case; that is, let all false conceit and preposterous confidence be removed from it; that the trust which should only be put in the merit of Christ be not placed upon these courses; and let no man think that hereby he deserves righteousness, remission, grace: and lastly, which I add, remove but idleness, superstition, necessity, from this kind of life, and we do not, we will not disallow it.

Neither do we take our colleges for any other than certain sacred ἀσκητήρια, monastical academies; wherein, according to the precept of Pelagius the Pope, we may be maturely fitted for these holy services of God and his Church. Such were the monasteries of the ancients: insomuch as Possidonius can witness that St. Austin, out of one little house, sent forth ten labourers into the harvest of the Church.

SECT. XIV.—*Concerning the canon of the Scripture.*

Now, lest I be too tedious, it is time for me, from these points which do directly concern ourselves, to hasten unto those which do more closely touch the majesty of God, and do, as it were, send plain challenges into heaven.

And those do either respect the Scripture, which is his expressed word; or Christ, which is his natural and consubstantial Word; or, lastly, the worship due unto his name.

And first, *the Scripture* complains justly of three main wrongs offered to it: the first, of addition to the canon; the second, of detraction from the sufficiency of it; the third, of hanging all the authority thereof upon the sleeve of the Church.

For of that corrupt translation of Scripture, which the Trent divines have made only and fully authentical, I forbear purposely to speak: although it were easy to shew (that which Reuchlin, following the steps of Jerome, hath averred), "that the Hebrews drink of the well-head, the Greeks of the stream, and the Latins of the puddle." Neither will I so much as touch the injurious inhibition of those holy books to the laity.

Who can endure a piece of new cloth to be patched unto an old garment? or what can follow hence but that the rent should be worse? Who can abide that, against the faithful information of the Hebrews; against the clear testimonies of [a]Melito, Cyril, Athanasius, Origen, Hilary, Jerome, Ruffinus, Nazianzen; against their own doctors, both of the middle and latest age; six whole books should by their fatherhoods of Trent be under pain of a curse imperiously obtruded upon God and his Church? whereof yet some propose to their readers no better than magical jugglings; others, bloody self-murders; others, lying fables; and others, heathenish rites; not without a public applause in the relation.

These indeed Cajetan ingenuously, as his fashion is, according to that he had learned of Jerome, would persuade us to have been admitted only by the ancients into the canon of manners, not of faith.

And surely there be many precepts in Siracides the counterfeit Solomon, and Esdras, which savour of excellent wisdom: but I wonder what kind of good manners can be learned from suchlike histories, even by those novices to whom Athanasius bequeaths these books! Well may I say of these, as that Chian servant of his master, which sold his wine, and drank his lees, While they have good they seek for naught.

But let these books, how questionable soever to Epiphanius, be all sacred; let them be (according to the meaning of the council of Carthage and of Austin, so oft cited to this purpose) after-Canonical: yet what man or angel dare presume to undertake to make them divine? We know full well how great impiety it is to father upon the God of heaven the weak conceptions of an human wit; neither can we be any whit moved with the idle crack of the Tridentine curse, while we hear God thundering in

[a] I refer the reader for the citation of these to my "Dissuasive from Popery," [vol. viii.]

our ears, *If any man add unto these words, God shall add unto him the plagues written in this book*, Apoc. xxii. 18.

SECT. XV.—*Concerning the insufficiency of Scripture.*

Neither know I whether it be more wickedly audacious to fasten on God those things which he never wrote, or to weaken the authority and deny the sufficiency of what he hath written.

The Papists do both.

"We affirm," saith Bellarmine, "that there is not expressly contained in scriptures all necessary doctrine either concerning faith or manners." And the Tridentine fathers give charge, that traditions be received "with no less piety and veneration" than the books of Scripture. "Unwritten truths," saith our witty chancellor More, "are equivalent to the word of God."

What place is there for peace?

There are, we confess, certain things of a middle nature, indifferent rites, wherein much must be yielded to the Church, much to traditions: but that those things which are simply necessary to salvation, whether to be known or to be done, should not be found in the holy scriptures, "either in their words or in their sense," as Aquinas distinguishes, we justly hold absurd; and, with Erasmus, contrary to all true divinity.

Some constitutions for public order are from the Church: but all necessary determinations of faith are to be fetched from the voice of God.

This is, as Nyssen truly commends it, "the right and even rule of life." *The Law of God is perfect*, saith David, Ps. xix. 7; yea, and *makes perfect*, saith Paul, 2 Tim. iii. 17. And what can be added to that which is already perfect? or what perfection can there be where some necessary points are wanting, yea, if we may believe Hosius, the greatest part?

How much is the Spirit of God mistaken! He wrote these things that we might believe, and in believing, be saved. But now, if Trent may be judge, although we believe what he hath written, yet we cannot be saved unless we do also receive and believe what he hath not written.

How ill was Constantine taught of old! how ill advised in that public speech! for which yet we do not find that any of those worthies of Nice did so much as jog him on the elbow in a mild reproof while he said, "The books of the Evangelists and

Apostles, as also the oracles of the ancient Prophets, do plainly instruct us in the message and meaning of God."

How miserably were every one of the learned Fathers of the Church blinded, that they could never either see or acknowledge any other rule of faith!

And what shall we say? Did God envy unto mankind the full revelation of his will in the perpetual monuments of his written word? or did he not think it expedient to lay up all necessary doctrines in the common storehouse of truths, as Rochester calls it? or is that perhaps more uncertain which is faithfully committed to writing, than that which is carried about by the flying rumours of men, and by this airy conveyance derived unto posterity?

What a thing is it, as Irenæus wisely said, that we should leave the voice of the Lord and his Apostles, and attend to these idle tattlers, that talk never a true word!

Or if this be fitting, how vainly have you spent your labours, O all ye Registers of God, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists! and, as he said of the ointment, *to what purpose was all this waste?* Matt. xxvi. 9.

These paradoxes are pernicious to the Church, and shamefully derogatory from the glory both of the wisdom and goodness of God. Hold these who dare. Surely we can never abide that those two marks of heretics which Irenæus long since set down (namely, not to rest in the bare authority of Scripture and to vaunt of other traditions) should both of them be justly branded on our sides.

Sect. XVI.—*Concerning the authority of Scripture.*

But this is yet most shamefully injurious, to deny unto the word of God credit of itself, and so to hang the Scriptures upon the Church that they must needs beg all their authority from the voices of men.

Honest Eckius, in his revised and corrected Enchiridion, "The Scripture," saith he, "is not authentical without the authority of the Church:" to which, as some golden and oracular sentence, there is added in the margin a glorious and insulting applause, "An Achilles for the Catholics!"

I let pass the blasphemies of Hermannus and Hosius, perhaps, as Junius construes it, in the name of Swinkfeldius. I pass over

the horrible impiety of that shameless gloss which teaches that Solomon's text borrows his credit from the Pope's canonization.

Bellarmine alone shall speak for all, who, going about to support the number of seven Sacraments by the authority of the Tridentine Council, (for this ever is their last hold,) "The strength," saith he, "of all the ancient Councils, and of all opinions, depends upon the authority of the present Church." And a little before, "If we take away the authority of the present Church and of the present Council (of Trent), the decrees of all other Councils and the whole Christian faith may be called into doubt and question."

O miserable and miserably staggering souls of the Papists! How many, not persons only, but whole kingdoms, and those, as the Romanists themselves confess and bewail, mighty and flourishing amongst themselves, do yet still resolutely reject all the authority of that Tridentine Council! What certitude of faith therefore can they have? What hope of salvation? but what? "The whole Christian faith?" "All doctrines and opinions?" What, even those which are written by the finger of God? those that are indited by the Holy Ghost? What is this else but to make God a slave to men, and to arraign the Maker of Heaven and Earth at the bar of human judgment? God will be God, the Scripture of God will be itself in spite of Rome, Trent, hell. And unless we hold this we can have no peace with God; unless we deny it, no peace with the Romanists.

SECT. XVII.—*Concerning Transubstantiation.*

These errors concern the Scriptures. Those which follow concern either Christ's person or his offices.

I let pass that idle brabble, as Bellarmine himself judges it, which the Popish censors have unjustly raised about the Son's Godhead of himself, and insist upon weightier quarrels.

I would that exploded opinion of transubstantiation, and, which is the root of it, the multipresence of Christ's body, did not utterly overthrow the truth of his humanity.

Good God! Is it possible, as Averroes jested of old, that Christians should make themselves a god of bread? that any reasonable man can believe that Christ carried his own body in one of his hands? that he raught it forth to be eaten by those holy guests of his which saw him present with them, and heard him speaking to them; both while they were eating him, and when

they had eaten the sacred morsel? that the self-same Son of man should at once both devour his whole self, and yet should sit whole and entire at the table with them? that the glorious body of Christ should be carried through the unclean passages of our maws; and either be there turned into the substance of our body, or, contrary to that the Spirit said of old, *Thou shalt not suffer thine Holy One to see corruption*, Ps. xvi 10, should be subject to putrefaction, or vanish to nothing, or return into that heaven wherein it was, ere it returned, while it returned; or, lastly, should be eaten with mice, (devout and holy vermin!) or perhaps mixed with poison to the receiver?

What monsters of follies are these! How mad, yea, how impious is this obstinacy of foolish men, that they will overturn the very principles of nature, the order of things, the humanity of their Saviour, the truth of the Sacrament, the constant judgment of Scripture, and, lastly, the very foundations of all divinity; and confusedly jumble heaven and earth together, rather than they will, where necessity requires it, admit but of a tropical kind of speech in our Saviour's consecration; while in the mean time, the whole reverend senate of the fathers cries out and redoubles the names of symbols, types, signs, representation, similitude, figures, and whatever word may import a borrowed sense; notwithstanding all the indignation of Heaven, all the scorn of pagans, all the reluctation of the Church!

This letter killeth, as Origen truly speaks. Now what likelihood is there here of agreement?

That the true body of Christ is truly offered and truly received in the Sacrament, which of us hath not ever constantly taught and defended? But how is this? not by any bodily touch, as Cyril and Ambrose say well, but by our faith. That it should be corporally, carnally, orally present, and torn in pieces with our teeth, as good pope Nicholas caused Berengarius to say, and our Allen hath followed him unbidden, hath ever seemed impious to us, and, as Austin judges it, no less than flagitious.

We like well yet the ingenuity of Arias Montanus in this point, who, upon Luke xxii. 19, *This is my body*, saith he, "That is, my body is sacramentally contained in this sacrament of bread:" and straight he adds, like another Nicodemus, Christ's nightly disciple, "The secret and most mystical manner whereof God will once vouchsafe more clearly to unfold to his Christian Church."

Thus he. In the meantime, for us, this prodigious conceit of

transubstantiation, which alone contains in it as many absurd errors, as there have been minutes of time from the first forming of it, that is, from the Council of Lateran until this hour, can look to be entertained no otherwise at our hands than as such a devilish fancy deserveth—with hatred and execration.

SECT. XVIII.—*Concerning the multipresence of Christ's body.*

But this sleeveless tale of transubstantiation was surely brought both into the world and upon the stage by that other fable of the multipresence of Christ's body. Neither know I whether I should prefer for madness and sophistical cozenage.

That the same body of Christ should be in a thousand places at once of this sublunary world, while yet it is in the mean time entire in heaven; that the whole body of Christ should lie hid in a little thin wafer, yet so that the parts and members thereof should not one run into another, but continue distinct and severally disposed among themselves, and have a shape and order agreeable to a man's body, which are Bellarmine's own words; it doth not only exceed reason, but faith.

Neither do they say now, as of old, *Behold, here is Christ, or there,* Matt. xxiv. 23, but, which is much worse, "Behold, Christ is both here and there."

That received axiom of the schools is of an eternal truth: "The numerical unity of a finite thing cannot stand without continuity."

Who can choose but be ashamed of the Jesuits here? The very places in which Christ's body is, saith Bellarmine, are discontinued; yea, and the body of Christ itself is divided from itself in respect of place, but not in respect of his proper substance or quantity. As if there could be any division of a material substance but by bounds of place; as if quantity were not both bounded and measured by place alone; as if there were not an undoubted relation of the place to the thing placed.

But now this doth not belong to Christ only. St. Xavier in our age, one of Loyola's brood, was seen at once both in the ship and in the boat: Turselline reports it. Unto this fabulous saint, and his fellow-fabuler the reporter, I cannot devise to set a better match than that Plautine Amphitrio: "Darest thou say, thou fond slave, that which never man yet saw, nor indeed can be done, that one man should at the same time be in two places at once?"

How far wide is Aquinas, the honour of the schools, which saith, "By the same ground or reason that an angel might be in two places, he might be in as many as you will!" See now, either Xavier is everywhere, or else the carcass of a friar is more subtle than the nature of an angel. To conclude, either Aquinas is false or the papists ubiquitaries.

How overbold are the Jesuits, the patrons of this multipresence! Bellarmine, scorning the modesty of Thomas, Egidius, Carthusian, Capreolus; "Because," saith he, "we think that the body of Christ may be in many places at once, locally and visibly, therefore we say and hold, that the same body may be circumscriptively and definitively in more places at once. For that a body may be circumscriptively in any place, nothing is required, but that it be fitly measured unto that place; so as the bounds of the place and the thing placed be both together: but it is not required that it should not be elsewhere, as in another place." Thus he. What an absurd opposition is this! To be circumscribed in one place, and yet to be otherwhere! that the bounds of the place and the thing placed should be equal to each other! and yet that the thing placed should be but one and the places a thousand, that a thing should be fitly commeasured by one place, and yet be in almost infinite! that another remote place should less hinder circumscription than a part of the next place! What is to be mad, if this be to be wise? Who cannot but laugh at "the wise folly" of these men? as Irenæus said of the Valentinians.

But I willingly hear that of Chrysostom: "To conceive of divine things by philosophy is no other than to take out a red hot iron with our fingers, and not with tongs:" and that of Augustin; "Yield God able to do something which thou art not able to understand." It is reported, that Aristotle misled Aëtius the heretic into that filthy error of Arius; and Tertullian hath taught us that all heresies are suborned by philosophy. What hath Athens to do with Jerusalem, the Academy with the Church? Away with arguments where faith is in question, as Thomas ingenuously says out of Ambrose.

But what is all this to us? It is well yet, and I do heartily congratulate it to our men, that the idle tale of Surius, concerning Melancthon and Carolostadius, and other protestants, abandoning of all philosophy, wherewith yet Binius pleased himself of late, is thus hissed out of countenance, and vanished. Belike now the reformed doctors are philosophers, but too much.

For us, we do easily grant, that many things are done which we cannot understand; but these things we grant not, because we understand they cannot be done.

God hath absolute power, as Thomas speaks truly, over the whole nature of the creature; but not so as that he should cause it to be and not to be at once. This, as Sadeel says wittily, *Deus potenter non potest.* The object of God's power, as the Jesuits' School willingly confesses, is, whatsoever implies not a contradiction in itself. Now, that the selfsame body should sit down and yet not sit down; should be visible, and invisible; divisible and continued, and yet discontinued and indivisible; to be all here, to be all elsewhere; to be here greater, there less; to be one, and many; the same, and divers; to depart, and not to depart; to be contained in heaven, and not to be contained; to be a quantity, without space; to be measured by and fitted to a place, and not to take up any place; to be accidents, and yet not to be inherent; to be formerly, yet to be made; to be made, and not to be made; to be otherwise in places than in a place; to be a true body, and yet to be spiritually: that boy were well worthy of whipping that cannot discern and confess manifest contradictions.

But what do I spend time in this thorny discourse? This one word shall shut and sum up all—that this wicked pair of opinions offers plain violence to the true humanity of Christ; neither can ever, *salva fide,* be reconciled with the evangelical truth.

SECT. XIX.—*Concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass.*

The priestly office of Christ is not a little impeached by the daily oblation of the missal sacrifice and number of mediators.

For the first; That in this sacred supper there is a sacrifice in that sense wherein the Fathers spake none of us ever doubted: but that is then either latreutical, as Bellarmine distinguishes it not ill, or eucharistical: there is here, as Chrysostom speaks, "a remembrance of a sacrifice;" that is, as Augustin interprets it, a memorial of Christ's passion celebrated in the Church. And from this sweet commemoration of our redemption there arises another sacrifice, the sacrifice of praise; and from thence a true peace-offering of the Christian soul.

These three sacrifices offer themselves to us here; but for any propitiatory sacrifice, unless it be, as the Gloss interprets it, re-

presentatively, I find none; none essential; none, as the Tridentines labour to persuade, true and proper.

Neither indeed can there be. For, what? Doth the priest offer the same that Christ hath offered? or another?

If another, then not propitiatory; for only Christ is our propitiation.

If the same, then not an unbloody sacrifice; for Christ's sacrifice was a bloody one; then, the natural being of Christ should again be destroyed; then, the blood of the Mediator, which I abhor to imagine, must be of a finite value and power. Yea, Christ himself did not sacrifice on the table, but on the cross; for if the sacrifice which he offered in his supper were perfect and fully propitiatory, what needed he to die afterward? wherefore was his blood shed upon the cross, which, by his transubstantiated blood, not yet shed, had formerly redeemed the world?

But if it be unbloody, then it is not propitiatory; for *without shedding of blood*, saith the apostle, *is no remission*, Heb. ix. 22.

Or what opposition is there betwixt the order of Melchisedec and Aaron, betwixt Christ and the priests of the old Law, if this office do equally pass and descend in a long pedigree of mortal successors? or why were the legal sacrifices of the Jewish synagogue so oft repeated, but because they were not perfect? and how can, or why should, that which is most absolutely perfect be reiterated?

To conclude; what can either be spoken or conceived more plain than those words of God, *once offered*, *one sacrifice*, *one oblation*, Heb. ix. 28 and x. 12, 14. And yet these popish shavelings, devout men! take upon them to crucify and sacrifice Christ again; and while they solemnly offer the Son of God up unto his Father, they humbly beseech him, in a religious blasphemy, that he would be pleased to bless and accept that oblation. It is not for us, I confess, to be so devout. We will remember this holy sacrifice of Christ, as Cassander well advises, and celebrate it with a thankful heart; we will not repeat it. We will gladly receive our Saviour, offered by himself to his Father, and offered to us by his Father: we will not offer him to his Father. Which one point while we stick at, as we needs must, we are strait stricken with the thunderbolt of the anathema of Trent. Here can be therefore no possibility of peace.

SECT. XX.—*Concerning the number of Mediators and the Invocation of Saints.*

It doth not more belong to the priesthood of Christ that he offered himself once for us a spotless sacrifice upon the altar of his cross, than that he daily offers to his Father the incense of our prayers on the altar of heaven. As therefore many sacrifices, so, many mediators, plainly seem to put Christ out of office.

Neither indeed hath the number of intercessors more increased in this old age of the world than the impiety of imploring them. For the modester judgment of the former schools so framed to itself a distinction of mediation, that it challenged one kind thereof as proper only to Christ, thinking the other might be imparted unto saints; but our late doctors, wilfully breaking the bars both of logic and divinity, have rashly encroached upon all the offices of a Mediator; and whatsoever might by any right belong to an agent for peace, all that, if not more, have they attributed to the saints.

Hereupon, one says to the blessed Virgin, "O Saviouress, save me:" another, "Obtain thou pardon, apply grace, prepare glory for me:" others, if we may believe Cassander, famous divines, have said, that "God hath translated one half of his kingdom, which consists of mercy, to the blessed Virgin Mary; reserving the other half, of justice, to himself:" others, that "we may appeal from the bar of God's justice to Mary's court of mercy." Others have so compared their Francis with Christ, that, I tremble to speak it, whether of these was the typical Jesus might seem questionable to the reader. Hear the holy muse of Turselline:

> Francis that was shall now be Christ to thee:

And soon after,

> And Christ that was saint Francis now shall be.

O tongue, worthy to be cut out of that blasphemous mouth, as Jerome said of his Vigilantius, and be made into gobbets!

Neither hath this impious parasite or his Sedulius done more for their stigmatical Francis than the holy archbishop Antonius hath done for his Dominick in an emulation of blasphemy. There wants nothing, that I can see, but "that everlasting gospel of the friars:" and it wanted not much, if histories say true, of prevailing:

> Oh, what mad gowns have swayed the Roman state!

as their poet said of old.

Others have sacrilegiously turned Litanies, Creeds, Psalters, and whatever God meant to honour himself by, unto the name of the holy Virgin. And I would to God this were only the private misdevotion of some superstitious old wife, or some idle and silly cloisterer. Fain would our charity conceive so, which is still credulous, and, as the apostle commands, *thinks not evil*, 1 Cor. xiii. 5, if Cassander did not directly tell us, that they publicly sing in their very churches this devout anthem:

> O happy Mother of that Son
> Which hast all our sins foredone:
> Out of a Mother's right, we pray thee,
> Bid our Redeemer to obey thee:

if all these were not openly approved by the holy censors of the Roman Church, severe controllers of manners! yea, by the voices of their own popes: if at this day (witness the muses of Bencius and Bonarscius) the Jesuits did not both speak and write thus.

But let us leave these bold impieties, if you will, to their Bernardines, Antonines, Bartholemews of Pisa, Tursellines. Bring us forth their more sober divines, Polydores, Cassanders, Vives: even their opinions will not down with us, which teach that the saints are in any wise to be prayed unto.

Indeed the protestants say, as Bellarmine grants, that the saints pray for us, but only in a generality. Bucer said truly, that the saints have great love to their militant brethren, great desire of their salvation; and so doubtless have the angels. But must we therefore single out any one of those blessed spirits to aid us, to sue for us in the court of heaven? God forbid! for upon what faith must these prayers of ours be grounded? unless perhaps, as Hosius saith, we must believe in the saints also.

Yea, how sure are we that none of the saints can either search the heart, the fountain of our prayers; or at once hear ten thousand of their suppliants, distant in place from each other! Yea, further, if, as there should be no limits set to religion all the world over, devout clients should at once jointly commend and prostrate themselves humbly to some one saint; it is not a swiftness of nature, as Jerome contends, that would serve the turn: a true ubiquity, as Bellarmine confesses, must be required to the hearing of all those prayers.

What hinders now, but that they which of sinful men have made saints should of their saints make gods also?

Besides, which of the prophets, which of the apostles ever commanded this? which of the saints of the former world hath ever done it? or what other, if credit may be given to Theodoret, did St. Paul forbid, under the worship of angels, to his Colossians? or what was the heresy of the Collyridians, if this must go for piety?

That rule of Epiphanius shall be ever a safe course for us: "Let Mary be honoured; but the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost "worshipped." Here is no fear of danger, but that we may go safely to that God which calls us to him; and prostrate ourselves to his Christ, our gracious Saviour. None of the saints can envy God this honour; none of them ever did either arrogate it to himself or suffer it to be given him. Neither is there any of them whom God ever allowed either to take it to himself or to impart it to others, or to accept it quietly being imparted to him by others.

The papists, therefore, may come to us when they will with safety and advantage: we may not yield to them without manifest danger of idolatrous dotage.

SECT. XXI.—*Concerning the superstitious, heathenish, and ridiculous Worship of the Papists.*

But if any good-natured reconciler shall be so indifferent as to think these weighty points of difference not to be so heinous, but that every one might secretly maintain what opinion he list; yet so that, as Constantine said to Alexander and Arius, while the minds differ the outward peace may be preserved; let him further understand, that the continual practice of the religious worship and service of God will ever both raise and proclaim no less hostility than matter of judgment.

In our devotions, and public exercises of piety, and places consecrated to this use, there is nothing that can offend either the eye or the mind of a papist, except the bareness of our walls, and the apostolical simplicity of ceremonies; an easy fault, and such as it is no praise of their ingenuity to wink at; for long since have those clauses of our public Liturgy been purposely blotted out which in our grandfathers' days did but lightly touch this galled sore of popery.

But contrariwise in the popish churches there is scarce any thing either said or done whereof we can with a clear and unwounded conscience be either partakers or witnesses. Their very

walls kill us dead; but their ridiculous or demoniacal service who can endure?

We honour, as we ought, the dear and happy memory of the saints; and chiefly the leader of that heavenly choir, the blessed Virgin, "the Mother of God:" and whatsoever she can think not to be dishonourable to herself and her Lord and Saviour, we will most gladly give it her to the full.

Neither will we only glorify God in his saints, as Augustin hath taught Durand to speak; but we will magnify the saints, as opportunity serves, for their excellent graces and worthy acts, both in God and in themselves: we will admire, extol, and, what we may, imitate their singular constancy, faith, sanctity, as Sidonius said of his Claudian,

> No tomb can either soul or glory shroud.

But to dig up their holy bones, that I may borrow Luther's word, out of their quiet graves; and to fall down before these wormeaten monuments of the saints; to expect from them a divine power whether of cure or of sanctification; equally to respect Francis's cowl, Anna's comb, Joseph's breeches, Thomas's shoe, as Erasmus complains, with the Son of God himself; can seem no better to us than an horrible impiety.

Neither can we abide either to deify men or to canonize beasts. It seems that cardinal could abide it well in whose garden is yet to be seen this epitaph, which he wrote upon his too-dearly-beloved bitch:

> This tomb for thee, dear bitch, I builded have,
> That worthier wert of heaven than a grave.

We, profane Huguenots, cannot skill of worshipping Martin's boots, or George's scabbard, or Crispin's paring-knife, or (which they say is kept in a certain town of Liguria), the tail of that ass which Christ rode upon; or Roche's dog, or Antony's swine: and surely he had need of a very thick hide that can do this.

But in earnest, say we should yield these adorations to be lawful and godly; what Macarius, amongst so many woods of counterfeit trees, can show us the true cross? or what Helena, amongst such heaps, yea hills of iron, can shew us the true nails? Assuredly both these jugglers smile one upon another, while they show these relics to their people: and now, even the silly vulgar begins, not without indignation, to descry this cozenage.

To omit therefore these ridiculous tricks and knavish convey-

ances of their shavelings, let us in this case appeal even to Cassander's own moderation, who, having first honestly acknowledged the ancient complaints of Basil, Ambrose, Augustin, about the business of these abuses, goes on thus: "It appears," saith he, "that in the latter times there hath been too much given to the relics and monuments of the saints: so as even good men, and those which were zealously devout, were grown to that pass, that they placed the sum of all religion in gathering together the relics of the saints, and in garnishing them richly with gold and pearls, and building sumptuous chapels and temples to them: and again, those that were lewd and godless, put all their confidence, though vain and false, in the foolish and superstitious worship of relics. Wherefore in the council of Cabillon those are reproved, who, in a pretence of devotion, go on pilgrimage to Rome, or Turon, or any other like places; as if they thought that the frequenting of these holy shrines could both purge them from sin and license them to sin with impunity. And unto this yet another mischief hath been added; that, for covetousness' sake, to entice the simple people, false relics have been devised, and feigned miracles reported; and by those miracles the superstition of the multitude was so fed, that they were rather taken up with an admiration of the wonders, than drawn to a holy imitation of the saints. And many times, by the subtlety and illusion of the devil, abusing the superstition of men, new relics were by dreams and visions revealed to the world, and by the operation of the same devil miracles seemed to be wrought for the confirmation thereof." Thus saith Cassander; like a true German, shall I say, or like a true Israelite?

But we, that have been better taught, dare freely and confidently say of ourselves, as Jerome professed of old, in the name of all Christians, "So far are we from adoring the relics of martyrs, that we worship neither sun, nor moon, nor angels, nor archangels, nor cherubin, nor seraphin, nor any name that is named either in the present world or in the future, lest we should serve the creature rather than the Creator which is blessed for ever."

Then—that from relics we may descend to images—is it possible that we should not be ever displeased with that frantic superstition of the Romish church? that, against the tables of God's Law, against the institutions of the apostles, against the practice of the ancient church, against the manifest decrees of

councils, against the clear testimonies of Fathers, in defiance of God and men, the churches of Christians should be no less pestered with idols than the temples of the heathen? that, as Jerome complained of old, the native beauty of the Church should be polluted with the filth of paganism? that, which Eusebius justly taxeth of madness, there should be a visible and bodily image or representation made of the invisible and spiritual God? that we should put our confidence in *Agnis Dei*, grains, tapers, roses, swords, ensigns, bells, ridiculously after their manner enchanted? that, by certain magical exorcisms, the devil should be driven out of those creatures wherein he never was? Nay, let us even enter into league with Satan himself, if we shall give either allowance or connivance to such diabolical practices of will-worship.

I do purposely forbear to speak of that profane paradox of the sufficiency of the outward work done, without good inward dispositions; the idle mumbling up of prayers in a foreign tongue; the number and virtue of sacraments; the sacrilegious mutilation of the eucharist; and a thousand other monsters both opinions and ceremonies.

These that I have reckoned are errors more than enow. And I would to God those which we have here particularised were not such that there is no remedy but that we must needs eternally fall out either with God or with Rome.

Since therefore neither truth can ever yield nor obstinacy will yield, let us serve cheerfully under the colours of our heavenly Leader, and both proclaim and maintain an unreconcilable war with these Romish heresies.

Sect. XXII.—*Concerning the impossibility of the means of reconciliation.*

And now, since no wise man can suspect of us that we will ever grow to that height of madness as to run perfidiously from the standard of God to the tents of that Roman antichrist, is there any hope that the papists will ever be drawn back to the sound and pure judgment of the primitive antiquity? O that God would vouchsafe this grace to the Christian world! that we could but comfort ourselves with the hope of so great happiness!

What a sight were this, how pleasant, how worthy of God and his angels, that, as it is said of the Novatian faction and the orthodox of old, men, women, children of both parts, without all

guile and close harbours of discontentment, should mutually bring stones and morter to the building up of this temple of another, yet true, resurrection!

We will gladly speak unto them (and if need be, upon our knees) in Cyprian's words: "Sithence we may not come forth of the sound and true Church of God, and come unto you; let us beseech and entreat you, by whatsoever should be most dear unto you, that you would return to our fraternity, and into the bosom of that mother Church whence ye are revolted:" and as he said in Theocritus, "yet, at last, be persuaded. We are both brothers of one blood. Why will ye needs fight more against yourselves than your brethren?"

But, alas! sooner may God create a new Rome than reform the old. Yea, needs must that the Church put off itself, and cease to be what it is, ere it can begin to be once again what it was: for, as the comic poet said in the like; "Both substance, credit, fame, virtue, honour, have at once forsaken her, and by long disuse have left her worse than naught: neither do I see how these houses can be repaired, but they must be pulled down to the very foundations, and then built from the ground."

But if there be any likelihood of remedy yet to be hoped for, surely it must needs come either from herself or from others.

Can it be first from herself which obstinately defends her errors, not only with tongue and pen, but with fire and sword too? which will not yield so much as that she can err? which refused to amend those notorious abuses which by the moderate verdict of her elect cardinals were condemned? and lastly, which by the palpable flatteries of her last and worst parasites, the Jesuits, is grown, not secure only, but prouder than ever she was?

Can it be then from others? How oft hath this been endeavoured in vain! Rome may be sacked and battered, as it hath often been by military forces; but purged by admonitions, convictions, censures, it will never be. I remember, on this occasion, what Sisinnius the lector advised bishop Nectarius in the like case: that he had ever found disputations so far from reconciling of schisms, that they are still wont to inflame the minds of heretics to suffer contention.

What then? can it be from herself and others? Alas! how should it, unless either others had power or herself had will to be redressed? For certainly, if there be any one spark of good hope yet alive, it must be in the aid and determination of a gene-

ral council: and such a synod is no less impossible than reconciliation itself. For who shall call it? who shall sit president in it? who shall be present and give their voices? what shall be the rule of the decisions? what the order of execution?

Let them bring forth, if they will, the sister or the daughter of that their Tridentine assembly: who can hold from smiles and scorn? Forsooth, they would deal with us (as Luther wittily jested of the summoning of this council by Paul the Third) much like unto them that mock a hungry dog with a crust and a knife; who, instead of giving him the bread, let him feel the haft. Well may we resolve, with Nazianzen, to avoid all such meetings of bishops; for that no such synod ever did good, but tended rather to the decay than advantage of the Church.

I remember Isidore derives the Latin word *Concilium, a ciliis oculorum;* for that all direct the sight of their minds into one centre. There can therefore be no council held by those which profess a general and public disagreement of judgment. In vain should we endeavour any such course, unless every one of them would resolve to think of peace at home; and would persuade his heart, laying aside all prejudice and wilful respects of faction, ingenuously to submit himself to the truth, when it once appears, and more to regard their souls than their estates.

For can we think it equal, as things now stand, that the same parties should be allowed witnesses, plaintiffs, defendants, judges in their own cause? or shall we perhaps hope, that those privileges which have hitherto been treacherously and tyrannically usurped by papists will now, upon better advisement, be ingenuously given up by them and renounced? or that they will now, at last, thunder and lighten anathemas against their own heads? Some fools may hope for this which are unacquainted with that old verse so common in the mouth and pen of Lipsius,

Moribus antiquis Res stat Romana, virisque.

But for us, unless He that doth wonders alone, by his stretched-out arm from heaven, should mightily, beyond all hope, effect this, we know too well that it cannot be done.

Only this one thing, which God hath promised, we do verily expect; to see the day when the Lord Jesus shall with the breath of his mouth, destroy this *lawless man*, 2 Thess. ii. 8, long since revealed to his Church; and, by the brightness of his glorious coming, fully discover and despatch him. Not only in

the means and way, but in the end also, is Rome opposite to heaven. The heaven shall pass away by a change of quality, not an utter destruction of substance; Rome, by destruction, not by change. Of us therefore and them shall that old bucolic verse be verified:

> Out of each other's breast their swords they drew,
> Nor would they rest till one the other slew.

GLORY TO GOD!
VICTORY TO THE TRUTH!
WAR WITH HERESY!
PEACE TO THE CHURCH!
AMEN.

MUNDUS ALTER ET IDEM:

SIVE

TERRA AUSTRALIS

ANTEHAC SEMPER INCOGNITA,

LONGIS ITINERIBUS PEREGRINI ACADEMICI NUPERRIME ILLUSTRATA.

AUTHORE

MERCURIO BRITANNICO.

HONORATISSIMO DOMINO,

NEC MINUS VIRTUTE SUA QUAM SPLENDORE GENERIS ILLUSTRI,

DOM. HENRICO

COMITI HUNTINGDONIÆ,

MUNDUM SUUM

SUPPLEX VOVET

MERCURIUS BRITANNICUS.

[THE Satirical piece, so well known under the title of "Mundus alter et idem," is added to the present volume in order that it may accompany the other works of Bishop Hall written in the same language. To William Knight[a], in whose hands, as will be seen in the prefatory Epistle, the MS. had been placed, we are indebted for its preservation and ultimate publication. It was one of the Bishop's earliest works, certainly prior to the year 1600; and though the humour is perhaps a little too broad, and its general character coarse and indelicate, it is by no means unworthy of the reputation which he subsequently attained. It was noticed by two continental critics, not long after its first appearance. See Bosius de Compar. Prud. Civil. § 71. See also Naudæus Biblioth. Polit. c. v. §. 40. The latter of these, as appears from an advertisement prefixed to the Satire by the Rev. Peter Hall, in the last edition of the Bishop's works, Oxford, 1839, is quoted by Bayle in the biographical sketch given of the Bishop, and is as follows:

Ultimum vero Angli nescio cujus "Mundus alter et idem" non ita dudum prodiit; aut verius satyra adversus depravatos præsentis seculi mores in quo, dum singulas stationes singulis vitiis assignat gentesque illas incolentes ac loca ipsa contorticulatis ingeniose fictisque ex cujusque rei natura vocibus adpellat, non inepte meo judicio Poneropolim instituit quæ ad hilaritatem non minus homines excitare quam ad virtutem inflammare possit.

Of the same work in the Appendix to his Cosmography, London, 1652, Heylin says:

1. Mundus alter et idem, 'another world and yet the same,' is a witty and ingenious invention of a learned Prelate, writ by him in his

[a] [How this William Knight came to be so intimately connected with the Bishop, or indeed who he was, we are not informed. There is, however, an Epistle addressed to him by the Bishop, Decade 5, Ep. 10, which shews that their acquaintance was of early date, and he was probably the author of a work, of which the following is the title: "A Concordance Axiomaticall, containing a survey of theological propositions, with their reasons and uses in Holy Scripture," by William Knight, London, 1610.]

younger days, (but well enough becoming the austerity of the gravest head,) in which he distinguisheth the vices, passions, humours, and ill affections most commonly incident to mankind into several provinces; gives us the characters of each as in the descriptions of a country, people, and chief cities of it: and sets them forth unto the eye in such lively colours, that the vicious man may see therein his own deformities, and the well-minded man his own imperfections. The scene of this design is laid by the reverend author in this Terra Australis; the decorum happily preserved in the whole discovery; the style acutely clear, the invention singular. Of whom and his new world I shall give you that eulogy which the historian doth of Homer—"Nec ante illum quem ille imitaretur, neque post illum qui eum imitari posset inventus est."]

LECTORI SALUTEM.

Præter spem, amice Lector, nec tempestatibus actus, nec diuturna maris jactatione lassatus, sine ventis, sine velis, in novum mundum appulisti.

Ubi, postquam terrarum amplitudinem, regionum situm, populorum mores et ingenia, universi denique faciem et habitum recte perlustraveris; adeo hujus veteris mundi formam agnoscas, ut licet alterum videas, eundem tamen credas.

Fortasse cogitas hunc nostrum decrepitum filium tandem sibi prorsus consimilem peperisse. Prolem sæpe quidem parentis naturam mirifice referre experientia docet, et poëta:—

> Qui viret in foliis venit a radicibus humor;
> Et patrum in natos abeunt cum semine mores.

Verum mundum nostrum senem non sexagenarium, sed jam fere sexmillenarium procreasse, ab omni ratione doctrinaque philosophica immane quantum discrepat!

Atque, si maxime fuisset mundus ejusmodi generatrice facultate unquam præditus; nonne vegetioribus suis annis potius eam exercuisset, filios produxisset? Ipsius etiam nati, jamdudum adulti, eadem virtute genus late propagassent: adeo ut licet non in immensum, in tantum tamen processisset generatio hæc, totque extitissent partim juniores partim seniores mundi, ut nullus Alexander quos superaret mundos, sed mundi quidem, a quibus superarentur, Alexandros desiderarent.

Equidem, quod ad me attinet, existimo hunc quem nunc ut novum intueris mundum, illum ipsum esse, de quo tot ante secula somniarunt Platonici: quem et *Mundum Invisibilem* et *Mundi Ideam* nuncupavere prisci. Si, enim, singula hujus membra et lineamenta recte perpenderis, accurateque contemplatus fueris, veram ac vivam hujus in quo degimus mundi ideam et *σύνοψιν*, te perspexisse dixeris.

Qui, igitur, per tot transacta secula Cimmeriis obtectus tenebris latebat humanum genus; hujus tandem authoris ingenio et labore nobis clare conspiciendus præbetur. Mundus ille olim invisibilis nescio quo artificio, sive optico sive magico, visui exponitur; et, hoc opere, primum detegitur.

Ubi illud mihi in primis videtur mirandum, quod et orbis iste et hic ejus index similem omnino fortunam subire adacti sint. Uterque enim a parente suo, quam primum natus, tenebris adjudicatus: utrique a conditore suo lux negata; utrique aliunde concessa. Nullus huic Titan præbebat lumina mundo. Conditus erat, et statim absconditus: nec lux ei spectanda vel speranda unquam, nisi ab hoc ingenio.

Cujus illustre opus latentem hunc obscurumque mundum e caligine facile eruisset, modo sibimet ipsi lucem pariter prohibitam vindicare potuisset. Citius itaque nobis patuisset iste mundus incognitus, si citius prodiisset hic libellus in lucem.

Verum illius author mundique ignoti explorator qui jam pridem Musis,

quarum insignis fuerat cultor, vale dicto, ad Theologiæ sacra se contulerat, iisque jam totus vacat, hæc et nonnulla alia sua commenta Philologa luce et laude dignissima tanquam levia aut vana aspernatus, nullis precibus induci potuit, ut permitteret in publicum exire. Excusabat autem se, juvenili quidem ætate otioque Academico, hujusmodi quædam proprii exercitii et oblectationis gratia composuisse; sed nunc quasi nugas inutiles rejicere, abdicare, nec dignari ut suo nomine unquam sub aspectum hominum veniant.

Hinc factum est, ut hoc opusculum vere elegantissimum ac jucundissimum diutius tenebris obductum delitesceret, et indignis caliginis vinculis teneretur, ne literatorum orbi innotesceret: donec ego, quem author ipse, pro sua mirifica humanitate, amici et familiaris loco habebat, bellissimi felicis ingenii partus infelicem sortem miseratus, omnibus modis et rationibus quibus poteram quærebam et tentabam, ut eundem carcere suo eximerem, et in libertatem lucemque vindicarem. Cumque probe perspexissem authoris animum adeo fixum et obfirmatum, ut nullis amicorum petitionibus, rationibus, aut suasionibus a sua sententia moveretur; nec jam spes ulla restaret, ut novus hic mundus mundo nostro recluderetur; sanctas sane amicitiæ leges potius movendas duxi, quam ingenuos cunctorum ubique eruditorum animos dulcissimo hujus fructu gratissimaque voluptate perpetuo privandos esse.

Itaque, ut quam ipse hinc dulcedinem gustaverim studiosis omnibus percipiendam præberem, consilium cepi communicandi cum aliis, quod antea me solum penes erat. Sed, priusquam auderem rem aggredi, multum temporis elapsum est. Hærebam, enim, animo: quia, et audacius factum videbatur; et charissimi viri, cujus amicitiam semper maximi mihi faciendam statueram, offensam prout debui metuebam. Ad postremum vero, rei pulchritudine victus et captus, cum existimarem nihil damni aut dedecoris inde posse authori redundare, sed multum potius benevolentiæ et famæ, plurimum vero utilitatis et voluptatis literatæ Reipubl. necessario manare; non potui mihi amplius temperare, quin, amota omni hæsitatione, exemplar hujus operis, quod ratione amicitiæ nostræ mihi erat creditum, custodia mea emitterem, et typographorum manibus traderem.

Atque, hoc tandem modo, mea cura industriaque nonnullo etiam discrimine, aperitur tibi, Lector, Novus Orbis, tam diu occlusus et obseratus.

In cujus beneficii mercedem hoc unum abs te peto et obsecro, ut si quid hinc gratum et jucundum perceperis, velis pro me intercedere apud authorem, quem ægre laturum vereor, ad sedandum ejus animum, ne ob facinus admissum iniquius quid in me decernat: sed, potius, ut, justis adductus rationibus, factum meum benignius interpretetur; meque in solita sua gratia adhuc retineat ac conservet.

Ita valeas, Novoque Mundo, quem expectas, læte fruaris.

GULIELMUS KNIGHT.

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ITINERIS OCCASIO

ET

ΠΡΟΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΜΑ.

Quæ mihi cum peregrinis omnibus necessitudo quondam intercesserit, et satis norunt Academici nostri, et ipsorum libri φιλιώτικοι et literæ etiamnum abunde testantur: sive huc me illud impulerit Homericum,

——— πρὸς γὰρ Διός εἰσιν ἅπαντες
Ξεινοῖτε, πτωχοῖτε[a]:

seu potius præter suavissimos illorum mores et ingenia, innata mihi quædam animi sitis et titillatio, a summo discendi studio profecta: neque enim quid illustre tulit ulla nostri orbis regio, quod me, jam tum vere Atheniensem percontatorem, diu latere potuit.

E reliquis postquam mihi multus sermo cum meo Petro Beroaldo, Gallo, et Adriano Cornelii Drogio, Belga, de peregrinationis utilitate subortus fuisset; in quo non injucunda legum, morum, linguarum, urbium collatio amica quadam lite agitata est; "Ego vero," inquit Beroaldus, "adhuc nescio quid sit illud peregrinari. Nam si limen patrium transilire, terram tuæ proximam calcare, fretum aliquod angustius aut flumen (puta Twedam, Rhenumve) transnavigare, hoc sibi nomen ut vulgo fieri solet, adsciscat: cum tamen eodem cælo iisdem fruare sideribus, vixque mutatam soli faciem animadvertas; non video quid in se durum, aut quid nobile, complectatur. Me jam chari parentes, et tot Montalbanæ amicitiæ velut longius absentem solicite domum revocant: ego me, interea, vel præter abstrusiorem Socratis sententiam, domi biennium hoc egisse puto: quantillo, enim, distat a Montalbano Lutetia, a Lutetia Caletum, a Caleto Dorobernium! Sane, ubi terram ipsam cogito, ulnam mihi forte unam videor; cum tabulam geographicam, latum digitum; cum vero cælum intueor, nihil quicquam promovisse. Nec video qui mihi minus Europa quam Gallia patriæ nomen mereretur: nam, si linguarum varietatem spectes, quis

[a] [Probably an imitation of Homer.]

nescit quot in orbe hoc Europæo provinciæ, totidem ab una Gallorum gente, et sono et origine penitus discrepantia sermonum idiomata usurpari? si mores et ingenium populi, en tibi hic orbis, non quidem nostri, sed plane universi expressam imaginem, dum unaquæque provincia in gentis vicinæ mores habitusque, non secus ac polypus piscis in saxi sibi adjacentis colorem transformatur."

"Atqui nos," inquam ego, "invidemus tibi, serio, Beroalde, quam tu tantopere contemnis peregrinandi licentiam: qui, miselli homines, testudinum more, domunculis nostris infixi hæremus; dum tu orbis totius delicias libere intueris, et jam animo bene saturo despicis et conculcas. Si liceret mihi modo Alpinam nivem vel Pyrenæas umbras contueri, quantum ego hoc meis oculis, otio meo gratularer! ubi quicquid viderem et audirem, documento mihi foret, recentique cognitionis accessione avidum hoc pectus locupletaret."

"Quanta sibi, mi hospes, promittunt absentes!" respondet Beroaldus, "quamque vana spes lactat sæpe inexpertos! Hac ego me opinione domi quondam latitantem fovere solebam; quam nunc semel meis finibus egressus, inanem comperi ac otiosam. Facilis enim est in tantilla profectione satietas, rerumque vel non ante visarum novitas opinione rarior. Ita namque parum a nostris discrepant aliena, ut vel ea, quæ nunc primum oculis nostris occurrunt, nova tamen videri non possint. Et quid, quæso, est in tam probe notis remotisque parum terræ partibus, quod homini cordato, minus tabularum usu et peregrinorum sermone, quam suis itineribus innotescat? Britanniam vestram descripsit Camdenus: hunc qui legerit, quidni de singulis urbibus ac villis, fluviis et quotquot uspiam cernuntur antiquitatis monumentis, aut stupendis naturæ operibus, absens disceptare possit, non minus profecto accurate, quam qui singula suis oculis perlustrarit? Et quæ tandem pars Europæ, suorum laboribus ac typis illustrata, exterorum oculis minus patescit? Mores vero populorum si quis desideret, et illi communi quadam ratione satis noti sunt universis: neque tamen ita sibi constantes, ut singillatim possint cujusquam vel oculis vel calamo comprehendi. Audiant vulgo Galli temerarii; Hispani, arrogantes; bibaces, Germani; Britanni, πολυπράγμονες; Itali, molles; Suevi, timidi; Boëmi, inhumani; Hiberni, barbari ac superstitiosi: quisquamne hominum ita plumbeus est, ut existimet Galliam vix quenquam prudentem, Hispaniam pusillanimum, abstemium Germaniam produxisse? Fallunt, mihi crede, qui animorum compositionem et efformationem morum ita

totam cælo tribuunt, nihil ut propriæ cujusque indoli, nihil semini parentis, nihil denique educationis rationi relinquant. En tibi has ipsas Musarum ædes, sub quarum benigniore umbra nos feliciter hoc otio fruimur philosophico: finge tibi ex Italis, Hispanis, Gallis, Danis, Belgis, Polonis, coaluisse pulchellum hunc studiosorum numerum: putasne majorem ingeniorum varietatem inter ipsos, quam solos vestrates, posse comperiri? Quoquo igitur te vertas, non video, aut cur hoc tam compendiarium ac vere sesquipedale iter peregrinationis nomen mereatur; aut quid nobis istinc commodi (modo illustrium doctrina virorum, Whitakeri, Rainoldi, Junii adspectum excipias) itinerantibus demum emergat. Ego certe Draconem ac Candisium vestrates, ac Sebastianum Delcanum Portugalum, vere dixerim peregrinatos, qui totum hunc orbem, itinere quidem navali, non ita pridem permensi sunt. Neque, vero, nomen hoc invidebo vel Christophoro Columbo, qui Occidentalem Indiam, vel Ferdinando Magellano, qui Moluccas, vel Francisco Pizarro et Almagro, qui provinciam Perüanam, vel denique Hugoni Villobeio, qui terram Arcticam primus aperuisse fertur; nec illi demum quisquis fuerit, qui vel novos orbes periculosa disquisitione invenerit, vel nuper inventos excoluerit. Et sane (licet enim coram vobis tuto fateri) nescio quid mihi mens mea suggerit heroicum, audere aliquid in hoc genere, quod et hæc ætas stupeat, et posteri nepotes grata semper memoria recolendum censeant."

Tacuit hic Beroaldus; et erubuit, ac si aliquid sibi vel audacius vel secretius excidisset.

Cum Drogius, arridens leniter, " Siccine vero," inquit " Beroalde, quod tamen ne profari quidem ausus? vel num forte tibi spes suspensos diutius auditorum animos, curiosæ anxiæque inquisitionis eculeo, torquere aliquandiu? vel, denique, num arcanum hoc modestius, quod in pectoris tui intimo conclavi hactenus delituit, egressu primo tot auribus propalari timet? Quicquid sit; en tibi candidam frontem, aures bibulas, fida pectora: nusquam tutius, nusquam opportunius, tam ardui cœpti consilium prodibit in hanc lucem."

" Pol, tu malus es interpres silentii," respondet Beroaldus, " quin illud potius conjecturis tuis ultro immisces, Drogi: quod, cum res magnæ non sine magno apparatu longisque præfationum ambagibus, ut viri principes non sine numeroso stipatorum agmine, prodire soleant, ipse rem longe maximam, unius anni prolem, derepente absque omni præmonitione nudam in medium protru-

sisse visus sim. Consilium quidem istud vobiscum communicare, jam mihi olim ab initio certo decretum erat: quod tamen gradibus quibusdam facere volui, et non sine opportuna animorum præparatione; sine qua, novi quam ingrata et insipida videantur, etiam quæ prudentissime sunt instituta. Nunc vero rem totam, ni suspectum vobis velim amorem meum, intempestivo sermone præcipitare mihi necessum video. Faciam igitur hercle, citius aliquanto quam sperabam; sed non minus profecto lubenter: fingite vos, modo, ne quid desit, longam *πρόφασιν*, quam ego mihi proposueram, ordine suo antecessisse.

Ægre me semper habuit, quod in tabulis geographicis usque mihi occurrit, "Terra Australis Incognita:" et sane quis hæc, non plane excors, sine tacita indignatione legat! Nam si Terram esse norunt, si Australem, quomodo tandem Incognitam asserunt! et si incognita sit, quid mihi illius formam, quid situm unanimes geographi depinxerunt? Ignavi homines, qui quod esse aiunt se tamen ignorare fatentur! et quousque tandem desides nescire non pigebit, quod a nobis cognosci quadantenus profitemur? Certe, si nemo unquam

——— Fragilem truci
Commisisset pelago ratem[a],

non deforet nobis aliquid, quo pertinacem hanc (quam nos, boni viri, neutiquam dissimulamus) inertiam excusaremus: nunc vero cum undique mare pateat ac tellus, nec quis fere sit e plebe nautarum, quin ventos, freta, syrtes, portus totius orbis cate norit; apage hanc nimium supinam ætatis nostræ socordiam, vel timorem certe plus quam fœmineum, et inanem *ὑποψίαν* quæ nos alio orbe spoliat non invitos. Nam quod præterea velum obtendemus huic inscitiæ? quid dubitamus? quid formidamus? umbras? nos ipsos? Ibi cælum est: ibi terra: sunt proculdubio et homines, fortasse nostris non parum cultiores. Quis inter Chinenses tantum acuminis solertiæque expectasset? quis tot artes, tamque multijugem rerum omnium scientiam? qui, dum nos Musas omnes in hoc Occidentali gurgustiolo inclusas putamus, rident nec immerito quicquid uspiam præter se hominum est: aiuntque se solos vere oculatos; Europæos, unioculos esse; reliquos quotquot sunt mortales, cœcutire[b]; vel, si nemo sit, turpe est sapienti queri solitudinem, turpe metuere. Ista sæpe meditanti ingenuum mihi quendam calorem flammamque in hoc pectore excitavit indignatio;

[a] Horat. lib. i. Od. 3.

[b] Proverb. Chinensium.

atque hinc orta, quod ab aliis neglectum video doleoque, magnanima vulgoque altior audendi cupiditas."

"Magnum quiddam," Beroalde, "moliris," inquam ego; "et vix operæ mortalis: in quo quicquid fiat, gratulor tibi mentem hanc sane altam, et te dignam. Sed oportet meminisse res magnas quæ, te judice, sine multis verborum præludiis proferri non debent, ut feliciter suscipiantur, majore quidem cogitationum apparatu indigere. Satin' ergo proposuisti tu tibi facinoris tanti pericula, sumtus, difficultatem, spem, exitum, omniaque inter se collata, æqua judicii trutina probe librasti? Cælum est, inquis: at quod tu, fortasse, vix, præ continuis tenebris, intuebere. Terra est: quam tu forte ob serpentum ferarumque frequentiam, calcare non audebis. Homines sunt: at quorum tu consortio carere malles. Quid si te Patagonius aliquis Polyphemus medium discerpserit, et jam palpitantem adhuc sentientemque devorarit; ubi nunc es audax orbium indagator? Cogitare ista quidem tutum est: cave, si sapis, experiri."

"At tu nescis," respondet Beroaldus, "nescis, hospes, ex adverso meæ terræ incognitæ jacere Promontorium Bonæ Spei. Audendum, scilicet; et sperandum. Illa periculorum spectra terrent imbelles animos, excitant generosos: quorum si habenda esset ratio, nulla nobis regio, nulla urbs, aut domus præter nostram, pateret. Hanc unam ob causam quamdiu latuit Americanus ille orbis, et adhuc, credo, latuisset, ni Deus nobis sero Columbam cælitus emisisset, quæ olivæ ramulo ex hac terra decerpto, doceret nos aliquid præterea superesse terrarum, quod undis parum submergeretur: cujus quam celebre sanctumque gratæ posteritati nomen haberi solet! imo, quamdiu terra erit, circumferetur illius effigies, quam nos non sine honore quodam stuporeque intuemur: neque sane mihi minus honorificum sonat, "Inventor Orbis Novi," quam istius "Expugnator." Quidni nos idem beet successus, eadem gloria? Neque profecto parum mihi acuit animum non obscurum illud satisque decantatum Senecæ Tragœdi vaticinium, quod a nobis adhuc restat adimplendum:

> Venient annis secula seris,
> Quando Oceanus vincula rerum
> Laxet, et ingens pateat tellus.
>
> [*Senecæ Medea.* Chor. Act. III.]

Quid de itineris instituti exitu clarius dici potuit, aut felicius?"

Hic, interpellans Drogius; "At cave," inquit, "Beroalde, tam altæ structuræ adeo exile et angustum substernas fundamentum.

Columbus ille tuus, quicquid tragicus vates hariolatus est, jam olim præstitisse dicitur. Hæc sera sæcula sunt. Patuit jam dudum ingens Americana tellus: Quid tu aliam somnias ætatem, terram aliam?"

"Scio quam popularis hæc sententia sit, dubito quam vera," inquit Beroaldus: "et, ni fallor, efficiam ut vel tu plane falsam fateare, vel istud vaticinium fuisse perneges. Nam, ubi futuri temporis omne vaticinium sit; quid si palam evicero Indias Americanas sæculis prioribus innotuisse? ut hoc modo Seneca non tam futurum præmonere, quam quid ab aliis ante se factum docere videretur. Nec quid mihi magis persuasum est, quam aliquam Occidentalis hujus terræ partem, illam fuisse auream Ophyram, quam Salomonis et Hirami classis trienni navigatione non semel lustrasse fertur. Etenim, ubi quinque mihi occurrunt pugnantium hac de re authorum sententiæ; prima Rabani Mauri et Nicolai Lyrani, quæ in Orientali India ponit Ophyrinam terram; secunda Raphaëlis Volaterrani, etiam et Abrahami Ortelii, quæ hanc Solafam statuit in Oceano Ethiopico insulam, ex incerta Ludovici, nescio cujus, Veneti relatione; tertia Gasparis Varerii quæ quicquid uspiam terræ Pegusio, Malacca, Sumatra, continetur, hoc nomine indigitat; quarta Francisci Vatabli, cui, teste P. Martyre, suffragatur Columbus, quæ insulam Hispaniolam; quinta, denique, Postelli, Goropii Becani, Benedicti Ariæ Montani, quæ Perüanam hanc fuisse regionem confidenter statuit: ultimæ duæ, reliquarum longe verisimillimæ, pro nobis faciunt ambæ; quarum utra vicerit ego, quod volo, pariter evicero. Et sane, quod ad priores duas, illas ita plane sustulit G. Varerius, ut quicquid ultra adtexero supervacaneum fuerit. Superest, ut quod ille aliis, ipse illi vicissim operæ navarem; doceremque Sumatram et Malaccam, Auream, Chersonesum, perperam ab illo cum Ophyrina regione confundi. Satis quidem docent sacræ paginæ classem hanc Tyro-Judaicam integrum triennium huic itineri insumpsisse: at qui a Mari Rubro ad Sumatram navigant renavigantque, totum iter decimo mense, aut ad summum integro labente anno, conficiunt. Quæ hic analogia temporis? quæ species æqualitatis? Quid pro se hic Varerius? fortasse navigandi artem nondum adhuc tam plene cognitam fuisse, quam nunc pridem seris Lusitanorum laboribus; perque hoc tam cæcum et erroribus undique patens elementum, rudes adhuc nautas cursum fortasse parum rectum instituisse. At unde tandem, mi homo, hæc Salomoni remotissimæ terræ cognitio? Cælitus, credo, dices. Et sane credo cælitus, unde et cætera.

Age, igitur: qui regionem auriferam esse doceret, et adeundi etiam consilium suggereret, an viam non monstraret identidem? Adde quod certum hic semper itineris spatium statuatur: non citius unquam rediit onusta classis, non morata diutius: quod unum maximam longinquitatem loci, non incertos nautarum errores prædicare videtur. Sed et nomen ipsum adhuc clare pro nobis loquitur: inverte modo literam unam[c], sonus idem est nominis utriusque. Increduli mihi jam plane videmini ac pertinaces, nisi terram hanc Indicam diu ante Senecæ secula satis exploratam fuisse mecum fateamini."

"Vicisti," inquam ego, "Beroalde, scilicet; et jam tempestive triumphum agis. Esto sane Solomonis sapientissimi regis opera auream hanc regionem e tenebris prioribus erutam fuisse, classique suæ jam tum patuisse; hinccine sequuturum speras toti terrarum orbi æque fuisse cognitam? etiam remotissimis illis gentibus, quibuscum nihil unquam cum Judæis commercii intercessit? vel, quod multo difficilius est, ejus memoriam ante sera Romanorum secula non potuisse interire? Id, vero, si factum concesseris, actum est de opinione tua, actum de vaticinio."

"Sed non ita facile succumbo, mi hospes," respondet Beroaldus; "cedoque hisce rationum vanis umbris. Imo, potius pedem mihi fortius figit hæc tua tam opportuna dubitatio. Non enim plane silent, indices veritatis, historiæ; sed Ophyrinæ hujus terræ cognitionem ad Romanos usque nepotes proprius deducunt. Nostis inter Salomonis ævum et originem Carthaginis, centum quinquaginta plus minus annos elapsos: at, vero, Carthaginenses, teste Aristotele, (quod nec in ipsa urbis infantia factum crediderim) insulam hanc (nec quæ alia potuit esse) ultra Gades, in Mari Atlantico sitam, post diuturnam navigationem repererunt; legemque tulerunt (quæ ratio est, insulam luculentissimam, ditissimam, nec a Pœnis cultoribus occupatam, nec orbi reliquo tam vulgo cognitam fuisse) ne quis suorum illo deinceps commigraret; veriti, scilicet, ne amœnitate ac opulentia loci pellecti cives, aliam istic Carthaginem, patria sede derelicta, meditarentur. Quod cum a Pœnis Græci acceperint, quis dubitaret ab utrisque Romanos didicisse? Credite nunc, si vultis, amici, ac tam claræ veritati mecum adstipulamini; vel, si mavultis, hæsitate. Mihi certe persuasissimum erit, latere adhuc Senecæ tellurem ingentem; nosque modo audetis ac satagitis, felicissimos exploratores etiamnum ex-

[c] סרו—אופיר.

pectare. Ecce nunc venio, mi orbis, post tot vota, post tot moras: venio, inquam, spe plenus et fiducia; et vel te mundo, vel cadaver hoc tibi, audax impertio. Agite vero, socii, si quis manet adhuc calor priscæ virtutis, si qua præclare merendi ambitio, audete hoc facinus: estote mihi comites itineris, compotes fortunæ. Apage frigida illa pectora, quibus nil sapit, nisi quod nihil præ se ferat periculi, nihil gloriæ; quibus nullum placet sepulchrum non sua obtectum gleba. "Esuriemus: sitiemus: ægrotabimus: moriemur:" Ignavæ voces, indignæ philosophis! indignæ peregrinis, alterius mundi disquisitoribus, contemptoribus hujus! Nihil, profecto, deest, præter animum. Si viri estis, sumite hunc vobis, et erigite: contraque imbelles opinionum impetus obfirmati, accingite vos ad hoc iter, fortasse, jucundum, certe, præclarum, perque multos viarum anfractus recta ducens ad immortalem gloriam. Sin minus, sedete domi, desides et inglorii. Inveniam ego alios consilii mei fautores sociosque; quibus vos fortassis auspicatissimum cœpti hujusce exitum sero invidebitis."

Dixit: vultuque paulum commotiore nos intuens, conticuit Beroaldus. Neque non parum nos movit, tam vehemens cordati juvenis oratio (cujus ego vix clausulam e mille unam numero), simulque rerum novarum ac gloriæ sitis. Quid multis? Neque opus est quid hic dubitarit, ille dixerit, fecerit alter, paraverimus omnes seorsim percensere. Diem statuimus: navim conscendimus Phantasiam: solvimus portu; non, tamen, sine hac conditione humanitatis pariter et officii, ut suos quisque in via salutaret, salutatisque valediceret.

Jamque ubi post triduum ad Belgica litora appulissemus, post septimanam ad Aquitanica, surripuere mihi Delphensis villa Drogium, Mons Albanus Beroaldum; utrumque, sane, invitissimum: meque, vel ἄπρακτον ἐπέμψασι[d], meorum cachinnis post tantam expectationem propinandum; vel solivagum viatorem innumeris ignotisque periculis misere obtruserunt.

Neque, tamen, hæc me terruit insperata solitudo. Perrexi alacer: postque biennium Insulis Fortunatis, litore Africano, Monomotapensi terra ac promontorio a tergo relictis, nigellum Crapuliæ caput salutavi.

[d] [Sic in omn. Editt.]

LIBER PRIMUS.

CRAPULIA.

Cap. I.—*Regionis situs.*

Crapulia[a] regio ampla; luculenta, quod ad situm: a septentrione, Oceano Æthiopico; ab oriente, Loçania[b] et Viraginia; ab austro, Moronia[c] Felici; ab occidente, palude Tryphonia[d], terminatur: in eadem ipsa orbis parte, in qua monstrosissimus ales *ruc*[e] elephantum integrum unguibus suis rapiens deglutiendum, a neotericis geographis depingi solet.

Gleba nimis feraci: cæloque nimium benigno fruitur; et cujus ego, non sine tacita quadam invidia, sæpius misertus sum, quod incolas non habeat frugi melioris.

Longitudine, quidem, ad gradum 74. Latitudine, vero, ad sexagesimum porrigitur. A Capite Bonæ Spei 11. grad. distat; totique fere Africæ ex adverso jacet.

In duas vulgo provincias tribuitur, Pamphagoniam et Yvroniam: quarum altera, magna quidem ex parte ejusdem et longitudinis et latitudinis est, quod ominosum nemini videatur, cum nostra Britannia; altera, vero, cum utraque Germania. Utraque eidem principi, iisdem legibus subjicitur; nec moribus, nec ingenio, nec habitu adeo dissimilis.

PAMPHAGONIA.

Cap. II.—*Terra Gulonum.*

Pamphagonia triquetra fere est, figura Δeltali[f]; non absimilis

[a] Notat Crapula vitium, unde nomen huic regioni inditum, alteri scilicet ebrietatis excessui proprium: κραιπάλη enim Græcis, vel a καρήνου πάλη "lucta capitis;" vel ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸ κάρηνον πάλλεσθαι, quod caput vertigine quadam concutiat vinum resinatum præsertim, ut Plin. l. xxi. c. 2. vel ἀπὸ τοῦ πηλοῦ, qua voce Poetæ, uti Phocyon ait, vinum significant, vulgo tamen qui vel cibo vel vino se ingurgitant "crapulari" dicuntur. Hinc nos terram hanc in duas provincias partiti sumus: Pamphagonia nota vox, gulones edacissimos complectitur; Yvronia, a Gallica voce "yvre" vel "yvrogne," quæ ebrium significat, "fungos ebriosos."

[b] Loçania Hisp. luxuriam significat; Crapulia proximam, quoniam qui Genio nimis indulgent, in libidinem procliviores sint; "Sine Cerere et Baccho &c."

[c] Moronia huic adjacet, quoniam γαστήρ παχεῖα μὴ τίκτει λεπτὴν φρένα, vere Poeta.

[d] Rationem nominis situsque quære in descriptione Lavernisæ.

[e] Qui Genius hujus loci perhibetur, propter voracitatem incredibilem.

[f] Sic Nilus intimam illius terræ partem format, quæ olim Ægypti nomen

Ægypto veteri: montosa, collibusque obsita editioribus: solo pinguissimo; ita ut aves, quæ confertim huc solent pastus gratia convolare, si per menses tres istic permanserint, præ mera mole saginaque montes nequeant transcendere, quin neque prosequentium manus evadere; neque, tantillo tempore, cedant pinguedine Ortolanis ac Beccaficis Italorum.

Quod etiam in Scotia factum novimus, e frondibus deciduis generari anseres[g]; quodque honoratissimi pridem legati nostratis testimonio probatissimum est, in Euroboreali mundi plaga e terra crescere agnellum[h], caulique innixum, gramen adjacens depasci; quis istic fieri non sibi facile persuadere pateretur?

Sed et pisces, qui in isto littore frequentissimi, ita voraces sunt (sive pro more populi locique ingenio, sive quod honorem sepulturæ magnificentissimæ cum Neronis rhombo[i] præsagiant) ut, hamo subinde injecto, confluant ubertim; haud secus ac misellæ animæ ad Charontis cymbam, apud Lucianum: ferroque vel non capti inhæreant (ut carbonarii metallicique solent funi demisso, ubi calor lucernæ malignum forte halitum prædixerit) extrahique gestiant.

Adde quod portus, qui, si cui alii, huic genti commodissimi sunt, nulli usui inserviant, nisi apportandis recipiendisque eduliis; quæ illi superfluis solent pellibus commutare: neque incolis licet interea quicquam exportare, quod palatum quamlibet oblique spectare videatur.

Arbores ibi nullas vidi, nisi frugiferas. Ornos, quercus, salices, et hujusmodi plantas steriles et otiosas oderunt; quippe quæ nil præter umbram nudam et inutilem largiantur. Sepes ibi omnes, quod et in Yvronia passim videre est, vitibus lupulis consitæ: illud Occidentales Angli[k], hoc Lombardi ab hac regione didicerunt.

tulit: unde veteres Ægyptii. Ibidem tanti fecerunt, quod illius pede exprimi visa est suæ terræ imago.

[g] "Barnacles:" alii tamen malunt e ligno madefacto diu corruptoque vermiculos, e vermiculis anseres creari.

[h] Si quid natura stupendum proferat, id unum est: pellis illius mollissima et ultra valorem fere speciosa duci Moscoviæ asservatur: diciturque "Samarcandea pellis:" nascitur in Horda Zavolhensi, agro Scythico. De agno hoc scripserunt Jul. Scaliger, exer. 59. Cardanus, Baro Herberstenius, Libavius tractatu de Agno Vegetabili.

[i] Et tua servatum consume in secula rhombum:
Ipse capi voluit &c. *Juvenal. Sat.* iv. 68.

[k] Salopiensis et Worcestr. comitatus: ubi sepes omnis onusta
Crustumiis Syriisque piris, gravibusque volemis.
Virg. Georg. ii. 88.

Jure quidem avito Frugiona[l], terra nunc paulo remotior, hanc sibi regionem vendicat. Ferunt enim Saturni ævo, principes Frugionios toti huic orbi dedisse jura, et istic regiam suam posuisse: quo tempore, quod simpliciores antiqui fagis vescebantur, regio hæc Fagonia dicta est. Jam moribus prorsus immutatis, ac jugo prioris ditionis excusso, aliquid antiquo nomini adjectum voluerunt indigenæ, et Pamphagoniam appellarunt.

CAP. III.—*Prima Pamphagoniæ Provincia.*

Friviandæ[m] provincia, ut a proximis ordiamur, nisi peculiari quodam loci ingenio id fieret, calidior est quam ut veros pareret *γαστριμάργους*: ultimus enim illius apex, quem alii geographi Promontorium Terræ Australis nuncupant, ejusdem fere latitudinis est cum australissima Castiliæ parte; gradibusque 42 distat ab æquatore. Incolæ fusca sunt cute, pilisque retortis; neque tam molem aut numerum, quam delicias quærunt.

In hoc ipso promontorio, quod nos a colore Nigrum[n] vocitabimus, (fumosissima enim regio est, partim, propter frequentissimos loci vapores; partim, propter Terræ Del Fogo vicinitatem, quæ huic a dextris, etiam geographorum omnium consensu aliquanto tamen propius, adjacet) urbs est Cucina[o], ædificiis satis quidem altis, at fuliginosis olidisque constructa; a qua deducta quondam colonia fortassis Cacuchinæ nomen dedit.

Celebre hic Omasii divi[p] templum est; molis ædepol vastissimæ; mille aris ac focis totidem, iisque (si Rucales Ferias[q] exceperis) perpetuis instructum. Cujus in medio pyramis, ultra omnem excelsitatem quæ manu possit fieri, fastigiata, Memphiticis illis parum cedens, Cheminea Turris[r], assurgit: ac visendum longe belli signum dat circumjacenti regioni: ubi enim nostrates, palos[s] edi-

[l] Moronia sola interponitur Crapuliæ et Frugionæ. Nomen hoc, quanquam ad rem vestiariam proprie spectet Varr. l. iv. ling. Lat. a nobis tamen alio trahitur; derivatum à Frugi, quem Galli significantissime "Homme de bien" vocant.

[m] Fercula delicatiora Galli "viandes friandes" vocant: nos, ex apta utriusque compositione, voculam unam fecimus. Hanc, autem, in vestibulo hujus regionis collocavimus, quod et calore nimio fieri non possit quin palato sint incolæ magis delicato et nauseabundo. Australiores, vero, propter nativum frigus edaciores finximus.

[n] Ad imitationem Plinii; apud quem bis occurrit "Album Promontorium:" alterum, in Africa: procem. l. iii., alterum [Lugd. 1587. p. 45.] in Phœnice, non procul à Tyro, l. v. c. 19. [p. 99.]

[o] "Cucina," Italis Culina est; unde nos Anglice "Kitchen," adjuti pronuntiatione Italica.

[p] Quis fuerit, quære cap. II. hujus libri.

[q] Statim post solennia, quæ genio loci quotannis peraguntur: respondent, scilicet, hæ feriæ nostrati Carnis-privio.

[r] Caminus; Gallice, "Cheminée," forsan a "Chemin," via, quod fumo muniat egrediendi viam.

[s] "Beacons," Angl.

tissimo in monte posito, pice oblito inflammatoque, suos monent imminentis ab hoste periculi; hi, contra, cessante fumo id faciunt: nam cum semel furvos in orbes glomerari desierit perennis vapor, indicio est hostes jam appropinquare; Hambrios[t], præsertim, qui, præ omnibus aliis, ut cum Apuleio loquar, huic genti formidamina sunt maxima.

Villæ huic plurimæ subjacent; dominiumque agnoscunt supremæ urbis. Charbona pagus profecto amplissimus; et, quod nusquam alibi cernes, subterraneus: cujus sterili sola Favillia paulo ignobilior superstruitur. Hanc excipit Tenaille, viculus angustissimus; latissimusque Batillii; villarum par egregium. A sinistra famulantur huic Assadora, Marmitta, Culliera; omnes advenarum frequentia nobiles: quarum Marmittam alluit Livenza fervidus amnis, quem ferunt 24 horarum spatio bis ebullire: non secus ac fons ille Peccanus Anglorum.

Cap. IV.—*Secunda Pamphagoniæ Provincia.*

Adjungitur huic amœnissima pars Pamphagoniæ, Tractus Golosinius[u], dactylis, amygdalisque, ficubus, olivis, malis punicis citreisque, et nucibus denique myristicis, coopertus: per quem limpidissimum flumen Oglium tacite discurrit.

Hic Marza-pane pulchra urbs, alteque turrita et deaurata; sed nimium patens hostibus. Cui imminent Zuckerii Colles[x]: e quorum visceribus dulce nescio quid, albicansque, et durum effodi solet, vix notum seculo priori[y]; quale veteres ex arundinibus Arabicis Indicisque petierunt[z]. Paucissimos hic videbis ætatis adultæ non edentulos, spiritusque fœtidissimi.

Seplasium urbecula huic proxima, quæ neminem admittit civem præter solos aromatarios pyxidumque concinnatores: oppidum Viraginiis probe notum; quippe cui non parum indies cum hoc populo commercii intercedit; præsertim vero cum Loçanicis, quæ specula crystallina solent horum pastillis et unguentis commutare. Istorum arti favet admodum loci opportunitas, et cæli munificentia: totus enim iste tractus, certis temporibus, aromaticis trochiscis, pro more grandinis confertim decidentibus, contegitur; quam ego *ἀναθυμίασιν* eandem puto, quoad essentiam, cum aëreo illo melle, quo, verno præsertim tempore, quercus nostrates imbutas sæpe vidimus: sola differt crassitudine; nam, ubi mel nostrum gutta-

t "Hambre," Hispanis Fames est: Insulæ autem Famelicæ descriptionem quære cap. 12 hujus libri. Propriorum nominum significationem, ne marginem nimium oneremus, index sub finem libri explicabit: illo lectorem remitto.

u Hisp. "The Coast of Sweet-Meats."

x "Zucker," Germanis Saccharum.

y Galeni ævo vix notum.

z Plinius l. xii. c. 8. [ut supra, p. 299.]

tim spargitur, incrassantur hi globuli intensiore mediæ regionis frigore, et cadendo resultant.

CAP. V.—*De Tertia Pamphagoniæ Provincia.*

Quinquagesimo quinto gradu incidimus in Planitiem Lecanicam[a], ipsa Pamphagoniæ viscera.

Ubi occurrit nobis primulum Cibinium[b] urbs: quæ interluitur Assagionis fluvii aqua acidula. In cujus foro tumulum cernas, ut ego ex literarum vestigiis conjectabam Apicii illius Romani; non elegantem hercle, sed antiquum; cancro marino insculptum[c]. Et sane fieri potuit, quicquid nobis obtrudat Senecæ fides, quod celebris hic heluo, postquam majores quam quos Galliæ suppeditassent, cancros disquisiturus Africam frustra petiisset, accepto hujus litoris rumore, huc tandem verterit proram, atque hic demum crapula perierit. Viderint critici.

Prætereo hic consulto pinguissimos Offuliæ et Lardanæ Campos; elegantissimam urbium Mortadellam, cujus mihi situs impense placuisset, ni sæpiuscule marinum salem plus æquo saperet; pagum omnium fœtidissimum Formaggium; et, in ipsis Yvroniæ finibus, paludinosissimam Mantecam.

Festino ad regionis totius Metropolin: quæ una, sive structuræ formam, sive mores populi, sive regulas vivendi, leges desideret quis, instar omnium erit cordato lectori.

CAP. VI.—*Metropolis Pamphagoniæ: Moresque Populi.*

Villæ hic, sicubi alias, paucissimæ: ut merito conjiceret istinc viator pagos omnes a civitatibus devorari.

Urbes non tam multæ, quam populosæ et ingentes: quarum et mater et domina facile audit Artocreopolis.

Fama est seculo priore duas fuisse civitates celeberrimas Artopolin et Creatium: quæ (uti mos est potentioribus et locis et hominibus; adeo ut ægre quidem se contineant, instructissimæ totius orbis Academiæ; utraque mea mater, altera etiam et nutrix, sorores germanæ, ab hac tam ingrata lite) de principatu diu multumque contendebant. Artopolis vetustatem præ se ferebat: et sane Saturni ævo parem, imo æmulam habuit nullam. Creatium splendorem jactavit, amœnitatem, et potentiam. Coacto tandem concilio, procerum omnium suffragiis vicit Creatium. Scilicet illa est hu-

[a] Λεκάνη, Græcis Patina est: hæc, ergo, Planities Patellaria.

[b] Cibin. urbs est in Tractu Danubiano, nunc sub Turcæ ditione; nos significationem spectavimus, non situm.

[c] Volaterran Anthropol. l. xiii. [Paris. 1511. fo. 136.]

jus ætatis iniquitas, ut quanquam caput ipsi jam olim incanuerit nive senectutis, simplici tamen vetustati nihil censeat tribuendum, præ superba ac præcoci novitate. Illa altera, jam prorsus neglecta, consenuit: ut nunc ne rudera aut vestigia cernas tam magnificæ urbis; neque Verolamium nostri vatis[d] justius incuset hominum temporumque injuriam, dum hæc nova nomen sibi cum honore usurpans, utroque exinde duplicato, Artocreopolis nuncupatur.

Urbs, non tam elegans, quam magna: munita satis fossa quidem lata et profunda, perennis aquæ, quæ et omnes fere urbis plateas interluit; in qua mille cernas æqualiter divisa piscium vivaria; cui etiam cygni, anates, mergi, ardeolæ, querquedulæ, et quotquot aqua nutrit alites, supernatant: id quod ab istis prudenter cœpit Augusta Vindelicorum.

Hæc autem fossa Gruessa dicitur. Muros illi ministrat duplices benignior laniena; ex ossibus pecorum quæ mactantur indies ita dispositis, ut majora tibicinum loco totam molem sustineant, minora deinde superstruantur; minima, vero, medium in locum coarctentur; omniaque cæmento ex ovorum albuminibus confecto compingantur, miro artificio.

Ædes nec pulchræ; nec, pro aliarum urbium more, altius constructæ: ut non opus sit Augusto alicui τὰ ὕψη τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων κωλύσαι[e], "ædificiorum altitudinem intra septuaginta pedes coercere;" quod Romæ factum legimus: nec Senecæ[f] locus sit aut Juvenalis[g], de graduum superstructura conqueri. Σανιδώματα et gradus non curant, non ferunt cives: partim, ob ascendendi tædium; partim ubi præsertim quod solent probe potarint, ob descendendi periculum. Illæ omnes latioribus bestiarum scapulis, tegularum loco, affabre contectæ.

Urbes ipsorum nullos agnoscunt cives, nisi qui mensam spectant quadantenus. Agricolæ, fabri, molitores, lanii, in municipiis habitant: qui tamen, ubi ad certam ventris molem excreverint, promoventur in civitatem; in quam nemo admittitur primitus, præter coquos, pistores, caupones, et gravissimos urbis senatores: qui quidem non, ut alibi, propter prudentiam, aut divitias, aut prolixiorem barbam; sed propter abdominis mensuram, quotannis ritu solenni eliguntur; et quo quis magis crescit, illo provehitur altius: ita, quosdam vidi ab infimæ et obscurissimæ urbeculæ mœnibus, suo quidem merito, nobiliore adhuc donatos civitate; tandemque in urbium celeberrima, senatoria dignitate auctos; qui

[d] Spenser. Ruin. Temp. [Lond. 1679. p. 335, 6.] p. 133.]

[e] Strabo. Geog. l. v. [Oxon. 1807. t. i.

[f] Lib. iii. Controvers.

[g] Sat. iii.

lamen, ubi vel morbo (quod sæpe fit) vel ætate, statuto macilentiores evaserint, una cum carne pristinum honorem amiserunt.

Plateæ, quod in tam incuriosa urbe mirabar maxime, stratæ marmore: tum, quod uti conjectabar, paulo laboriosius sit, neque prorsus careat periculo, ob inæqualitatem lapidum pedes altius elevare; tum, uti sellæ senatoriæ facilius promoveantur: neque, enim, pedibus unquam, aut equis, aut vero lecticis, ponderis causa, forum petunt, vel publica convivia; sed sellis quibusdam amplissimis, rotularum quatuor gyris, hac illac trahi solent; præsertim, hoc modo domum sedilibus suis affixi nutantes spumantesque reducuntur.

Ad quatuor urbis rotundæ portas, totidem, suis vicibus, indies sedent senatores. "Buscadores[h]" appellant; intrantes et exeuntes quosque sedulo exploraturi: exeuntes quidem, num forte jejuni prodire ausint, quod ex ventris distensione facillime conjiciunt; reque jam comprobata, reos duplici cœna mulctant: intrantes vero, quid secum ferant reduces: nec enim licet cuiquam, aut non pleno ventre exire, aut redire non plena manu.

Singulis mensibus quod ex legis præscripto illis non hercle reluctantibus indicitur, stata agitant convivia, quibus præsto sint oportet omnes urbis senatores, de publicis negotiis finito jam prandio, nec enim licet impranso cuiquam ferre suffragium, deliberaturi. Pythonos-Come[i] prætorio nomen est. Sedem suam quisque novit; et matulam habet, in arcula sibi propria reconditam. Ubi, postquam se vino calidissimo et acrioribus condimentis paraverint, suo quisque ordine discumbunt. Cupedia delicatiora in prima mensa semper apponuntur: stultum, enim, putant optima ferculorum non maximo appetitu devorare. Nec illis licet, quod nobis usitatissimum est, apros, oves, capras, agnos, varias in partes dissectos apponere: sed, quod a veteribus forte Romanis didicerunt, integra animalia machinis quibusdam patinariis, quales apud Petronium legisse memini, sudantes ministri apportant. Ante sex horas nemo surgit sine piaculo: diu enim, et paulatim esitant bibuntque; ob eandem plane causam, qua fretus ille olim famosissimus heluo[k] collum sibi gruinum optasse fertur. Discedendi vero tempus hinc metiuntur: ostium habent in prætorio, satis vel amplissimo jejuni hominis abdomini accommodatum; per cujus angustias intrant adventantes convivæ: illac

[h] Hisp. Inquisitores.

[i] Locus in Asia, ubi primo adventus sui tempore advolant ciconiæ; et eam, quæ ultima advenit, laniant. Plin. lib. x. c. 23. [ut supra p. 237.] Idem Solinus, alii perperam Phririonis-Cumen legunt, ex Strabone.

[k] Philoxenus, ut Arist. in Ethicis. [l. iii. c. 10.]

tentat quisque, finitis jam epulis, exire: si hæret, aliorsum emittitur; quod si æque facile ac pridem jejunus evaserit, mora illi imperat Morum Magister, et introductum denuo quamlibet invitum cogit discumbere, donec exeundo non sit: cujus quidem exemplo Wilfrediam acum[1], lepidum examen sanctitatis, Catholicis hodiernis innotuisse putarim.

Hortos ibi habent multorum profecto jugerum: sed invenustos quique ultro cedant Adonidis, Alcinoi, aut vero etiam Langianis. In quibus frustra es, si expectas areolarum nitelam et ordinem, aut pulcherrima florum pigmenta: consita hic potius cernes omnia raphanis, allio, bracteolis, muschatisque melonibus, quos hinc petit lautior Italia; quantum epulum possit centum dare Pythagoreis.

Illic videres frutice nobili caules,
Et utrumque porrum, sessilesque lactucas,
Pigroque ventri non inutiles betas[m].

Sed et Ptochæum hic publicum est: in quo quotquot hydropem, aut podagram, aut asthmaticam passionem edendo ac bibendo contraxerint, de publico aluntur. Sed qui edentuli jam facti sunt præ senio, vel temera et incauta masticatione, in Sorboniam Insulam relegantur.

Habet quidem, mancipiorum instar, vernas plurimos quisque ditiorum; agris, hortisque colendis, vilioribusque officiis deputatos: qui tamen, ubi ad justam magnitudinem pervenerint, donantur libertate.

Si quis e nobilissimis regni proceribus crapula interierit, is demum (puta totus e selectissimis dapibus conflatus) servis propinatur deglutiendus, neque fas est tot delicias tam supinos perdere.

Viri ad miraculum crasso corpore, obesoque; neque ille dignus est quem clauso labello salutes, cujus mentum ad medium usque pectus, omentumque ad ima genua vix dum propendeat. Nec aliter se habent fœminæ: quarum formam Italæ aliquantulum, sed maxime omnium Barbaricæ[n], imitatæ sunt: ut ne nubere quidem permittantur virgines, donec, publico examine facto, mammas suas mento parum demisso contigisse viris constiterit.

Nudi fere omnes incedunt: neque vestis illis cursæ. Solis magistratibus, quique notæ melioris, togis uti licet, ex illorum pecorum coriis, quæ soli suis ipsorum faucibus vorare uno accubitu potuerunt. Singuli, tamen, cultellum una cum latissimo cochleari

[1] Olim nostratibus in "Castro de Bever."

[m] Mart. lib. iii. Ep. 47.

[n] Barbaræ fœm. catellos edunt, pinguescendi studio.

dextro brachio appensum gestant. Ante pectora modo, juxta Virgilianum illud "sola ferunt tonsis mantilia villis;" quibus, ne quid pereat, guttulas decidentes excipiant; oraque abstergeant: illa, vero, usu nimio læviora ne an nigriora fuerint, vix judicarit oculatissimus spectator.

Tardissimo sunt ingenio, et ad omnes scientias ineptissimi: qui, tamen, quot curant artes, callent.

Scholæ tantum illic aperiuntur popinatoriæ; in quibus omnis juventus edendi, bibendi, scindendique scientia statim ἐξ ἀπαλῶν erudiri solet: quibus Archisilenius quidam, exquisitissimus heluo, tunc temporis præficiebatur; prælegitque, grammaticæ loco, fragmina quædam Apiciana[o]. Instar bibliothecæ, publicum est cantharorum repositorium; in quo omnes scyphorum ordines gradusque, per certas classes, disponebantur. Pocula, fercula libri sunt; minora, tyronibus; adultis, majuscula: huic cyathus, triens illi, alteri sextarius; gallina huic, illi anser, tertio agnus apponitu, raut perna. Neque unquam feriandi datur licentia, donec totum quisque pensum absolverit. Quod si qui septenni ingluvie parum profecerint, exulant illico in Famelicas Insulas; neque fas istic morari diutius: quin et huc relegantur medici, et quisquis diætam cuiquam præscripserit.

Quisquis ægrotat, quantumvis refragante Asclepiade, radiculam edit, quod jubet Celsus; et paulum calidæ imbibit, vomitat, et purgatur illico; quodque egeritur hoc modo, res fisci est.

Ferina caro maximis ibi in deliciis; quam tamen venatione captare nequeunt: retibus tantum ac laqueis damas ad se ultro venientes implicant. Sed et suem animalium omnium et utilissimum reputant et optimum[p]: sive ob quandam morum similitudinem, quam norunt mensæ soli a natura comparatam; sive quod cibo non hercle lautissimo saginata, omnium nutriat impinguetque citissime.

Quis, denique, crederet cum tanta rerum profusione parcimoniam posse consistere? quam tamen, (hic fateor pessime locatam) in minimis quibusque frustulis, ossibus, micisque servandis, observavi maximam. Ideo canes non alunt, non felem, non accipitrem, nec quid præterea carnivorum: imo, cum quis columbam capumve sibi parari curat, grana jam cruda et in imo ejus ventriculo diu sepulta erui jubet, et reliquis apponi; quod ab illis Veneti hodierni opportune didicerunt.

Quinimo si quis ad putredinem usque vel tantillum cibi apud se

[o] Test. Suidas hunc libros de gula scripsisse.

[p] Plato Comic. apud Clement. Alex. Stromat. 7. [Oxon. 1715. t. xi. p. 498.]

servarit, statim religatur ad palum: excepto quod ferinam licet reponere, donec lanugine quadam obducatur; et, quod vix præ nautea memorare possum, caseum vulgo tam diu servent, dum totus in vermiculos resolvatur, et tum demum viva animalcula ipsam putidissimi cibi putredinem, paulo sacchari adspersa, nimis avide vorant delicatissimi epulones; quem sane pessimum morem demiror Germanos inferiores istinc mutuatos.

Fluminibus abundat regio; quæ incerto motu fluunt refluuntque, pro egestionum infinita copia: sed semper ineunte Januario, et Februario exeunte, ripas prætergrediuntur et minantur vicinis pascuis.

Cap. VII.—*Bella Pamphagonum.*

Cum duplici quidem hoste Pamphagones *δισπονδον πόλεμον* gerunt; Insularibus Famelicis sive Hambriis, et Frugioniis. Illi non procul siti ad Occidentem in Æthiopico Oceano, ut suo loco narrabimus: hi remotiores aliquantum, interposita Moroniæ parte maxima, aliqua Viraginiæ.

Narrant historiæ Hambrios, inito cum Larciniis fœdere, terram hanc invasisse sæpius, semel vero vicisse: quo tempore incolæ sylvis et caveis quibusdam subterraneis misere sese abdiderunt: donec loci numina, precibus illorum votisque tandem commota, novam gentem suis ipsorum faucibus interemissent; tantum, enim, ipsi post tam subitam mutationem ingurgitarunt, ut, morbis inde contractis, ad unum omnes intra triennium ultro perierint.

Sæpe etiam, sed frustra, pedem hic suum figere tentarunt incolæ veteres, Frugionii; qui, tamen, uti fortuna deteriorem plerunque in partem vergit, nimium felici Pamphagonum successu repulsam passi sunt.

Ad bellum prodeunt; anteriore quidem parte, nec enim se possunt fuga liberare, coriis bovillis, pellibusque lanigeræ setigeræque pecudis, villisque caprinis induti: ut armentum tibi aliquod a longe intuenti adaquatum duci videretur. Verubus furcisque culinariis armati fere omnes: sunt, tamen, qui balistas arcusque e boum maximorum costis gerant.

Sed Yvrones, nati magis ad bellum, mutuas, ubi opus est, istis suppetias ferunt: sine quorum opportunis auxiliis, Pamphagones proculdubio diu antehac succubuissent.

Cap. VIII.—*Ucalegonium, urbs libera.*

Sed adhuc intacta mihi, non tacenda tamen, Ucalegonium[q];

[q] Villa otiosa, Ucalegon ille Virgilianus, dictus ab *οὐκ ἀλέγων*, "parum curans;" ut nos olim docuit noster Dunæus in suis lectionibus.

libera civitas, ditionis amplissimæ, in ultimis Planitiei Lecanicæ finibus, Moroniam versus, constituta: qua nullum ostentat Pamphagonia, vel magis antiquam, vel stupendam magis: cujus, uti fertur, cives quovis monacho feliciorem vitam degunt; quippe suppetit istis quicquid usui esse possit abunde.

Inprimis munitissima est ipso situ loci, planeque inaccessa; ut inanes hostium insidias et incursitationes merito ridere possit: insidet enim altissimæ rupi maximeque præcipiti, per milliaria Germanica decem continuatæ; per cujus cavam vallem Oysivium, flumen an stagnum nescio, lentissimo pede serpit[r]. Unicus tantum patet incolis ascendendi locus, via unica: nec illa gradibus quibusdam, uti fieri solet, sinuosis; sed, qui puteorum mos et, demisso fune ac corbe viminea.

Alimentum istis suppeditant aves huic loco peculiares, nec visendæ alias. Gutiges vocant accolæ; fulicis non absimiles: idque triplici modo: nam, præter carnem suam et ovorum congeriem, maxima piscium copia, prolis enutriendæ gratia, nidos suos instruunt indies, fereque obruunt; quin et foco perenni inserviunt aggesta istarum nidis virgulta. Quid ultra desideres? etiam plumis mollissimaque harum lanugine lectos sibi conferciunt cives.

Pars interior vitem producit generosissimam, lætamque segetem: nec quid aliud est, quod Ucalegones vel non habent, vel non curant.

Hic ergo incuriosissime agit ætatem populus; vel, Apuleiano sensu, vere incuriosus[s]: cœnant, dormiunt, surgunt, prandent, recumbunt. Exulant, lege Sybaritica, non modo Galli omnes, sed et omne genus artificum: agricolas enim soli hic agunt porci, quod antiquitus factum Ægyptiis; nec reliquis est opus. Sunt tamen ditioribus ministri: quorum alter expergiscentis oculos aperit lenta manu; alter edenti ventulum facit flabello; alter frusta hiantis ori immittit; excipit alter urinam; alter cingulum solvit nectitque: domino sat est ingestum ori cibum mansitare, digerere, egerere.

Sub Ucalegonii præsidio delitescunt et aliæ urbes, iisdemque fruuntur privilegiis, Lirona[t] et Roncara[u]; nisi quod fere semper dormiant cives, et, quod de ursis Plinius, tam gravi somno premantur, ut ne vulneribus quidem excitari queant; mirumque in modum hoc veterno pinguescant.

[r] Hæc fere omnia cernantur in castello quodam apud Scotos.

[s] "Agnum incuriosum" dixit, pro pingui.

[t] "Liron" Hisp. Glirem sig.

[u] "Roncar" Hisp. a Latinis, Latini vero a Græco *βέγχειν*, *stertere*, petiverunt. Plin. l. viii. 36.

Cap. IX.—*Leges Regni.*

Pythonos-Come prætorium, profecto amplissimum et fenestris undique patentissimum, in ipso propylæi frontispicio, aureis literis scriptum, exhibet Σχολῇ καὶ τάξει[x]. Mediæ vero columnæ appensas sacras legum tabulas; in hanc fere sententiam:

1. Μονοστιὰ scelus esto.

2. Ferculum pateramve plenam qui temere dejecerit, vasculum juris brevissimo cochleari, ad talos positum, rectus absorbeat.

3. Nemo solus edat, ne privato domicœnio impune violet mensæ leges: aut in plateis discumbunto cives, aut propter fenestras undique adapertas.

4. Integras quatuor horas quisquis a somno jejunaverit et defraudaverit genium, bis cogatur cœnare.

5. Ore jam pleno, recto digito respondisse sat esto.

6. Læsæ majestatis reus fame pereat: culpæ levioris dente mulctator.

7. Coquorum quisquis ita male tractaverit opsonium ut edendo non sit, palo publico suffigatur: juxta quæ appendatur caro semicruda vel semiustulata, donec misertus quis famelicus spectatorum totam comederit.

8. Eructare non liceat modo, quod Cæsarum nonnulli decreverunt[y]; sed honori sit: quique maxime viriliter, clare, et strenue ructaverit, symposiarcha proximi convivii ordinator.

9. Quisquis[z], dum cingulo tentatur, spiritum continuerit, inhabilis ipso facto redditor; et per totum diem jejunus carceri damnator, ita quidem cancellato, ut reliquos proceres possit epulantes contueri: quod supplicium nonnullis fuit capitale.

10. Quantum quisque comederit, commensalis hebdomadatim ad prætorem deferto; ut, si præscripto minus absolverit, pœnas, quibus dignus est, luat.

Qui levissime peccaverint diem totum carceri includuntur, quem illi Templum Famis appellant: contra quam nostrates suum בֵּית לֶחֶם! Illud extra urbem positum, ut Æscapulii apud Romanos: non salubritatis gratia, quod de illo Plutarchus; sed ne istuc damnati vel aura culinaria vescerentur: cujus parietes vivis omnium ferculorum figuris, quæ frustra moveant captivorum

[x] Pars sententiæ Synesianæ: τὸ θεῖον σχολῇ καὶ τάξει βαδίζει. Sub quo carmen, lingua Pamphag.

"Gaudentum locus est: procul hinc discedite tristes."

Quale scriptum Bononiæ est, in foribus prædii Casaltutulæ.

[z] Rationem hujusce legis quære capite sequente.

[y] Sueton. Claud.

appetitus, accuratissime pinguntur; unde Cubicula Meditatoria petiverunt hodierni Jesuitæ.

Nummis non utuntur: neque, enim, tanti faciunt mortua hæc et insipida metalla; sed, quod antiquitus factum docet Aristoteles[a], sola mercium commutatione venditiones emptionesque rerum peragunt. Ita duo passeres, sturno; sturni duo, turdo; duo turdi, gallina; gallinæ duæ, ansere; duo anseres, agno; duo agni, vitulo; vituli duo, capro; capri duo, vacca valere solent: quod et in oleribus piscibusque fit, stato quodam pretio: nempe id unum curant ædiles, ne quis aut malas merces obtrudat emptori, aut debito plus exigat.

Cap. X.—*Religio Populi.*

Jovem horrent: quod, illo tonante, vinum acescat; et quod, imbre intempestivo, fruges suffocet.

Tempori Deo, puta rerum omnium edacissimo, ædes illic vidi structas eleganter: in quibus Saturnus, filiorum suorum tumulus, arte mira cælatur.

Pridie cinerum sacra faciunt Genio Loci, cujus fere solius agnoscunt numen: qui, forma maximi voracissimique alitis (Ruc appellant incolæ) conspicuum se præbet quotannis, expectaturus suorum vota. Huic illi crudas offerunt hecatombas, hoc modo.

Vasta planities Lecanica est, ab australi parte montibus undique circumcincta. Huc convolant, certo die, incolæ ad unum omnes; ducuntque secum innumeram vim omnis generis pecorum, jumentorum, alitum. Elephantos, rhinocerotes, camelos, quos in hunc diem saginant (neque aliter moris est tam inutile genus animalium servare aut pascere) boves procerissimos, apros, oves, capras, quin et aves quotquot sunt nudas atque deplumes; quasique includunt in spatiosissimam hanc caveam. Ipsi, per montium latera, velut theatri alicujus gradus ordine dispositi, flexis genibus expectant sui numinis adventum.

Tandem, ingenti clangore, ac confusissimo strepitu et ronco à longe conspicias sacrum alitem, adunco rostro, falcatis unguibus, oculis micantibus, mira caterva harpyiarum, corvorum, vulturum, accipitrum undique stipatum. Advolant horrendo stridore; et jam, ad instar densæ nubis, vallem subjacentem numero et pennarum umbra tegunt, solemque et cælum adimunt. Ter circumvolant planitiem, dum incolæ exclamant, precantur, tremunt, gratulantur.

[a] Polit. [lib. i. c. 9.]

Dux avium animadvertit sibi prædam; et, ex toto agmine, seligit quicquid palato maxime arriserit. Nunc duos boves, nunc elephantum rapit. Dein statim alites reliqui, pro suo quisque modulo et appetitu, in reliquum agmen irruunt: hunc vitulo, illum agno, apro alium, alium ansere vel cygno videas onustum. Quo subinde facto, omnes, non sine canora populi acclamatione, avolant[b], et intuentium oculos effugiunt.

Quicquid superest, quod sane plurimum ut sit necesse est, illo ipso die a populo istic discumbente consumatur jubet pietas: quo sic se nimium replent, ut, per dies fere quadraginta, carnem fastidiant; et exinde piscibus, sed sumptu longe majore vino coctis conditisque, et dapibus Golosiniis, vescantur; cum ut se recreent aliquantulum tanta ferculorum varietate, tum et eo acriore animo carnem diu neglectam aggrediantur. Unde religiosam Quadragesimæ observationem in regionibus Pontificiis etiamnum crediderim invaluisse.

Cap. XI.—*Electio Magni Ducis.*

Festino ad palatium Magni Ducis: quo me duxit meus Genius feliciter, illo ipso die, quo novus princeps, pro more regni, creabatur.

In isthmo plane medio inter utramque provinciam, sita est arx longe augustissima: quam ferunt olim struxisse Omasium quendam gigantem, vastæ molis; parem non illi, cujus effigiem nostrates academici e vicino colle excisam invisunt et admirantur; sed illi potius quicunque fuit hominis monstro, cujus binos dentes maxillares e puteo quodam Cantabrigiensi effossos vidi, vix humano capite minores; quibus profecto dens ille in Utinensi littore repertus, authore Sigeberto, sponte cederet. Nanus erat, huic homini comparatus, Orestes ille Plinii[c], aut Orion Plutarchi[d]. Finge tibi potius Antæum, cubitorum 60: aut illum, cujus cadaver non procul a Drepano refossum, 200, ut ex osse coxæ conjectari licuit, cubitorum refert Boccatius: hunc ego germanum hujus fratrem autumarim.

Scilicet, hic primus regionem hanc, olim sub Frugionæ ditione positam, subegit: ejecit priores incolas: novos populos dedit, et jura nova. Cujus animam putant monstrosissimi alitis formam, errore Pythagorico, induisse; eumque quotannis hoc nomine, uti diximus, stato die venerantur.

[b] In Larciniæ silvas; ibique degunt: quære, l. iv. c. 4.

[c] Septem cubitorum. Plin. l. vii. c. 16.

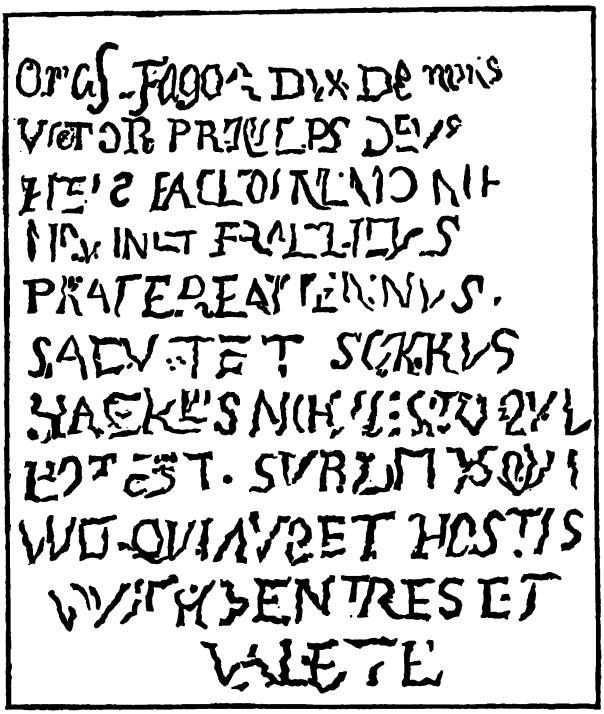
[d] Cubitorum 16. quod tamen Oti putabatur. [ibid.]

[ut supra p. 146.]

Non secus iste a misella plebecula, ac Mahumetes a suis Turcis ubique colitur. Hic, in spatioso arcis atrio, cernas monumentum hujus memoriæ sacrum, statuam visendæ altitudinis, antiquo Lysippi[e] colosso æneo haud parum sane proceriorem: juxtaque tumulum, in quo signaturas quasdam vidi; sed invida vetustate ita corrosas, ut non facile sensum aut verba eliceres; juxta illud Ovidii,

——— sed longa vetustas
Destruit, et saxo longa senecta nocet.

Sic se habebant liturarum reliquæ:



Ego sic censeo restituendum: penes lectorem esto judicium.

Omasius Fagoniæ, dux, dominus, victor, princeps, deus hic jaceo: nemo me nominet famelicus, præterreat jejunus, salutet sobrius: hæres mihi esto qui potest, subditus qui vult, qui audet hostis. vivite ventres et valete.

[e] Aut Charetis, discipuli hujus Lysippi, altitudine 70 cubitorum.

Hæc regia Ducis est: quem ille primus legislator voluit non certo, ut alibi, imperio frui, sed anxio semperque mutabili. Nam ex honoratissimis regni familiis, quæ multæ sunt, Mentonum, Buccnum, Ventriconum, Palatinorum cuiquam licet ducatum ambire; et, ubi meruerit, vendicare.

Sic ergo se habet Ducis electio. Quotannis instituitur solenne certamen: quod quidem non lanceis, aut curribus, aut remis; sed dentibus peragi solet: ubi qui vicerit, præter coronæ pampineæ honorem, regni Seneschallus, Duci proximus, exinde salutatur.

Finito certamine, surgit quisque; ac, tangens sacrum Omasii tumulum, Bacchum jurat, et Saturnum, et ipsos Omasii manes, se, absque fraude ac dolo malo, negotium hoc sequens tractaturum.

Dein, suo ordine, theatrum conscendit, hunc in diem non nimis alte concinnatum, futurum examen ambitiose expectaturus.

Tandem, prodit novus Seneschallus, cingulum ferens aureum, gemmis probe stipatum, immensæ quidem longitudinis. Sacram Zonam Imperii vocant indigenæ: cui verbum intextum animadverti, "Si nihil ultra:" qua se primus omnium induit dux prior, notatque abdominis sui mensuram: sequuntur hunc, suo quisque loco, proceres reliqui: quicunque, vero, cinctorium istud, non distento ventre nec retento spiritu, sic urgere poterit, ut altiore adhuc foramine opus videatur, maximo acclamantis populi applausu, Dux Crapuliæ salutatur. Cui statim regius pocillator, flexis genibus, amphoram porrigit amplissimam; monetque populo suo propinet salutem. Is, vase arrepto apertoque, concionem habet ad populum; si potest, congruam; sin minus, blandam certe ac benevolam. Cui ego et aurem adhibui et animum: sed, quæ illis gutturalis locutio, sonum horrui; sensum non intellexi: summam percontanti sic reddidit interpres.

Postquam, inquit, gratias habuisset ingentes Baccho, Carneæ deæ, et nigellis quotquot sunt numinibus, et in primis imperii largitori Ventri qui illum ducem maximum creassent hodie; suisque oculis gratulatus esset, qui se, priusquam exciderint, ducem potentissimum intuerentur; ad populum se convertit, suavissima oratione, Omasium sancte jurans libertates se nostras propugnaturum, promoturum negotia, hostes fugaturum, sequuturum consilia, fotu-rum studia, vota suscepturum, laxaturum gulas, mensuras ampliaturum; denique quales sumus servaturum, facturum quales esse desideramus. Dein, Fami, Abstinentiæ, Diætæ, Malæ Cervisiæ, Macilentiæ, hostem se acerrimum professus est; juravitque denuo

neminem se præside jejunaturum impune, neminem ingratiis græcaturum. "Quare," inquit, "agite, per sanctam saturitatem, estote semper hilares, et, quando potestis, obsequentes: et ita suaviter intret, tutoque exeat pulchellus iste cyathus," quo dicto vinum lentius ebibit, fundoque vasis inverso labrum pollici, pro more applicat, "ut ego vos semper ebrios, saturos, fortunatos cupio."

Populus, læta voce, cælum implet ingeminatque; "Cagastrius," sic enim illi nomen[f], "augustissimus Crapuliæ Imperator, vivat, regnet, crescat!"

Insignia regni statim illi tradita, struthiocamelus ferrum vorans, cum verbo "Digere et Impera:" et, denique, pro fascibus, gladiove, aut sceptro, cultellum una cum doliolo aureo in manus ipsi dedit Seneschallus; et solenni verbo, dixit, "Utere et fruere."

Prætereo lubens struices, quas illic vidi hac nocte patinarias, montes carnis, vini torrentes. Id unum silere nequeo, compita omnia nocte hac, ita strata fuisse vivis ebriorum cadaveribus, ut victorum hostium castra solent post maximam stragem.

Nihil fere habent in se singulare urbes reliquæ Devoracum, Porcestria, Sarcoboscum, Verulanium, Lingastrum: quarum mores habitusque ex una facile colliget lector.

CAP. XII.—*Insula Famelica, vel Terra d'Hambre.*

Excidit nobis Insulæ Famelicæ mentio.

Illa, ne quid lateat lectorem, longitudinem habet graduum 330: latitudinem, vero, 54: opposita, quidem, ab aquilone Cap. Blanco; ab austro autem, Paludi Tryphoniæ.

Terra petræa, montosa, infœcunda, nuda, arenosa. Arbores hic aliquot; sed decorticatæ, calvæ; quæ nec fructum ferant, nec frondes: quin neque flos nec gramen, quod alibi virescit injussum, uspiam hic crescunt.

Veris hyemisque vices nescit solum exsuccum et plane demortuum: sive quod herbas frondesque primulum enascentes carpant, vorentque avidissimi indigenæ: sive id fiat iratæ Cereris imprecationibus; quam ferunt, dum filiam jam nuper amissam per maria per terras solicite disquireret, incidisse in hanc insulam, et in ejus scopuloso litore naufragium passam fuisse, ac proinde diris devovisse hanc terram, ac jussisse ne quid istic deinceps nasceretur.

Incolarum nemo sedet hic vòlens; sed exilio e sua terra ejectus.

[f] Cagastrum vox est Paracelsica, opposita Iliastro: et nos petimus a *κακῇ γαστρί*.

Hi omnes colore sunt fusco et subpallido; cute dura, contracta, et elephanti more hiulca: omnium, quos sol vidit, macilentissimi; ut σκελετὸν tibi aliquod nova cute obtectum, aut hominis umbram referat quis horum cadaverosus hospes.

Videbis hic alium muscis insidiantem; vermiculis, alium: nec desunt qui terræ cutem radunt cultello, ut abditas quærant herbarum radiculas. Quin et sibi mutuo, ubi licuerit, prædæ sunt: quod a se prudenter factum Aristotelica regula defendunt; etenim, crescente hospitum numero, necesse est crescat rerum omnium indigentia: nec quem liberat advenam novitium nisi vel robur, vel macilentia.

Fabri ferrarii fere sunt omnes: quanquam et Pamphagones philosophos huc omnes ac medicos relegent, et Hispani omne genus libertos.

Terribilis formæ bestia per hujus insulæ deserta passim oberrat. Nuchtermagens[g] vocant, ἀκέφαλος; quæ horrendissimo latratu cælum implet: quem sonum qui semel duodecim horarum spatio non audierit, surdescit illico; ter vero qui audierit, nec quid prædæ objecerit ante horas duodecim, moritur.

Alia hic animalia, præter lupos et Cercopithecos[h] caudis aliquantulum curtos, nulla vidi.

YVRONIA[i],

ALTERA CRAPULIÆ PROVINCIA.

Cap. I.—*Ingenium Populi.*

Yvroniam aggredior: cujus nemo accuratam a me descriptionem expectet; neque enim ausus sum illorum urbes invisere, donec jam obtenebresceret, cum jam cives somno vinoque sepulti.

Quid metuerim, mihi rogas: neque hoc invidebo lectori; Burgomagistrorum largitatem; quibus in more est adventantes quosque hospites nescio quot vini congiis excipere, adventumque illis munificentissime gratulari, publicis impensis ac nomine civitatis: quos ebibant ipsi omnes necesse est, ni ingrati, et, quod pejus est, reipublicæ hostes haberi mavelint. Metuebam mihi, ab hoc honore et periculo.

[g] Composita vox a duabus Germanicis: Nuchter, "jejunus," et Magen, "stomachus:" unde Anglicum "Maw;" *g* resoluto in *w*.

[h] Cercopitheci caudas suas devorant, famis impatientes.

[i] "Terra ebriosa."

Regio est aliquanto major Pamphagonia; tantoque intemperantior, quanto illa opulentior. Latitudine utramque Germaniam vel adæquat, vel sane superat.

Nulla regio est, ubi vel uberius proveniant uvæ, vel felicius; adeo ut, quæ singulis Europæis gentibus propriæ sunt, Germaniæ albiores et tenuissimæ, Galliæ rubicundæ pauloque fortiores, Hispaniæ colore medioxumæ, virtute generosissimæ, omnes istic abunde crescant.

Temperie aliquantulum a Pamphagonibus discrepant: illi calido et sicco delectantur plurimum; hi, calido et humido: illi proinde culinarii et furvi; hi, cellularii et rufi crapuliani, a vicinis joco nuncupati.

Neque minus ingenio: tanto enim Yvrones illis disertiores sunt, quanto magis impudici. Ineunte quidem ætate, plerique omnes ingeniosissimi sunt: provectiore vero, et præsertim decrepita ita obliviosi, ut vix sui nominis meminerint.

CAP. II.—*Yvronia tributa in suas partes.*

Provincia hæc in tres[k] præcipue comitatus ab incolis distinguitur: Œnotriam, vel Ponfiniam; Pyræniam, vel Zythæniam; et Lupulaniam, quæ et aliis Houbelonia dicta est.

Quod ad Ponfiniam, (vocabulo ut ego putabam corrupto, P pro B, F pro V, more Germanico male pronunciato,) Meionium salsum flumen hanc a Pamphagonia scindit ab occidente ambitque Ducis regiam: cujus tamen undas non quidem a mari derivatas putant accolæ, sed ab ærëo quodam fluore conflatas.

Continet illa in se multas urbes egregias. Hic, enim, in primis occurrit mihi Pampinolæ, vel Ampelonæ viculus quintuplex, qui per Olmios se Colles pulchre diffundit, et usque ad Traubenam urbeculam, pro lateritiæ materiæ colore rubicundam, porrigitur.

Ima in valle, quæ Torcolia dicitur, Licoris elegantissimi fluminis nativum cubile est: per cujus amœnissimas ripas plurimas vidi civitates, hac illac undiquaque sparsas, non sine prudentissimo delectu fundatorum; Bacheram, Krugtopolin, Chytræam, Cadillam ligneo muro circundatam. Reliquus sane orbis, quaqua patet, flumen huic uni conferendum nullum habet: Danubius, Tamesis, Volga, Tyberis, Sequana, aut ille Guianorum Raleana, præ isto

[k] Triplici potus genere inebriantur potatores; vino, cerevisia, aquis elambicatis vino calidioribus: hinc tres Yvron. partes. 1. Œnotria, ab *οἶνος*: unde "vinum" Latini. 2. Pyræmia, a *πῦρ* et *ὄμβρος*. 3. Houbelonia, Gallis Lupulus: hinc nomen Anglicum "Hop."

plane sordent: nam, præter limpidissimorum taciteque labentium fluctuum lascivos errores, aqua dulcissimi saporis est; quæ nec optimo novit vino cedere, nec mellitis Turcarum poculis.

Peculiare quoddam piscis genus sibi vendicat his oceani filius natu maximus, Pistrin minorem: indigenæ Sprutwall[l] vocant; cui mos est maximam liquoris mustei copiam e cavo vertice in altum egerere: quem vicina gens scaphis excipit studiosissime; domique adservat.

Hic inter decurrendum Faesseram, urbem hercle ingentem, oblongam invisens, divortit tandem per latam vini cellæ planitiem, ad metropolin hujus provinciæ, Zouffenbergam.

Cap. III.—*Zouffenberga, Metropolis Yvroniæ, descripta; et, sub hac, Yvronum habitus moresque.*

Zouffenberga, ignoto mihi nomine nisi quod sonum Germanicum præ se ferre videbatur, colli superædificata καυθαροειδὴς apparet, quaquaversum aspicienti. Urbs valde celebris; et emporium, situs beneficio, commodissimum.

Ex orientali parte, doliorum aggeribus probe cincta est: quorum etiam costis domunculæ omnes obteguntur.

In ipso portæ vestibulo, sita est a mane ad vesperam, ex inviolando legis præscripto, amphora prægrandis. Poculum Hospitale, sua lingua vocant cives, cujus ansæ insculptum est vetus illud, ἢ πίθι ἢ ἄπιθι. Quisquis ingreditur aut totam ebibit, aut sistitur magistratui rationem contumaciæ redditurus.

Superne sculpta vidi urbis insignia; hirudinem nudo pedi inhærentem, cum verbo juxta posito, "PLENA QUIESCO."

Hic ego perquam certe opportune conveni hospitem jam urbem ingressurus, hominem peregrinum gente Loçanicum; qui se sua lingua "Cinciglionem[m]" nominabat. Is me sub vespera clanculum introduxit; ac multa docuit, quæ ipse nullus deprehendissem.

Ædificiorum et materia et structura non absimilis Pamphagonicis; nisi quod anterior pars domorum vite continua sic prorsus obducatur, ut ni undiquaque penderent tabernarum insignia, profecto in media te vinea putares obambulare: spectaculum, hercle, non injucundum.

In foro publico, æneis suspenduntur catenis, singularum men-

[l] Hoc nomen indit Gesnerus huic pisci: nos "Whirlpool," appellamus.

[m] Itala vox, a sono destillantis vini petita.

surarum exemplaria, sigillo regni ore summo consignata; juxtaque legum sacrarum tabulæ, quas etiam nos paulo post fideliter commemorabimus.

Nudi incedunt incolæ; nisi quod omnium tempora pampineis corollis adumbrentur: cute tamen mire depicta, veterum Britannorum more: hujus quidem centauri; illius, tragelaphi; alterius, columbæ, alitis bibacissimi. Est et quem cernas amphoræ forma tam artificiose superinductum, ut brachiis lateri incurvatis vivam jurares amphoram. Vidi et qui balænam ita pulchre referret, ut, illo vomente, nemo non putaret et hunc cetum, et quod ejecerit oceanum.

Ardebat mihi animus publicum convivandi morem, clam civibus, intueri. Cui demum annuit hospes: quanquam non sine plurimis, iisque seriis periculorum præmonitionibus, morumque documentis: quibus ego probe instructus, ad prætorium, ubi convivia solent agitari sub noctem, una cum fido duce, me contuli.

Confluunt discumbuntque, eodem plane more quo Pamphagones prius; nisi quod istic plus poculorum observavi, ferculorum minus. Vase duplici stipatur quisque ex utroque latere: matula, qua urinam; trulla, qua vomitum excepturus est.

Initio, quidem, libant Baccho; communi deo: non illo more, quo Romani olim, paulo vini diffuso humi; sed longe religiosiore. Juxta summum mensæ Bacchi statua erigitur, tenentis dextra quidem ingentem crateram; dum, præ nimio pondere, quod Virgilius olim, fessæ subvenit læva sorori[n]. Huic sacerdos, supplicum convivarum nomine, cadum vini (neque enim minus capit) jugiter infundit: quod, per cavos quosdam tubulos, veluti tot venas ad os usque et femoris juncturam derivatur; atque ita erumpit, quasi vinum simul et evomere et mingere videretur. Hæc autem illis clepsydra est, moderando convivio: postquam enim is egerere desierit, istis ingerere religio est.

Dein, salsamenta non unius generis apponuntur; placentæ salitæ, haleculæ, et salibus exesæ chalcides, pernæ plusquam Westphalæ, radices carduorum sylvestrium, anchoviæ siti proritandæ.

Tum statim plena circumvolant pocula, sonantque vacua; ut vix demum statueres, impletane fuerint ut evacuarentur illico, an exhausta ut implerentur: et, ut Plautinus ille, scaphio, cantharis, batiolis bibunt.

Præbibiturus alteri, solenni cantiuncula illum provocat: dein, dextris arctius conjunctis concussisque vehementius, poculoque ori

[n] [Fessæ succedit læva sorori.—Virg. Moret. 28.]

ejus fere admoto, rem aggreditur: et, post multas interspirationes, remissosque spiritus, et blandas sermocinationes, ansam poculi non deserit, donec totum epotarit. Pari modo respondet alter[n].

Mensa secunda ferculis non ita magnis ac opiparis instruitur: quam etiam nova potione contemperare solent.

Demum et tertia rarissimo fruticum apparatu pulchre instauratur; fere qua finita, mappaque jam provoluta, magister ceremoniarum, clara voce, Gesundheits ter præconatur.

Quo sono sciolus ego dimissam putavi turbam; discessionemque meditatus, movi pedem: quum manicam mihi leniter vellens, hospes, "Hui, tam cito," inquit, "somniculose spectator, vix dum incepto convivio? En tibi ut non languido cursu defluat Bacchi clepsydra: mane paulum, et scenæ hujus catastrophen patienter exspecta." Parui; stetique.

Cum unus e convivis, exuta corolla, flexisque genubus, velut vota facturus, sextarium arripit: et, "Salutem," inquit, "Cagastrio potentissimo Crapuliæ Archiduci." Bibit, anhelat, respirat, eructat, sermocinatur; donec, post certa quædam intervalla, totque haustus quot nomini suo literæ, fundum inverterit: quo facto, κοτταβίζει; et, quod Horatius, "mero tingit pavimentum superbo."

Sequitur a summo quisque; iisdemque poculo, facto, et gestu fidum se comprobat civem ac benevolum; quodque mavult, strenuum potatorem.

Assurgit statim alter; et, "Bene vos," inquit, "bene nos, bene celeberrimam et augustissimam Zouffenbergam:" clareque interim ructat, incurvato genu, bibit, ebibit: nec quis audet non sequi.

Tertius Yvroniæ nominat honorem, proceresque: unicuique suppetit aliquid, quo reliquos pelliciat ad novos haustus.

Tandem, cum una æque pocula potitavit quisque, quod splenem mihi movit maxime, post hæc seria, ordine suo poetam[o] agit unusquisque, musis omnibus invitis, solius Bacchi numine, ac ἐνθουσιασμῷ: æmulus scilicet antiqui moris, cujus meminit in Symposiacis Plutarchus, cantilenam quisque suam modulatur. Instar lyræ erat poculo insonans cultellum: et pulsatum est, ædepol, harmonice. Alter amicam suam laudavit: alter Dionysii

[n] Exulat hinc illud Græcanicum, in veterum etiam Romanorum conviviis usurpatum: Καὶ πέντε πίνε, καὶ τρία πίνε, ἢ μή, τέτταρα. Plutarch. συμπος. decad. 3. Athen. lib. x. Plautus in Sticho.

[o] Vere de istorum quopiam dixerit Horatius: "Aut insanit homo, aut versus facit." Ab hoc more, proculdubio, petitum est illud Græcorum, Διθυραμβοποιῶν νοῦν ἔχεις ἐλάττονα: Ut interpres Aristophan. in Avibus. Nonius.

virtutem prædicavit: alter quæ res sibi cum uxore domi erat, propalavit; ut succurrerit mihi statim illud vetus Laberii:

Ebriulati mentem hilarem accipiunt.

Alter, falso carmine, in absentem lusit: omnes numeris, ut mihi videbatur, plane Anacreonticis. Dignum patella operculum.

Interim, dum hæc fiunt, quot ora hominum, tot discrepantes affectus conspexisses: hunc, præ mero amore, socio allachrymantem; illum, oscula libantem proximo; alium, in risus immodicos solutum; alium, devota mente, Baccho provolutum; alium, cui poculum[p] non citius allatum est, stomachantem, jurantemque centum mille diabolorum myriadas; alium, nutantem et simul ore spumantem.

Ab initio autem convivii, quoniam ita lubrica sunt plerique memoria, ut officii sui facile obliviscantur, adsidet paulo altior notarius publicus, Aufzeichner, qui haustus quosque in tabellas velut acta publica refert; quid quis, cui propinaverit, sedulo describit; finitaque cœna, modo quis auscultando fuerit, recitat.

Trinkenius,	Bibulo	3ª congia.
Bibulus,	Œsophagio	sesquiamphoram.
Dipsius,	Leinio	2. sextar.
Drollius,	Biberio	totidem.
Zaufenius,	Saturioni	semicad.

Si quis demum officio defuisse deprehendatur, modo solvendo sit, adhuc satisfacit: sin minus, ineunte convivio, non sine magno se fœnore tenetur liberare.

Perlecto jam catalogo, clepsydraque exhausta; "Illud vero unum," inquam ego, "paulo solicitiorem me habet, qui isti commode deducendi sint domum." "Facile id fiet," respondet hospes. "Vides funes illos, qui tot ferreis annulis istic in foro alligantur? Hos cautiores ministri, quibus ante finitas epulas poculum libare piaculo est, vix etiam sibimet ausi confidere, foribus herilibus affixos, novum Ariadnes filum sequuti, recta domum una cum sua mandra remeant, quantumvis illum nocte." "Sed quid, si quis funem interea moverit loco?" Subrisit ille; "Et quenquam putas hoc noctis," inquit, "ita agere excubias? Novimus, tamen, hoc factum aliquando. Tum is et domum petit et uxorem non suam: quod tamen ipsa fortassis æque temulenta, non ante crastinum meridiem persentiscit; tunc autem quod nescientes fecerunt, rident scientes. Certo, enim, ipsis persuasum est, 'Non peccare

[p] Ἀγριωθέντα τῇ τοῦ πώματος ἀφθόνῳ χορηγίᾳ: ut ille de Elephantis.

quicquid, quis facit ebrius; quia non ipse, sed Bacchus id perpetrat.'" Occurrebat mihi, tamen, illud Luciani, οὐδὲ ὁ Διόνυσος ποιεῖ τὸ δὲ ἄμετρον τῆς πόσεως[q].

Cap. IV.—*Equites Aurei Dolii: Legesque Loci.*

In prætorio etiam urbis suspensum vidi aureum illud dolium, quod equitibus hujusce ordinis nomen dare solet: nam qui ter istud sobrius siccaverit, eques exinde creatur a Duce; donaturque torquato insigni dignitatis.

Neque contemnenda sunt horum equitum privilegia: ubicunque enim sunt, et mensis dominantur et tabernis. Vinum cujuscunque generis gratis afferri jubent; et modum cuique præscribunt potandi.

Hi, in omni solenni convivio, ut gladiatores olim Romani ensibus[r], poculorum numero contendunt: quique plura nec dum ebrius exhauserit, victor evadit, triumphatque serio. Ebrietatis, autem, judicium hinc peti solet: qui protensum digitum lucernæ ardentis flammulæ recta potest immittere, quicquid præterea dixerit egeritve, sobrius habetur.

Habe demum, Lector, Zouffenbergæ, sed et Yvroniæ totius leges: risumque, si potes, tene:

Pomeridiana fides irrita esto.
Pocula nemini sua sunto.

Qui meri aliquid ejecerit cottabizando præter spumam, semet incurvans effusum liquorem lingua absorbeto.

Propinanti respondeat quisque eodem poculo modoque, quo erat provocatus: qui secus faxit biduum sitiat.

Pocula semper vel plena sint vel vacua: dimidiata qui vel apposuerit minister, vel conviva tulerit, reus esto læsæ societatis.

Ebrium qui sobrius percusserit, intestabilis sit: qui sobrium ebrius, absolvatur.

Quisquis ebrium sobrius spoliaverit, vino interdicatur in perpetuum: qui interfecerit, siti pereat.

Qui siccam salutem precatus fuerit Crapuliæ Imperatori, læsæ majestatis damnetur.

Natura vel morbo abstemius, exesto.

Rectilinearis gressus à cœna, scelus esto.

Quisquis triduo in urbe manserit, Baccho sacrificet.

Civem qui nuncupaverit mœchum aut furem, ferat impune; qui abstemium, in jus vocator.

[q] Lucian. Dialog. [Ἥρας καὶ Διός.] [r] Vel Helotarum Laconicorum more.

Qui vinum aqua miscuerit, ad caninam mensam damnator.

Qui Bacchum juraverit, nec servaverit fidem, intestabilis esto.

Qui poculo alterum petierit iratus, et vel quid vini effuderit, vel vas ipsum fregerit, proximo die poculis et manum et labra abstineto.

In vestibulo prætorii scriptum reperi:

" Hæc domus est læta semper bonitate repleta.
Hic pax, hic requies, hic gaudia semper honesta.
Inscript. Stilliard."

CAP. V.—*Artes et bellandi mos Yvronibus.*

Lippi fere sunt omnes, et paralytici; strumaque insignes nobili, quali superbiunt Alpium et Pyrenæorum coloni.

Pictores longe optimi sunt, dum tremulam facit manum ebriosa senectus: ut merito hic illud cogites Luciani *οἷος ἂν νήφων αὐτὸς ἦν, ὅπου ταῦτα μεθύων ποιεῖ.*

Sed et poëtas habent plurimos, quos Dux illorum non lauro, quippe religio cuiquam est plantam viti inimicissimam gestare, sed hedera donavit: sordidum genus hominum, ipsæque fæces imæ plebeculæ; quibus ego non minus indignor sacrum illud nomen, quam Antigenidem suum stomachatum scribit Apuleius[s], quod monumentarii ceraulæ tibicines dicerentur. Homuli plane rudes: *ἀναλφάβητοι*: qui maternos vix norunt rhythmos concinnare. Hi quadris alienis victitant: novis epithalamiis, elegiis, epitaphiis tabernas replent: triumphos disponunt: edunt spectacula; et ita cantionibus præsunt nobiles choragi, ut equites poculis. Unicum illis ferunt ætatem hanc tulisse vere poëtam, quem propter intempestivum veriloquium fame audivi periisse.

Præliantur quidem sæpius, socii communis belli: sed semper inermes; nec vel indusiis, Hibernicis armis induti. Pro lanceis, sunt sudes ulmeæ quibus vites inniti solent, acuminatæ, et igne paulum obduratæ: nec vel dici vel credi potest, quam illi et strenue pugnarint, et feliciter vicerint aliquoties. Cautum est, scilicet, ne quis parum ebrius cum hoste congrediatur: vinum, igitur, audacem facit; audacia sæpiuscule fortunatum.

CAP. VI.—*Exequiæ Burgomagistri. Bacchi Sacrificium.*

Illa ipsa nocte, quæ testes nos habuit convivii, quidam e burgomagistris, cujus ædes in altiore colliculo sitæ erant, e fenestra excidit; quam is, parum sui compos nec bene palpans, ostium pu-

[s] Apul. Asin.

tarat; fractaque cervice, statim expiravit. Cujus exequias, magna cum pompa luctuque, celebratas vidi. Pullo se quisque colore tingebat; proque sertis pampineis, cupressea induebat. Cadaver impositum non sandapilæ, non pyræ; sed dolio semipleno injectum, in puteo vini pleno non tam sepultum quam submersum est: nam, ubi Romanis in more erat pyræ altiori glebas thuris, ut loquar cum Lucretio, et omne genus suaveolentium aromatum superinjicere, hic urnulam quisque vini infundit tumulo, mortuoque valedicit. Statua illi erecta in medio Bacchi atrio, inscripta illorum lingua hoc carmine[t]:

"Non patuere fores: patuit quæ nocte fenestra,
Janua mortis erat, janua honoris erit."

Biduum ego istic tutus mansissem, cum ad me hospes, "Heus tu," inquit, "latuisti probe, hactenus; sed tertium si adhuc diem egeris, necesse est Baccho sacrifices: illa mihi cura incumbit scilicet, ni in tuam gratiam pejerare malim."

Cui ego: "Et quis ille mos est, quæso, cui tam necessario parendum est? Id, si semel cognovero, aut diutius permansurus faciam, aut hodierno discessu hoc te metu ac periculo liberabo."

"Vidisti," inquit ille, "heri Bacchi statuam in foro; craterem-que, cui unum infundebant, libaturi, duplicemque infusi egressum. Alterutri horum os applices oportet, indeque haurias plus quam sat est, donec humi procubueris: tum, denique, illo ipso in loco provolutus, destillantis adhuc vini imbre, usque dum desierit, proluaris."

"Sed, amabo, dic mihi serio," inquam, "num qui unquam peregrini hoc fecerunt."

"Ad unum omnes," inquit ille: "quidam perquam lubentes; alii etiam invitissimi."

[t] Et illud *.

"Vina dedere neci Germanum. vina sepulchro
Funde; sitim nondum finiit atra dies."

Sensæ in Templ. S. Dominici. Adhuc et tertium:

"Vina dabant vitam; mortem mihi vina dederunt,
Sobrius auroram cernere non potui.
Ossa merum sitiunt: vino consperge sepulchrum;
Et, calice epoto, care viator, abi.

Valete Potatores."—Script. Sensæ in Templo S. Spiritus.

* [These two epitaphs are thus mentioned in "A new voyage to Italy" by Maximilian Misson—under the head "Sienna," A. D. 1688. "Schraderus relates in his Monuments, the epitaphs of two young gentlemen of the German country, the first of which is or was, saith he, in the church of *St. Dominick*, and the second at *St Augustine's*, but I found neither of them." vol. ii. part. 1. p. 246.]

"Ego vero abeo," inquam: "tu modo expedi mihi, sodes, quæ secundas teneat e reliquis Yvroniæ partibus."

Zythæniam ille mihi laudavit, quam alii Pyræniam vocant, sub ditione Tricongii, e nobilissima Cantharidum familia oriundi: simulque monstrat viam, satis per se facilem; jubetque valere.

Cap. VII.—*Pyrœnia vel Zythœnia, et Peregrinatio ad Sacrum Utrem.*

Pergo ego jam solus aquilonarem plagam versus: et, a tergo mihi relicto Schaum albido flumine, perveni ad Kotzungam; villam omnium quas vidi teterrimam, olidissimam.

Jamque in ipsis Ponfiniæ terminis, Validolium salutavi, satis commodam nitidamque: in qua, tamen, fontem aut fluvium nullum animadverti; ut audio, ne vinum nymphis adulterari possit.

Id unum queror, cujus monitum volo lectorem; ita proficiscenti mihi molesta fuisse pocula, ut cruces Italæ et Hispanæ solent festinanti viatori: quæ ad tertium quemque lapidem sub sacro fornice plena disponebantur, quibus illibatis peregrinanti fas non est illac præterire. Conveni, tandem, viatorem, vilissimo ac villosissimo sagulo superindutum, fronte ac pedibus nudum.

Ego statim quo tam grandi gradu tenderet percontabar.

Cui ille, "Peregrinationem," inquit, "longam suscepi ad sacrum utrem Schlauchbergæ."

Miratus novum urbis nomen, iterque inusitatum, multa rogabam, de regionis urbisque situ, de consilii ratione, ac utris denique illius virtute: tulique responsum:—

"Schlauchberga urbs est in ultimis fere Pyræniæ finibus et Loçaniæ, ab utraque regione celebratissima: in qua, præter alia colendissima religionis monumenta, ædes sunt Bacchi Pyrodis Capellam Ardentem vocant; non, ut in aliis regionibus, adulti, barbatique, sed embryonis: illa ipsa forma, qua totus ardens a Semeles utero, patre obstetricante, olim ereptus est: ex ardua rupe excisæ. E quarum tecto, pyropis aureisque flammulis magnificentius ornato, ut cataractæ in nescio quod Indicum mare, guttæ perennes fumantis tepentisque liquoris in utrem subjectum continuo fluxu destillant; quem superne ferunt tanta virtute imbutum, ut quisquis pie devoteque ex eo largius hauserit, nunquam deinceps, aut ante mediam noctem sitire, aut ante meridiem inebriari possit. Id, vero, utrumque mihi homini publico, multum facessit negotii: qui neque ad mediam usque noctem dormire possum, quin præ nimia siti surgam; neque mane surgo, quin ante meridiem gravis-

simo somno premar ebrius. Hunc ergo in finem, nisi quod paulum aquæ libaverim hodie de puro fonte, per triduum hoc siticulosus[s] incedo, ut tanto plus merear de hoc igneo numine: nec quis, aut mihi sic amicto, aut meo cuicunque comiti, poculum audeat obtrudere importunius."

Ego amplexus avide oblatum mihi tam opportune privilegium; et comitatum illius, et patrocinium obnixius efflagitabam.

Tandem, ubi non parum viæ garriendo transegissemus, mutatam soli faciem animadvertens, in qua nunc sumus regione sciscitor.

Hic inquit, "Ex quo latam illam paludem trajecimus, Methium designans lacum, tractus est Uscebatius; proximior Pyræniæ regio: non æque culta, sed multo felicior nostra Œnotria; sive terræ virtutem, sive aëris temperiem spectes."

Subolebat mihi, accepto quam primum nomine, et origo vocis et ratio: quod ad *βάθος* usque soliti sint epotare; vel ab *οὖς τοῦ σκεύεος βαρίου*: quam vere, judicent australium linguarum peritiores.

Sane, populus perquam sordidus et inhumanus; nec, nisi ebrius, unquam non ferus et truculentus videbatur: qui tamen mihi, ut superstitiosissimi sunt, comitis tam religiosi causa, satis favebant. Primam quidem noctem, in publico urbeculæ cujusdam obscurioris xenodochio, transegimus: satis pol quiete; hospites, enim, omnes ebriulatos, somnoque altissimo semimortuos, et comperimus et reliquimus. Reliquas, in quibus nihil tabellis dignum animadverti, volens taceo.

Pervenimus, tandem, per multas silvas invias longasque paludes, ad oppidulum celebre ac frequens, Portum Aquæ Fortis.

Ego, requiem mihi jam diu pollicitus, "Qua nunc imus?" inquam: "aut num hæc spes tua est illa desideratissima Schlauchberga?"

"Non est," inquit ille: "sed, quod te recreet aliquantulum, ne ulna terræ metienda restat his pedibus: remis peragetur quod restat; quibus postquam hæc obstantia freta feliciter transfretavimus, per quieta Pyræniæ litora" (regio enim hæc, Daniæ more, ab oceano interveniente, duas in partes scinditur) "ad portum optatissimum perveniemus."

Navim conscendimus: solvimus portu; et jam in mediis fluctibus agitamur.

Sed hic friget mihi etiamnum timidum hoc pectus reminiscenti, quantum nos isthic periculum evaserimus. Ecce, enim, nautas ad unum omnes ebrios planissime, suique parum compotes. Hic unus dormit in puppi: alter fato Palinuri[u] remum tractaturus, in mare

[u] Virgil. Æn.

præceps decidit; cui dum unus et alter frustra opem ferre tentant, casuri et ipsi manibus nostris servati sunt: furit alter, remumque intentat proximo, quod socio amisso non fuerit opitulatus: cui ille, lacessitus ingeminato verbere, pariter respondet: alterutri se parti adjungunt reliqui: volant hac illac minaces remi, jam in fustes conversi; et nunc non amplius undam, sed auram verberant: facile sternuntur humi, quos Bacchi priores ictus ultra præcipitant. Victores duo, neque jam plures supererant, sero pertæsi tantæ cladis, in nos irruunt, torve intuentes; nostraque causa hæc omnia evenisse clamitant. At nos, quibus pudori visum est a totidem ebriis superari, procumbentium armis instructi, impotens par hostium facile subegimus, armisque spoliatos ligavimus: ipsi nautas egimus: quin et cymba ipsa, quasi non minus ebria, nutabat hac illac; ita ut, nisi sicciòr nobis venti aura ab Æolio utre opportunius emissa flavisset, et navim plane invitam recta promovisset, hic nos miseri remiges spem omnem una cum cadaveribus nostris obscure sepelissemus, neque unquam religiosus iste comes Bacchi sui utrem invisisset.

Inter navigandum, quod unum silere nequeo, obversabatur oculis nostris, procul a sinistris, insula quædam alta et nivosa; aliquanto borealior: cujus nomen rationemque petenti responsum est:—

"Illa Glacialis Insula nominatur; quo Bacchus, jam imberbis, ut iratæ novercæ supercilium fugeret, a patre relegatus est; quem cum inhumanius tractassent, tandemque vi et armis abegissent incolæ, iratus pater terram jussit perpetuis nive ac tenebris operiri."

"Sed unde fumus ille, quem a longinquo videmus e montis nivosi cacumine erumpentem?"

"Mons," inquit, "Sacer Dionysii: in cujus igneis visceribus expiari ferunt illorum animas, qui nimis sobrie temperanterque vixerint, aut illi manus olim violentas intulerint. Hic scilicet pœnas dant infelices umbræ, assidueque cruciantur; donec quis amicorum superstitum Capellam Ardentem inviserit, et ignea illa aqua in tumulum effusa manes liberaverit."

Subrisi ego: jam mihi visus cantatissimi illius Purgatorii originem explorasse: ut frustra sit Odilo ille Abbas cum Monachis Cluniacensibus, qui in Ætnæo Monte istiusmodi animarum expiatorium, 600 abhinc annis statuerint[x].

Appulimus tandem; urbemque invenimus satis quidem ele-

[x] Anno 1000.

gantem, sed utribus vasisque coriaceis stratam, tectam. Nec artifices ullo hic vidisse memini, præter sutores utriarios: ut jam tandem quid de coriis Pamphagonicis fieret, satis intellexerim. Cujus rei rationem sic habe: Incolæ non mero utuntur, ut Yvrones reliqui; sed aquis quibusdam lambicatis, vino fortissimo commistis, quarum tanta vis est, ut fragili hoc vitro contineri nequeant; quapropter thecas sibi hujusmodi comparant, resina piceque firmatissimas.

Cives rufi sunt plerique, lippi, iracundi, invidi, suspiciosi, trementе manu, gressu dubio; et, quod me terruit maxime, meras flammas et bibunt et spirant: quantum, enim, nos istic aquæ, aut tenuissimæ cerevisiæ, tantum isti hujus calidissimi liquoris infundunt; ut quoties aliquem viderim istorum, non potuerim non ignei Draconis Franecrensis meminisse.

Ego, igitur, qui modo aqua periclitabar, nunc mihi magis ab incendio metuebam. Comitem, ergo, meum Baccho suo supplicantem, præcordiis meis longe melius consulturus, deserui; et ab urbe Vulcani Cyclopumque, potius quam Liberi Patris, me proximo mane subduxi.

Jamque dum per extremas Loçaniæ oras reditum meditabar, visurus Houbeloniam, tertiam Yvroniæ regionem, ecce me subito adorta est armata vis Viraginensium, cinxit, cepit, rapuitque miserrimum erronem, per immensum iter, ad caput regni Gynæcopolin.

Nolo tamen ægrius ferat lector, quod intacta mihi hoc casu remaneat Yvroniæ pars reliqua: nam, ut mihi narravit nuperus comes, et hæc omnium ignobilissima est, et parum discrepat a cæteris; nisi quod Houbeloniis minus generosa ebrietas est, magisque belluina.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

VIRAGINIA, VEL GYNIA NOVA.

Cap. I.—*Situs Viraginiæ; illiusque Regiones. Terra Fœminarum.*

Gynia Nova[a], quam alii corrupta voce Guineam appellant, ego vero Viraginiam, illic sita est, ubi geographi Europæi Psittacorum Terram depingunt. Ab aquilone, Loçaniam huic genti inimicissi-

[a] Guinea Nova describi solet extrema pars orientalis terræ Austr. incognitæ, proxima regno Maletur et Beach. hic nos et Guyniam finximus.

mam; ab austro, Frugionam: ab oriente, Moroniam Mobilem et Felicem attingit.

Terra profecto ferax; sed male culta.

Regiones sub se multas amplasque continet; ingenio simul et moribus valde sibi dissonas. Præcipuæ sunt Linguadocia, Rixatia, Ploravia, Risia Major et Minor, Aphrodysia, Amazonia, Eugynia: a quibus non procul abest Insula Hermaphroditica. Harum ego quasdam peragravi plane invitissimus.

Superat reliquas longissime Linguadocia: in qua plurimæ sunt urbes celeberrimæ; Garrilla, Psudium, Labriana, quam interluit flumen ingens: Sialon vocant accolæ, quod ita sæpe tumet, ut in tam vasto canali vix possit contineri: et sane depressior pars regionis, quam Mentyrneam Vallem nominant, hinc inde periclitaretur quotidie, ni sagaciores incolæ osseo aggere ripas bene munirent.

Sed primas urbium et Linguadociæ et Viraginiæ totius vendicat tenetque Gynæcopolis: ubi ego diutius quam vellem, commoratus sum.

Quid, ergo, de me factum, inprimis referam; ac, dein, quæ de nova gente dicenda sunt, ordine meo prosequar.

Cap. II.—*Quid mihi factum a Gynæcopolitis.*

Quam primum me duræ victrices, e Loçanicis finibus raptum, in forum deduxissent, campanulam illico pulsarunt: qua semel audita, convolarunt avidæ cives; meque hic in procinctu vinctum curiosius intuentur: dum una raptricum nostrarum, quæ tunc, ut videbatur, ducem egit, dato uti opus erat silentii signo, reliquas alloquuta est.

Qui sim, cujasve, nescire se: solummodo in tam perditæ regionis finibus me deprehensum: monetque, ut, tot tantisque Loçanensium injuriis lacessitæ, de sera tandem vindicta cogitent; ferantque de me judicium.

Ego gentem meam rationemque erroris, quibus potui verbis ac gestibus, significabam; me rerum Loçanicarum prorsus ignarum; et ex illis esse, qui ipsarum et sexui et genti bene semper voluissent; indignum esse harum clementia et justissimi regiminis fama, peregrinum insontem, nihil unquam de ipsarum sexu male meritum, indicta causa, damnatum iri.

Movit illas non parum tam supplex oratio, tamque non fucata species veritatis: vicit ergo demum tutior plurimarum sententia, vinctum me scilicet in prætoriano carcere, Gynæcio, servandum,

donec et patria mea et peregrinationis institutum senatui constiterit.

Hic ego et longam et miseram servivi servitutem: neque, ni me patriæ meæ (quæ merito per terrarum orbem Fœminarum audit Paradisus [b]) nomen servasset, vivus hinc demum excessissem. Enimvero, Loçanicos, quotquot deprehendunt, vel suspendunt vel vilissimis officiis in hoc infami carcere deputare solent: sic nimirum ultæ quotidianas illius gentis injurias; quæ tametsi salacissima sit, et in venerem propensissima, pueros tamen ardet solos, et putanas, fortassis mulas et jumenta: uxores vel omnino negligit, vel nimis suspiciosa cura et zelotypia solicite custodit. Quot ego hic non ignobilium captivorum classes, ad Herculea pensa senescentes, lanam carpentes, staminaque torquentes vidi!

Liberavit me, tandem, patriæ principisque jam olim emeritæ sacrosanctum nomen; non tamen solutum prorsus et injuratum. Tangenda mihi, scilicet, Ara Junonis; et publice danda fides, me leges subsequentes inviolate observaturum:—

Me nihil unquam mali nobilissimo sexui, vel verbo vel facto, machinaturum.

Fœminam loquentem sermone meo nunquam interpellaturum.

Domesticum imperium me ubicunque sim, fœminæ concessurum.

Me nunquam in Loçaniam rediturum: agitatur, enim, apud illas vulgari proverbio, "Plurimos huc appellere bonos viros, discedere malos maritos."

Plurium amores me, ne vel gestu, simul ambiturum.

Nihil quicquam proditurum secreti.

Nihil unquam uxori, quod ad cultum ornatumque spectarit, negaturum.

Ingenii, et formæ, et facundiæ laudem me fœminis ultro daturum; et ab omnibus detrectantium calumniis vindicaturum.

Suscepi in me lubens omnia: neque duriorem certe conditionem facile respuissem, discedendi studio. Ita vincula etiamnum calamo meo scribentis injecta videt lector; ut omnia fas non sit mihi jurato eloqui. Quædam non mala licebit: mala non liceret, vel injurato.

Cap. III.—*Forma Regiminis et Electionum.*

Status mihi democraticus visus est: dum quæque studet imperare, nulla subjici. Quin neque legibus se patiuntur coerceri:

[b] Gallic. proverb. "Angliam, fœminarum paradisum, servorum purgatorium, infernum equorum."

publicis tantum suffragiis omnia peraguntur. Quæ quomodo lata fuerint, mirum mihi homini peregrino videbatur: omnes, enim, una loquuntur, canoris acclamationibus: nulla silet, auremque alteri accommodat.

Parliamentum istic habent fere perpetuum; in quo majoris momenti negotia pertractantur: ut Desiderius noster, si jam superesset, factum agnosceret, quod fœminas tantopere petentes introducit[c]. Id, vero, necesse est, propter legum latarum incertitudinem: licet, enim, postero die plebiscita quævis pro arbitrio retrectare: eodem non licet; ne sibi parum constantes viderentur.

Suffragiis quidem pares sunt universæ cives; non tamen dignitate: certo enim præfectarum numero, quas Centum-Viras appellant, urbes præcipuæ fasces tribuunt. Neque vero natæ sunt illæ rerum dominæ, sed electæ; uti aliqua videbitur, pulchritudine et eloquentia, sola enim hæc duo in omni electione spectantur, eminere.

Olim penes populum erat eligendi potestas, donec ex eo quod unaquæque semetipsam suo promovit suffragio orta confusio laudatissimum hunc electionis morem antiquaverit.

Exinde decretum est, ut illæ solæ judices sederent tam invidiosæ litis, quæ se neque formosas neque disertas profiterentur. Quo factum est, ut, concurrente sæpe populo, ne una comperta est in tam frequenti spissaque corona, quæ electricis locum occuparet; dum provectiores ætate non minus se putant facundas, quam juvenculæ elegantes.

Tandem, visum est hunc honorem duodecim ex annosissimis è vico Vetulonio[d] matronis deferri: quem etiam superbo præterea titulo prudenter auxerunt, ut eo lubentius expeteretur. Neque illis præter titulum deesse potest, quod a senibus plurimi solet æstimari, rerum omnium affluentia: ita, enim, Noctuæ Laurioticæ[e] volant undique, ita donis certant ambitiosæ puellæ, captantque ingenti pretio venalem judicum gratiam, ut nec forum ipsum crediderim aut corruptius aut opulentius.

Pro sceptro, facibusve, aut securi, Plumæ istis, et Specula præferuntur, maximæ molis: quæ vel per vicos incedentes non desinunt intueri; et horum consilio, capillos, ora, et gressus ipsos componere.

[c] Erasm. Colloq.

[d] Vetulonia, Ptolomæo Hetruria metropolis. Sic Silius Ital. l. viii.

[e] Aristoph. [Aves 1106. ed. Kuster.]

Cap. IV.—*Viraginensium Origo.*

Paucissimæ Viraginensium istic natæ sunt: sed aliunde a quibuscunque orbis terræ regionibus huc confluunt, quæ aut propter nimiam in maritos ferocitatem pulsæ sunt, aut propter nimiam maritorum inclementiam et zelotypiam sponte exularunt.

Quotquot maritorum suorum dominæ, injusti imperii causa e finibus suis una cum viris ejectæ huc appulerint, in extimis regni oris, illa præsertim parte quæ Gynandria vel Amazonia dicta est, urbes munitas incolunt, militesque agunt præsidiarias.

Exsules, vero, spontaneæ, quæ imbelliores plerunque sunt et animi mollioris, in ipso regni umbilico pacem colunt et formam.

Neque est quod speres rempublicam tam incertæ originis aliquando præ civium paucitate desituram: tot, enim, huc indies aggregantur ultroneæ, præsertim municipes, ut verendum sit potius ne nullus brevi reliquus futurus sit novis civibus commorandi locus.

Ego certe male metuo, ne ubi istiusmodi regio nostratibus fœminis calamo meo innotuerit, vix ulla domi mansura sit, proximi seculi spem sua fœcunditate conservatura.

Cap. V.—*Aphrodysia*[f].

Exhinc, igitur, regiæ urbis diplomate instructus, perrexi porro ad septentrionalem Viraginiæ partem, quæ Loçaniam spectat, Aphrodysiam: terram, hercle, florentissimam.

Nec scio quot leucis ab Erotio vel Amantina proxima regionis villa distabam, cum jucundissimi odoris halitus nares mihi opplebat; haud secus ac si pretiosissimæ pharmacopolarum pyxides juxta stetissent: ita omnia hic seplasiarios olent pastillos et delicias Golosinias. Reliqua taceo.

Hic fœminas vidi proceras, comptas, et, ni fucus gratiam formæ sustulisset, sane pulchras. Quæ omnes facie papillisque nudæ incedebant; cæterum amictæ, sed materia levissima, coloribusque splendidissimis. Partes nudæ ita palam cerussatæ videbantur, Moscoviticarum more, ut jurares personam te videre, vel statuam, aut parietem; non humanam cutem.

Mulieres Desuergoniæ (illo gaudet nomine prima urbs Aphrodysiarum) vitreas colunt domus, undique pellucidas.

Harum neminem, ni frustra velis esse, domi quæras; nisi forte priusquam compta fuerit et ornata: nec quam in foro theatrove

[f] Terra lasciva.

(hic enim diem terunt) nisi vel ridentem, vel canentem, vel tripudiantem cernes.

Non aranea muscis insidiatur magis, quam istæ viatoribus Loçanicis, quantumvis genti suæ infestis: quanquam et horum plerique ultro se, quæstus gratia, istarum summittant petulantiæ. Captos pelliciunt ad se primulum lascivis gestibus: dein, exorant importunius: pretio, demum, aggrediuntur: denique, si nihil horum, vi cogunt turpissimæ libidini inservire: qui, postquam semel sui copiam fecerint, non aliter quam equi admissarii in secretiore stabulo custodiuntur, nescio quibus radicibus Indicis philtrisque potentissimis saginati.

Has ego et odi, et fugi ocius; ne vel literarum præsidio satis me tutum ratus: quibus profecto nunquam ausus fuissem, ni formæ meæ satis jampridem mihi conscius, spem salutis pudorisque mei commisisse. Profuit, ergo, semel fuisse deformem: ut vel ea, quorum causa naturam maxime solemus criminari, fiant aliquando, illa sic sagacissime nobis prospiciente, vel non cogitantibus utilissima.

Cap. VI.—*Insula Hermaphroditica.*

Non procul a Guaone, ultima Moluccarum, inter Cap. Hermosam et Beach Promontorium, Insulam vidi Hermaphroditicam; nec forma, nec magnitudine, Monensi nostrati absimilem.

Ubi quasi solum ipsum formæ incolarum aptasset natura, nihil non geminum animadverti. Nulla plane arbor est, quæ non et variis frugibus onusta sit, et variis nominibus insignis. Pyro-Malos, Pruno-Cerasos, Palma-Mygdalos appellant.

Sed et forma vestium composita ex utrique sexui propriis: nam qui plus habent virilitatis, a talis ad coxas usque viros referunt, reliquo corpore fœminas: contra, vero, quæ natura muliebri insigniores: quod et in nominibus propriis, ne quid dissimulent, studiose observant. Qualia sunt Philippomaria, Petrobrigida, Amarichardo, Thomalicia.

Serviunt reliquis adolescentiores, quotquot natos non et genuerint et pepererint.

Si quem e nostris deprehenderint naturæ simplicis, hunc ut prodigiosum quiddam ostentant: neque secus admirantur, ac nos partus bicipites, mutilosve, aut absque pudenda parte natos.

Se demum perfectam prolem naturæ gloriantur: quæ "cum binas aures, nares, manus, oculos, pedesque binos concesserit absoluto corpori, cur minus," inquiunt, "præstantissimum animalium

dupliciter instructum voluerit? quin et si quis consulat mulierculas prioris ævi sacra suæ Cybeles (pol bene castis ritibus) peragentes, aut veteris Romæ, imo et novæ famosissimos prædicatores, comperiet istos nequiter ambire, quod nobis sponte concessum est."

His se, aliisque fœdissimis rationibus, munire solent homines non plane rudes: in quibus, pro corporis forma, una cum muliebri astutia, virilem sagacitatem observabis.

Jumenta hic nulla, præter mulas; nec feræ, præter lepores. Piscibus fere victitat gens tota; præsertimque testaceis.

Cap. VII.—*Amazonia vel Gynandria*[g].

Reversurus per extimam Aphrodysiæ partem, ejusque occidentalem angulum, incidi, prout lares me viales ducebant, in Amazoniam vel Gynandriam; unicum tam imbellis regni præsidium, adversus vicinorum furorem et incursiones.

Quoniam vero præter Loçanicos ab adjacentium nemine periculum sibi putant imminere (quippe Frugiona, pacifica gens, ipsas irritare non vult; Moronia non potest, si velit maxime) hinc fit ut præsidiarias urbes Amazonum, in Orientali Loçaniæ vestibulo collocaverint.

Ubi tacere nequeo quantum me spes mea fefellerit: conspecto enim semel virili habitu, non parum gestiebat mihi animus ne quicquam sibi suggerens illico, me molestissimas Viraginiæ oras evasisse. Sed illusum externa incolarum specie docuit eventus: hic, enim, braccatæ incedunt fœminæ, barbasque prolixas alunt; viri quique stolati et imberbes: qui lanificio strenue incumbunt domi; dum fœminæ rei rusticæ operam dant, et militari.

Pepuzia hic urbs et antiqua et magna sedet: unde fortassis orti olim Pepuziani hæreseos[h] jamdudum damnati, qui mulieribus imperium et sacerdotium commissum voluerunt.

Non ita Barbari suas mulieres vel Aristotelis[i] ævo tractabant, vel etiamnum tractant imperiose, ut istic fœminæ viros. Miserebat me certe tantæ servitutis. Nihil induere, satagere, eloqui audent boni viri, injussu uxorum: nec quo exire, vel ad necessaria naturæ munia, nec quem contueri aut alloqui, nisi venia prius humillime impetrata.

Id quod hodierno die sanctius, quam olim observatum didici. Cui rei rationem hanc ferunt esse: quod virorum cordatiores quidam, pertæsi jam sero tam ignavæ turpisque servitutis, consilium

[g] Anglice, "Land of Shrews." [h] August. lib. de Hæres. [ed. Ben. t. viii. p. 10.]
[i] Aristot. Polit. l. c. 2.

inissent stata quadam nocte fœminas clanculum adoriendi, secretaque strage gravissimum hoc jugum excutiendi. Quod quidem juxta conjurationem hanc feliciter evenisset, ni meticulosus quidam homuncio, cui subirata conjux ob officii alicujus neglectum verbera minitata est, ut supplicium evaderet, totam consilii rationem sub vespera patefecisset.

Sedent mulieres, dum viri ministrant: dum expergiscuntur, dormiunt: dum plorant, rixantur et verberant. Albo lapillo dignus est ille dies, cui isti salva possint cute valedicere. Visus mihi fuissem denuo inter Turcica mancipia versatus, ni me habitus discrimen turpioris servitii monuisset. Vah, quale spectaculum erat in virili manu, colus ac stamen; in muliebri, pugio baculusve! Dissimulavi tamen, ut potui, pudorem; animum studiose applicans, ut omnia cognoscere possem, nihil pati.

Si qua clementiore ingenio muliercula mitius egerit cum viro, ac remissius; statim, uti hic delatricum plena sunt omnia, defertur ad senatum, læsæque majestatis incusatur. Crimen illi intentant vicinæ, non sine magna et animi commotione et contentione vocis. Quod si res vel levissimis indiciis innotuerit, hoc modo rea plecti solet: vestem cogitur mutare cum viro; sicque amicta, raso capite, prodire in forum: ibi toto die stat in editiore loco, omnium spectatricum convitiis ac cachinnis exposita. Neque vir ipse hanc audaciam feret impune, qui tantillum sibi a muliere oblatum favorem non modeste recusarit: ubi illa tandem domum redierit, luto, lotio, contumeliis maculatissima, vestem non ante deponit, quam cruentum ostentaverit baculum, quo viri sui caput valide comminuerit.

Uxori suæ quisquis supervixerit, aut ancillam ducat oportet, data prius observantiæ prioris fide; aut proximæ matri-familias in mancipium cedat: quoniam nemini virorum rebus domesticis quamlibet suis præesse liceat. Dum peregre proficiscitur fœmina, vel militiæ causa, vel negotiationis, vel denique voluptatis, ancillæ aut filiæ mandantur claves, et cum clavibus imperium: cui si ille semel obstrepere ausus fuerit, dat pœnam reduci; ni, precibus multis aliisque quibuscunque officiis, silentium vicariæ dominæ impetrarit, conciliarit gratiam.

Rarius ad ejusdem thori consortium admittuntur viri; quando, nimirum, lubitum est uxorculis: sapit hoc scilicet, ut illæ quidem putant, nimium familiaritatis. Ni, tamen, singulis noctibus antequam incaluerit dominæ lectus e procœtone surrexerint, ac nudo pede ascenderint, terque levi manu pultarint fores, sum-

missaque voce obsequium suum officiosius obtulerint, postero die vapulent.

Contra morem nostratium, capillos tondent, ungues alunt.

Sunt inter illas, quæ artem gymnasticam et exercent et profitentur: qua quomodo dentes, ungues, calces bellicosissime gerant, ostenditur: denique faciem excoriare, oculum eruere, mordere lacertos, aurem perfodere, vellere barbam artificiosius, et præceptis docent et exemplis.

Vix crederes quam illic domi nitent omnia: ubi, tamen, omnia lavant, verrunt, coquunt, parant viri soli: ut hinc satis appareat, viros officia domestica recusare, non quod ista tractare nequeant, sed quod se minus decere putent. Nihil ibi sordidum vidi præter virorum vestimenta; quæ profecto præter modum squalescunt, ut non minus ipsi se negligant, quam a fœminis negligantur. Foris, tamen, et agros et tecta, fœminarum curam, videas incultissima: urbium mœnia ita semiruta, et ubi adhuc integra consistunt ita imperite constructa, ut virorum tutelam desiderare videantur, et fœminarum operam et patrocinium abominari. Dubitas nunc de salute mea, Lector; sat, scio, solicitus, qua tandem ratione miser peregrinus e tam periculosa perditaque regione sit incolumis evasurus. Dicam ingenue, hoc mihi præstiterunt habitus, ætas, consilium. Nam et habitu incedebam virili; et jam adolescentulo mihi prima lanugo sexum commode dissimulabat; et, quod accidit mihi peropportune, istic incidi, quod cui mirum videbitur in tam longinquo orbe, in plurimos mihi de facie quondam notos conterraneos: quorum fretus præceptis monitisque, ut suæ olim Sibyllæ Trojanus eques[k], per paludinosissimas Ploraviæ valles, montesque Tuberoniæ, non sine multis laboribus, molestiis, periculis, in Moroniæ fines lætus hospes perveni.

Sed quid de probis interea fœminis fiat, et rogabis, et nimium fortasse miraberis.

Infelicem me ratus viatorem, aut ingratum: qui istas vel non convenerim unquam; vel visas notasque, tanto silentio præterierim. Plurimæ quidem illæ sunt, mi homo, dico serio: sed quæ Eugyniam habitant, partem mihi fateor non visam; sed certo rumore cognitam. Quin et prædictis Viraginiæ partibus non paucæ sunt; sed quæ vitam agunt anachoreticam et monasticam, ac proinde montes incolunt præruptos et inaccessos. Huc scilicet, uti ferunt, castissimæ, piissimæ, pulcherrimæ fœminarum ultro secedunt.

[k] Æneid. vi.

Quisquis ascenderit ac studiosius quæritaverit, non poterit non plurimas hujus farinæ reperire. Ipse unam aut alteram conveni; quarum adhuc et formam, et mores, virtutemque stupeo: sed quod adolescentuli nostrates, si qui huc forte peregrinentur, ita omnem inveniendi laborem refugiant, curamque rejiciant; hinc fit, ut bonarum fœminarum paucitatem immerito causentur.

LIBER TERTIUS.

MORONIA[a].

Cap. I.—*Numerus Moroniæ, et Situs.*

Moronia regio est omnium quas vidi incultissima, vastissima, populosissima. Sane, si quis in celebrioris alicujus emporii bursa obambulet, quod ille olim de Parisiis, mundum huc totum confluxisse judicabit. Non me latet quid de Europæorum numero scriptitarint historici: illud vero quantumcunque est, libere concedamus. Italia 9,000,000, plus minus, complectatur: Hispania aliquanto pauciores: Anglia 3,000,000: totidem et Belgia: Germania utraque 15,000,000: Gallia totidem: Sicilia 130,000. Novimus et quid de Chinensium, quorum, ut perhibent qui de magnis majora loquuntur, 70,000,000 solent in hac audaci orbis censione numerari: mera profecto hic solitudo est, si quis istorum cum frequentissimo Moroniæ populo conferatur.

Terra sita est sub ipso polo Antarctico; uti, contra, sub Arctico, Pygmæorum: et, sane, jam subolet mihi ex una eademque causa, frigore nimirum utriusque regionis intensissimo, et Pygmæorum exilitatem, et Moronorum stupiditatem provenisse: qua quidem in re pulchre sibi respondet Natura; dum in altera mundi plaga vitium corporis, animi vero in altera, ex nimia solis remotione fieri voluerit. Cui et hoc fidem facit, quod qui sub mediis ac temperatis cæli zonis habitant, et animo valere soleant et corpore. Sed philosophi id curent scilicet.

Ab austro Crapulia terminatur; Viraginia, et extremo Frugionæ angulo, ab oriente; ob occidente, denique, Lavernia.

Cap. II.—*Moroniæ partes, Moresque toti populo communes.*

Multiplex quidem est Moronia, et multiformis. Nam, ad orientem, Variana vel Mobilis Moronia sita est; sub ipso polo,

[a] Terra Stultorum.

Aspera; ad austrum, Moronia Felix; inter utramque, Fatua; Pia, denique, ad occidentem.

Corpore sunt plerique omnes, quantumvis sæviente frigore, procero et obeso, crine subpallido, φοξῷ capite[b], labiis prominentibus, auribus crassissimis.

Sed non idem omnibus ingenium, non mores, non habitus. Notabo pauca, quæ in universum fere omnibus competere mihi visa.

Advenis quibuscunque, sine omni discrimine, copiam faciunt (si Asperam Moron. exceperis) suarum urbium, ædium, mensæ. Adi quenquam istorum; saluta submissius, non sine turgidulis titulis, planeque Hispanicis; lauda vel faciem, vel vestem, vel manum, vel domum; et quicquid dixerit adstipulare: hospitium nactus es quamdiu voles, in quo nihil quicquam tibi deerit quod possit uspiam comparari. Gratiis et blandis pollicitationibus hic veneunt omnia.

Plumas, aut serta, vel campanulas, aut tympana, magno auri pretio, a gratissimis emunt mercatoribus.

Media hyeme aperto incedunt pectore, et reliquo corpore leviter amicto; ut eo facilius intret calor, frigus exeat: æstate, autem, induunt endromida, et superinduunt pallium, et quot habent vestes; ne qua forte calor intrare possit: quanquam et alii, φιλοσοφώτεροι, contempta hyemis intemperie, nudi fere prodeant; hac freti ratione, quod cum cætera animalia suis plumis aut corio contenta sint, turpe sit regi reliquorum homini aliorum integumentis indigere.

Nemo istorum solus unquam est: semet enim alloquitur, sibique respondet vicissim: secum ludit ipse, non sine magna contentione, aliquando etiam et rixis; risumque sibi aut lachrymas movet ubertim.

Per omnes Moroniæ partes vagantur religiosiores quidam Morosophi, in varios ordines distincti; qui eodem istis in loco habentur, quo Bonzi[c] apud Chinenses: pium genus hominum, ac lepidulum. Exciderunt mihi fere classium nomina; quarundem sonus hæret etiamnum, vel certe non multum absimilis. Alii se, ni male memini, Morello-scurras[d] vocant: alii, Cluniachos, et Latrinenses[e]: alii,

[b] φοξὸς ἔην κεφαλ. de Thersite. Homer. [Il. ii. 219.]

[c] Hi Chinensium quasi Pseudotheologi Pagodos (sic idola vocant) religiosissime colunt, magnoque in honore sunt.

[d] Morello-scuro, color est Italis Monachorum de valle umbrosa.

[e] Lateranenses regulares, et Cluniacenses.

Licetanos, Zoccolantos, Cercosimios[f] Matteobassos[g], Scelestinos[h], Della mercede, Della vita commune. Isti omnia quæ habent largiuntur aliis, ipsi mendicant. Ad extremos Moroniæ fines ambulant nudo pede, ut cælatum lapidem intueantur, alloquantur, exosculentur: cui, demum, supplices provoluti offerunt munera, vota fundunt. Aurum plumbo mutant, et membranulis. Cereos accendunt meridie. Carne vesci, religio illis est: piscibus ad crapulam licet. Aurum nuda manu argentumve tangere quibusdam piaculo est[i]. Hominum vix quenquam salutant! nullum non lapidem aut lignum. Flagellis se misere mastigant, ut apud istos crudelior quædam, quam quæ Laconum olim διαμαστίγωσις reviviscat: sive, quod nemo alius tergus suum illis poliendum sit commodaturus; sive, quod olim vitulorum sanguinem Deo gratum fuisse acceperint. Verticem radunt: vel, quod lævi cranio se natos meminerint; vel, ad calorem cerebri temperandum; vel, ne crines inter cœlum et cerebrum nascentes impedimento forent, ne libera mens cœlestia meditaretur[k]. Duo tantum sunt, quæ, me judice, plus nimis sapiunt astutiæ: quod credulam plebeculam ita pulchre emungant, ut aliorum impensis laute vivant ipsi otioseque; et, denique, quod nolentes perpeti domi crucem (ut ingeniose Scaliger) uxoribus utantur alienis, pullosque quos ipsi genuerint, aliorum alis fovendos supponant.

Si quis horum ægrotaverit, lachrymatur affatim, usque dum vel moriatur, vel convalescat. Medicamenta omnia pertinacius aversantur: tantum moribundi oleo a suis Morosophis inunguntur.

Sapientiam non metiuntur silentio (quippe res etiam inanimes id faciant ultro) sed verborum delectu, numero, rotundo exitu. Ille vere sapit, non qui parum loquitur, sed qui multum non incongrue.

Non equitant unquam: non navigant: salutem suam, vel cespitanti jumento, vel natanti nutantique ligno credere, stultum judicant.

Ad pubertatem usque ab uberibus matrum pendent.

Mortuos non solent sepelire. Factum id putant inhumanius, ut

[f] Certosini.

[g] Matteo Basso, Italis fundator erat Capucinorum. [A. D. 1525, Matthæus Debascius, Hoffman. Lexic. Univ.]

[h] Cælestinos.

[i] Nota fabula est de Franciscano et Dominicano.

[k] Hugo l. ii. de Sacram. part. iii. c. 1. [Lib. i. c. 32. Ferrarii de Cath. Eccl. Div. Off. Roma, 1591. p. 740.] Rabanus l. i. de Institut. Clericor. c. 3. [Ibid. p. 265.] Bellarm. de Monachis, l. ii. c. 40. cujus hæc verba: "ut sic maneat vertex;" id est, animus liber et apertus divinis contemplationibus et illustrationibus. [Bell. Disp. t. i. p. 1871.] In Albo Jani Douzæ manuscr.

quis parentem, vel uxorem, amicumve, eo quod anima destituatur, terra occultaret; nec posse fieri, ut eum olim superstitem vel amarit quis vel honorarit, quem modo mortuum ita supinus abjecerit, ac nudum vermibus propinaverit. Suorum ergo cadavera ligno altissimo suspendunt sub dio, vestita quam possunt elegantissime; et quotannis visunt ac venerantur: quanquam et veteribus hunc sepeliendi morem usurpatum fuisse satis doceant non pauca, Piæ præsertim Moroniæ, monumenta.

Et isti uxorum dominium agnoscunt: sed illo mitius, quod ipsorum mulieres imperare nesciant. Quem morem hinc ego natum accepi.

Viragines olim Amazoniæ, istis adhuc pæne confines, Moroniam totam armis subjugarunt; quam, tamen, ipsæ nolentes propter colonorum inopiam occupare, nomen sibi retinentes imperii, pepigerunt ut victi incolæ pristino more possiderent; tantum annui tributi nomine asinum auro probe onustum mitterent dominis ac victricibus Amazoniis. Et id quidem, annis jam plurimis, die stato factitatum est. Renuunt, tandem, Moroni: nuntiumque remittunt, aurum se quidem non tanti facere, modo ipsi, quod suum est, tempore suo petere dignarentur; sed ut amicum animal, manere apud se discupiens, fustibus abigerunt, invitumque cogerent thesaurum suum exportare, factum ipsis videri durius ac iniquius: ac, præterea, rem nimis ambiguam esse ac litigiosam; nam, ubi asinus asino robustior est, si plus minusve hoc anno miserint quam superiore, merito cavillari posse Amazonias, se non justum onus accepisse: præsertim, cum ipsi sæpius experti fuissent, misellum animal, cui in primo egressu ferendo videbatur, ante longi itineris exitum, oneri succubuisse. Responso hoc commotiores Amazoniæ bellum parant: invadunt terram; et, reluctante nemine, perveniunt tandem armata acie ad metropolin regni, Pazzivillam: re audita, conglomerantur cives catervatim, absque tamen omni et ordine et armatura: hostes illico militari more se disponere ad pugnam, clamare, jacula torquere, irruere: Pazzivillani, cum unum aut alterum e suis cæsos humique stratos conspexissent, in genua prociderunt supplices: plorarunt, obsecrarunt, et expostularunt: "Quæ est hæc," inquiunt, "crudelitas, o Amazoniæ, pro uno asino tot homines tam violenta morte afficere! cum unus vobis asinus vivus plus profuturus sit, quam mille cæsorum hominum cadavera: habeat unaquæque vestrum asinum aurumque: malumus nos sine illis vivere, quam pro illis mori: parcite modo, et abite." Desistunt, demum, pretio precibusque victæ vitrices; sed hac præterea

lege, ut deinceps tota Moronorum gens uxoribus (quod regimen domesticum spectat) ultro obtemperarent. Victi pergratum id sibi futurum respondent; molestissimum enim sibi hactenus visum, et invidiæ plenum, imperare.

Cap. III.—*Variana; vel, Moronia Mobilis*[l].

Variana, orientalissima Moroniæ pars est, proxima Viraginiæ.

De qua non quæres a me certi aliquid, benigne Lector. Quo in statu res illius provinciæ invenerim, reliquerim, satis quidem et mihi constat, et æque constabit tibi: at si tu huc forte peregrinatus aliter se nunc habere compereris, præmonitus noli meam fidem criminari; ita enim omnia ibi novi fiunt indies, ut facilius possis certam Protei formam, chamæleontis colorem, crastinam cæli faciem prædicere.

Quicquid arrogent sibi Portugallenses in regionum disquisitionibus ac longinquis peregrinationibus, puto veteres Gallos meritissimo posse laudem hanc, ut sibi propriam, vendicare: nam certe istic plurima invenimus Gallorum vestigia; sive locorum nomina, sive legum reliquias, vel denique numismatum spectes monumenta.

Facies terræ multiformis est et dubia: nam quæ pascua læta vides hoc anno Floræ sacra, proximo aratrum expectant, Cererique dicantur; quique pridem montes cælo minabantur, nunc cavam replentes vallem, superbum cacumen viatoribus calcandum præbent.

Flumina sæpe novos canales mirantur, prioribus interclusis: est etiam, ubi

> Plaustra boves ducunt, qua remis acta carina est[m]:

undis interim incolarum aggeribus excludi adhuc immane frementibus, et alio in loco amissæ hæreditatis compensationem molientibus.

Urbes hic multæ, magnæ; sed quarum et nomen et fabrica mutatur indies.

Harum facile princeps cum ego huc primulum appuli, Farfellia dicta est; ante discessum vero, senatorum edicto, Papilionia nominata est. Urbs rotatilis, ita ut hac illac, curruum more, pro civium arbitrio circumagi possit. Illam ferunt centies locum, trigesies et structuræ formam, mutasse. Me illic hospitante, juxta fluvium Sans-eauum[n] considebat, jam statim montem Anylon

[l] Terra Stultorum Inconstantium.

[m] Virgil.

[n] "Sans eau," sine aqua, Gallice: sic Morus, in sua Utopia, fluminis Anydri meminit.

conscensura. Sed et flumina quæque sic gelu fere assiduo constricta sunt, ut opportunam transfretandi viam fugienti villæ offerre videantur. Singulis mensibus facies urbis nova est: sic enim structæ sunt ædes, ut a se possint absque periculo separari. Quam primum ergo fastidium istos cœperit viri aut viciniæ, illico novam sibi plateam, sedem novam quærunt. Urbis insigne olim Testudo erat domiporta, cum verbo Sapientis Græci, "Omnia mea mecum:" nunc, vero, Papilio floribus variis insidens, pulchrique delectus nota verbum additur, "Ubilibet."

Sect. 1.—*Vestis ac Mores Populi.*

Incolæ plumis coloratis, Indico more, vestiuntur: quibus cum aviculas conspiciant contra vim frigoris satis armatas; his tanto se tutius munitos autumant, quanto ipsi tam imbecilli teneroque animalium generi antecellunt. Situm, tamen, plumarum subinde mutant, ut novum habitum mentiantur: adeo ut quæ mane verticem obumbrabat, jam ante vesperam talos verrat; quæque modo genua, nunc altius posita pectus vestiat.

Ducunt uxores: quas etiam pro tempore amant efflictim: dantque illis fidem conjugalis benevolentiæ, vereque custodiunt, donec vel illa displicuerit, vel ipsi aliam viderint pulchriorem. Tum, demum, conjuges, non hercle invitæ, commutantur: citius enim illas cœperat maritalis thori fastidium.

Hospitem quemlibet, vel non antea conspectum, tractant hodie familiarissime, ac si perpetuum inter illos amicitiæ fœdus initum foret: postridie, autem, velut ignotum prætereunt.

Vix quicquam volentes offerunt, quod non retractent secundo spiritu, antequam serio promiserint. Nihil promittunt, quod non dejerant postmodo, antequam præstiterint. Nihil, denique, præstant, cujus non ducantur, sera tamen, pœnitentia.

Hodie nihilo vendunt, quæ, ubi emptori placere inaudiverint, cras magno redimunt.

Leges condunt in annum: neque enim expedire, ut, cum rerum conditio mutationum vicissitudini obnoxia sit, vivendi tamen regulæ eædem semper permaneant: quibus adde, quod cum δεύτεραι φροντίδες plerumque σοφώτεραι sint, nimiæ profecto servitutis esset, id semel decernere, quod cum postea expertis displicuerit, non possit unquam revocari.

SECT. 2.—*Tumulus Vortunii. Antiqua Numismata.*

Hic, in agro Muerio, propter viam, tumulus cernitur Vortunii cujusdam, non valde antiquus, minus elegans. Cui inscriptum[o]:

VIATOR,

Mane, Lege, Ambula. Hic jacet

ANDR. VORTVNIVS, NEC SERVVS, NEC MILES, NEC MEDICVS, NEC LANISTA, NEC SVTOR, NEC FVR, NEC CAVSIDICVS, NEC FOENERATOR, SED OMNIA: NEC IN VRBE VITAM EGIT, NEC RVRI NEC DOMI, NEC FORIS, NEC IN MARI NEC TERRA, NEQVE HIC, NEC ALIBI. SED VBIQVE. NEC FAME, NEC VENENO, NEC FERRO, NEC CAPISTRO, NEC MORBO SVBLATVS, SED OMNIBVS. POSVI H.I. ILLI NEC DEBITOR, NEC HÆRES, NEC COGNATVS, NEC VICINVS, NEC NECESSARIVS HANC NEQVE MOLEM, NEC LAPIDEM, NEC TVMVLVM, NEC CASTRVM-DOLORIS, SED OMNIA; NEC TIBI, NEC ILLI, NEC MIHI, NEC MALE, NEC BENE VOLENS, SED OMNIBVS.

Ad quartum ab urbe Novizza lapidem, e puteo quodam effossa multa vidimus antiquiora numismata. Paucula non pigebit, in lectoris gratiam, descripsisse.

Quadratus hic nummus erat: cui, ex altera parte, Janus bifrons; ex altera, vero, lapillus rotundus lævi quasi tabulæ

o Cui simile Bononiæ est ad S. Petri, Aeliæ Læliæ Crisp. monumentum.

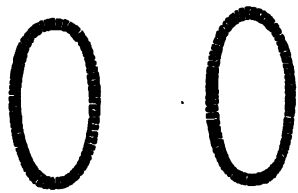
[D. M.
Ælia Lælia Crispis
Nec Vir, nec Mulier, nec Androgyna,
Nec puella, nec Juvenis, nec Anus,
Nec casta, nec meretrix, nec pudica,
Sed omnia.
Sublata
Neque fame, neque ferro, neque veneno,
Sed omnibus.
Nec cœlo, nec aquis, nec terris,
Sed ubique jacet.
Lucius Agatho Priscius,
Nec amicus, nec amator, nec necessarius,
Neque mœrens, neque gaudens, neque flens,
Hanc
Nec molem, nec pyramidem, nec sepulchrum,
Sed omnia.
Scit et nescit cui posuerit.

See Misson's New Voyage to Italy before cited, vol. ii. p. 634. See also Spon's Inscript. Antiques, Spon et Wheeler Voyage d'Italie, Amst. 1679, p. 351. To the latter is added, Hoc est sepulchrum intus cadaver non habens hoc est cadaver sepulchrum extra non habens sed cadaver idem est et sepulchrum sibi.]

insculptus videbatur, una cum obscuris literularum notis Err. Var. Dvc.

Erat et rotundus: cujus pars una togatum quendam referebat, mediæ fere ætatis: dextra catelli venustioris capiti innixa: sinistra librum semiapertum gerebat. Pars altera chamæleontem coloribus suis variegatum; et superne scriptum erat Const. Lip.

Tertius erat majoris, ut videbatur, valoris; ovali figura; ex antica parte facie nasuta, macilenta, fronte redimita: ex altera, polypo pisce subjacenti saxo et affixo, et adsimilato eleganter excusus: cui et verbum juxta positum "Pour Bon." Authorem nec scio nec quæro; nec quid sibi voluerit homo sciolus satis capio: facile intelliget omnia lector paulo magis gnarus antiquitatis.



Sect. 3.—*Academia Variana.*

In tractu Vallis Senzapesiæ[p], quod nullus expectaram, comperi quidem imaginem Academiæ: Dudosam vocant sui: in qua occurrebant mihi umbræ philosophorum.

Falleris quisquis istic lectorum cathedras, auditorum classes, scholas artium, rectores, pædagogos, leges, libros quæris. Quisque sibi magistri vicem supplet, et auditoris.

Collegia tamen hic bina. Scepticorum unum: qui nec oculis, nec auribus suis fidendum censent; nec id unum statuere audent, se nihil statuere audere. Surripe cuiquam istorum nummum, aut panem, aut pannum (quod Lacidæ cuidam istorum contigit[q]) statim ambigit, num tale quid unquam habuerit prius. Colaphum

[p] "Sensa peso." Ital. absque pondere, leve. [q] Diog. Laer. [l. iv. Λακύδης.]

impinge, quamlibet irata manu: dubitat num acceperit, vel num se jam sentiat accepisse. Alloquere, adsta, tange: audit, videt, sentit: dubius tamen interea, ne fallaces sensus mentiantur.

Alterum vero Novatorum, illis Troverense, forsan ab inveniendo dictum: totos, enim, se dedunt isti rebus novis disquirendis; novisque urbium, vestium, ludorum, gestuum, rerum publicarum formis cudendis operam locant. Quisquis jucundius aliquod ludi genus, aut inauditam vestis formam excogitarit, a duce pro dignitate rei promovetur. Qui bullas primus, ex saliva et smegmate compositas, e juglandis cortice, insufflato calamo excitavit, non minus illic celebris est; quam vel bombardarum inventor, vel Moguntinus ille typographiæ author, apud Europæos. Hi magno in pretio sunt aulicis, etiam et artificibus, Moroniæ præsertim Felicis, qui ipsorum consilio vestes omnes concinnant, componunt gestus.

Quin et isti novam sibi linguam fabricarunt; quam Supermonicam[r] appellant magistri; solis doctioribus adhuc cognitam.

Selectiora quædam vocabula, in peregrinantium gratiam, adtexere operæ mihi pretium erit; excogitata quidem nuperrime, et nunc dierum illis usitatissima; ne nimium forte stupidus ac ipsorum lingua Cedurinus[s] habeatur viator, qui ipsos alloquentes parum intellexerit.

[t]Terra ipsis,	Silo	
Anima,	Adek	
Quicquid intra cutem,	Cohos	
Pars interna diaphragmatis,	Coostrum	
Innata qualitas,	Relloleum	
Naturale,	Cherionium	
Sal,	Hal et Malek	
Vapor terræ,	Leffas	
Aquæ commotio,	Lorindt	
Mel sylvestre,	Tereniabin	
Halitus malus elementorum,	Realgar	
Principium,	Ilech	dicitur.
Supernaturale,	Iesadach	
Unguentum,	Oppodeltoch	
Dejectio stellarum,	Nostoch	
Jupiter,	Cydar	
Successiva generatio,	Dardo	
Præsagium incertum,	Erodinium	
Certum vero,	Essodinium	
Pustulæ,	Bothor	
Malus sanguis,	Cassatum	
Mancus vel mutilus,	Artetiscus	
Gibbus,	Nasda	

[r] Mystica lingua Paracelsi, sic a suis nuncupatur.

[s] Cedurinus, Paracelso "stupidus."

[t] Catalogus vocabulorum quorundam Paracelsicorum.

Sed magis adhuc miranda mihi videbantur mineralium nomina et spirituum.

Sulphur,	Chibur vel Alcubrith	dicitur.
Argentum vivum,	Azoth, Sibar, Unquasi, Missadan	
Stannum rude,	Wismadt	
Mercur. præcipitatus,	Diatessadelton	
Metallum ferro simile,	Robolt	
Liquefacti denique metalli materia,	Blachmal	
Ferrum,	Edir	
Mercurius,	Missadar, Zaibar	
Aurum minerale,	Chifir, Fido	
Cuprum,	Melibæum	
Vitriolum,	Colcothar	
Compositio ex coralio et carabe,	Dubelcolep	

Habe etiam et spirituum appellationes, qui istis familiarissimi.

Bonus dæmon,	Evestrum	dicitur.
Spiritus boni, secreta revelantes,	Zeninephidei	
Spiritus ignei,	Trifertes	
Spiritus aërei,	Nenufareni	
Lemures,	Caballi	
Spectrorum actiones,	Trarames	
Spiritus minerales,	Operimethiolim	
Imagines impressæ,	Gamohæa	

Præfectus collegii erat Bustius Hohenheimius[u], præcipuus novæ linguæ architectus. Haud scio tamen, num hæc nova huc usque obtinuerit, an locum cesserit alteri, cusæ fortassis nuperius. Quicquid erit, liberavi ego fidem præmonendo.

Cap. IV.—*Aspera Moronia*[x].

Sub ipso polo, in Australis Terræ extremo apice, Aspera Mor. locum sortita est: regio montosa, petrosa, gelu perpetuo constricta; quippe quæ cælo fruitur sicco, et frigidissimo.

Rupes hic ferrea est, respondens per omnia magneticæ, quæ sub altero polo perhibetur: quæ ratio est ignota nautis et geographis, quod, in tabulis nauticis, postea quam semel Æquinoctialem transnavigaveris, magnes ad australem se polum potius convertat.

Duos sub se Ducatus continet, amplos hercle magis quam felices; Lyperiam quam alii Maninconicam terram nuncupant, et Orgiliam.

[u] Illud nomen nativum est Paracelso. [x] Terra Stultorum Melancholicorum.

Sect. 2.—*Lyperiæ Dux: Populus.*

Lyperiæ dux, "Le Grand Chagrin" a suis cognominatus, homo morosus tetricusque, populo præsidet sui quidem non minus simili quam a reliquis Moronis discrepanti.

Palatium illi ingens Cordolium, e gagate magnifice constructum: in cujus vestibulo, rubris characteribus, exaratum est,

Mærentum locus est; procul hinc discedite læti[y].

Incolæ plerique hispidi, macilenti, inculti, colore fusco, crine nigro, cute dura et aspera, fronte torva, neglecta veste, vultu tristi; oculis cum stupore quodam fixis, nec se facile moventibus, introrsum vero demissis, ac veluti in cavis maxillarum tumulis jam diu sepultis.

Nemo urbem hic quærat, aut pagum. Incolæ soli semper habitant, leporum more, vitamque degunt plane eremiticam: partim, quod ita natura sua suspiciosi ac meticulosi sint, ut proximos non ferant; partim, quod edicto Ducis cautum sit ne quis aut intra conspectum alterius domi, aut intra certa milliarium spatia ædium sibi poneret fundamenta.

Rarissime quidem exeunt: sive id propter densissimas tenebras, quæ hic fere perpetuæ sunt; sive decreto principis fiat, seu sponte sua potius, quod se domestica solitudine malint oblectare. Rarius tamen obvium quempiam salutant, vel alloquuntur: sic enim se habet legis suæ sententia: "Antequam necessum est ne prodeunto; neminem in via, nisi die Jovis[z], salutanto." Adi quenquam istorum: pulta fores: sero respondet hospes, et iracunde; quippe molestissime ferunt novi hospitis adspectum.

Quæris quid agant, vel quo tandem modo ætatem terant? Sane, imaginando et fingendo nunquam facta, nunquam futura; credendo quæ finxerint; prosequendo quæ crediderint: quæ ratio est, cur ita horreant aspectum, nolintque interpellari.

Alius se jam diu mortuum putat, seque velut frigidum cadaver imo in pavimento protensum sternit. Si quis forte domesticorum appropinquarit hominem sciscitaturus, involat huic in faciem; necromanticum ratus, qui, secreta carminum vi, animam prius exautoratam ex inferis revocaverit: et jam, velut umbra, vagatur hac illac, sperans non posse se deinceps humanis sensibus compre-

y Ranzovianum carmen in sacello quodam, prope Sigebergam.

z Observatum hoc sedulo est hodie a Monachis Carthusianis, et eadem lege cautum. His similia quære in Hospitio Stultorum Melanchol. a Baron. scripto.

hendi[a]. Accurrat quis suorum, rapiatque, et catenis (uti opus est) vinciat; hunc unam ex Furiis judicat a Plutone missum, ut animulam sibi nuper ereptam repeteret; domumque suam, quam olim tumulum sibi finxit, nunc Infernum ratus, eo magis perhorrescit.

Alius se talpam imaginatus, degit in cubili subterraneo, vermes venaturus, rostroque probe calceato terram suffodit: ubi vero aliquis, illum insequutus, vel acicula pupugerit, statim (prorsus enim sibi videtur more talparum cæcutire, ut neque virum, nec ferrum dignoscat) furca ratus talparia transfodi se, exclamat misere, seque parat patibulo.

Alius Atlantem fingit grave cælorum onus sibi imposuisse: stat ergo immobilis suspirans sæpissime, et nunc tollens humerum, nunc deprimens: et, postquam diutule sub ficto hoc onere sudaverit, ubi quis suorum magnum cæli tibicinem ad se traxerit moveritque loco, procidit is in faciem; mundi ruinam, parum interea tacitus, impatienter exspectat; increpans homunciones imprudentissimos, ita prodigos suæ salutis et orbis universi.

Alia, Megæram se opinata, vel Furiarum quampiam, terret hospitem sævis gestibus: capillos suos totidem angues quatit, sibilat, et ungues intentat advenientibus: nacta, vero, catellum aut soricem excruciat quantum potest; animamque se peccatoris torquere rata, quod Ajax olim insaniens arietibus fecisse dicitur, pœnis et querelis miseri animalis semet admodum consolatur.

Alius, nasum sentiens ultra modum excrevisse, lora consuit; quibus, more Cingaris Merliniani[b], a tergo revinctum excipiat.

Alius argillaceus sibi totus videtur, vitreusve: procul ergo devitat obvios; veritus ne, si forsan in quem violentius impegerit, illico confringatur.

Ita nemo horum est, qui non se alium comminiscitur.

Sect. 3.

Ab Ochietto Monte, Larmium salsum Flumen oritur, rigatque maximam hujus provinciæ partem. Sed et regionem hanc totam pertranseunt Montes Traurigii; ut Italiam, Apennini: qui horrorem fere incutiunt, dira quadam solitudine; nihil enim hic conspicies, præter ursorum antra, et tuguriola sagarum. Abundat istic utrumque malarum bestiarum genus. Ursus, animal vere melancholicum, per hyemem totam in obscurissima cavea delitescit;

[a] Idem ipsum de Pisandro quodam Cæl. Rhodig. l. ix. 26. [Lect. Antiqu. Lib. xvii. c. 2. Basil. 1566. p. 627.]

[b] Merlin. Coccaias in Macaronicis.

pedesque sibi lambendo, vivit. Sagæ, decrepitæ aniculæ et impotentes, gramiosis oculis, attritis dentibus (ut olim Cæcilius) quæ omnia se posse putant, vel tantillum mussitando, ciere tempestates, rivos sistere, mederi morbis, excitare mortuos: ipsæ tamen, interim, præ mera fame moriuntur.

Montium istorum latus umbrosum operit Bubonia Sylva; spectris, uti ferunt vicini, perpetuo infestata, ac mortalibus invia.

Lycanthropicos per hanc sylvam passim discurrentes videbis; territusque plus satis, ni istorum morem vocisque fraudem prænoveris, audies ululantes. . .

Sed et in Valle Gramia, montibus hisce subjacente, oberrant plurimi, quos princeps sagarum Melæna in leones asinosque[c] transformasse dicitur: ita tamen, ut humanam illis et vocem et faciem concesserit.

Sect. 4.

Omittendum non est inter reliqua, quod in hac regione celeberrimum est: in latere nivosi montis et excelsissimi Traurigiorum et ultimi, Antrum Maninconicum, aliis, Antro del Pianto. Vestibulo quidem angusto, et cærulea glacie concreto; intus vero, ut ex sono licet conjectari, tractu valde spatioso. A limine pendent stiriæ grandiores: quæ, velut dentes totidem, in horridissimis speluncæ faucibus videntur induruisse.

Hic fama est raptas melancholicorum animas, intensissimo frigore torqueri. Quisquis ori appropinquaverit introspecturus, quod vix quisquam prudens facit, humi sternitur exanimis; ibique cadaverosum corpus reditum animæ cruciatissimæ præstolatur: sed qui aurem admoverit terræ vel aliquantulum remotiori, quæ suspiria, et sive catenarum sive stiriarum decidentium clangorem, inaudire sibi videbitur!

At qui in aliqua montis hujusce parte somniaverit, quod ego audaculus homo expertus sum, Deus Bone, quales Chimæras, et Tragelaphos, Centaurosque, et mille stupendas monstrorum formas, non sine horrore quodam, conspiciet!

Cap. V.—*Orgilia*[d]*; alter Ducatus Asperæ Moroniæ.*

Vicina huic Orgilia est: terra arida, arenosa, sterilis; quæ gentem producit iracundam, furiosam, rabidam. Statura cæteris minorem, pallida facie, crine rubro, oculis scintillantibus, tremente labio, incerto gressu, sed plerunque concitato.

Huic præest Dux de Courroux, tyrannorum omnium et exemplar

[c] Melanchol. asinina, leonina.

[d] Terra Stult. Cholericorum.

et Coryphæus. Mirabitur, nec credet lector narranti, quid ille jubeat, quid agat, quamque impetuose, quo redigat suos, quomodo plectat. Celebris ille quondam Russorum tyrannus mitis homo ac mansuetus, præ isto, mihi visus; et qui primorum Cæsarum, imo et Patagonum cruoris sitientissimus.

Quin et istic forsan hæsitabit incredulus rerum indagator, explorator terrarum; neque, cum cœli ingenio soleant incolarum mores conformari, sibi sinet persuaderi, regionem hanc polarem pro loci situ intensissime frigidam, tam plus satis calidæ ac cholericæ prolis matrem unquam extitisse. At novimus sat bene philosophi, eo verisimilius hoc ex ἀντιπεριστάσει posse fieri, quo cœlum frigidius: neque illud quisquam stupere poterit, qui noverit Africam, regionum torridissimam, gelidissimas serpentes generare; et in fornacibus Cypriis vulgo creari muscas, quæ sua frigiditate ignem extinguant[e]. E media regione aëris fulgura torqueri ac tonitrua. Hanc, denique, terræ molem ex igne subterraneo, aucto quidem ex ambientis corporis frigiditate, quassari hac illac, penitusque commoveri. Nunc ergo, suffragante philosophia, fidem et spero mihi et arrogo.

Ubi quatuor præcipuæ sunt provinciæ istius partes, Lecithia, Prasinia, Iodia, Glastia. Singulis et habitus et color suus est: Lecithenses, pallido et cinericio; Prasinenses, viridi; Glastii, livido et cæruleo; Iodii, rubicundo colore et tincti incedunt et amicti.

Nemo horum prodit unquam non onustus armis: ut cui vestis parum fortasse suppetat, nullum tamen armaturæ genus sit defuturum. Idem homo non maximus quasi conductitius Martis bajulus, dextro quidem humero bombardam, sinistro fustem, ex altero latere gladium, pugionem ex altero, arcum pharetramque a tergo gestat quaqua proficiscitur: quisquis obviam venit euntí, ni procul cedat via, ad pugnam se paret, vel ad mortem necesse est. Rarum iter est sine vulnere, aut cæde: et quem semel interfecerit quis, voracissime dilaniat; vescuntur enim cruda carne semper, sæpius humana, quam inter dapes maxime opiparas numerant, epotoque cruore madefaciunt.

Leges ibi nullæ: vi et armis omnia decernuntur. Injuriam passus aut ulciscitur, aut succumbit. Unicum hoc valet, petitum ex antiquo jure, "Vince et Fruere."

[e] Mercurial. Var. lect. Georg. Agric. lib. de Subterraneis. Non naturalis bilis quadruplex est; λεκιθώδης, πρασοειδής, ἰώδης, ὑδατώδης, quæ colore glastum imitatur. [lib. de metall. &c. Basil. Helvet. 1621. p. 479.]

Duello licet, vel vindictam petere, vel suum repetere, vel rapere alienum. Quod si plures concurrerint, miscuerintque lites, qui supervenerint, fisco addicuntur. Id scilicet a duce decretum est astutius; ut et conjurationum semina opportune præcaveret, et sub hoc prætextu mensæ suæ honestius fercula procuraret.

Sedes ducalis Tarocchium[f] est: urbs ingens, sed lignea tota; quam nec ex alia materia strui sinet tyrannus, ne non satis commode possit, ubi cives deliquerint, pro suo arbitrio incendi. Nemo hic habitat, præter fabros ferrarios, carnifices, lanios: in quorum officinis propendent pernæ humanæ, non secus ac apud nos suillæ aut vitulinæ. Hanc lambit Zornus Fluvius rapidissimus; quem aiunt hyeme media, pro more fontium, incalescere, et halitus edere maleolentes.

Juxta, tyranni aula est, ardua quidem et excelsa; monti prærealto superædificata, quem ipsi Calavernium vocant; feruntque, ex craniis humanis congestum, ad hoc tandem fastigium crevisse. Lateritio illa, tamen, et alto muro circundata: vivit enim ille semper dubius suorum fidei; mavultque suis ferratis portis, quam ipsorum amori et observantiæ confidere.

Stipatum hunc ferunt decem millibus carnificum qui omnes hujus et iræ inserviunt et palato. Si quis peregrinus, rerum ignarus, huc fortassis appulerit, statim res fisci est, apponiturque duci cœnæ caput; quo genere non minus delectatur ille, quam nostri qualibet ave rara, vel pisce; nec minus studiose, carnificum opera, hanc sibi prædam disquirit, quam Vitellius olim phœnicopterum linguas et lactes murænarum[g]. Æthiopes illi turdorum loci; nostri, vero, coturnicum. Agitur tamen cum illis benignius, qui tantum animi gratia palatique, nec ob crimen aliquod commissum, trucidantur: non secus enim ac cum Eurydice Olympias egisse fertur[h], dat illis optionem *εὖνους σφάκτης* potestatemque quodcunque mavelint mortis genus eligendi; ferrone perire malint, an capistro.

Hujus in palatio nihil tam celebre est, quam Sacellum Inquisitorium, ipsis Sancta Carniceria: ædes, sacra Furiis ac Diis Infernalibus; quorum omnium statuæ, e gagate et coralio, horribili figura sculptæ, et visuntur, et adorantur. Hic omnia cernes et cruciatuum genera, et mortium: centum patibula, nec pauciores

[f] Garzonius Discurs. 13. "Fatuos furibundos" vocat Da Tarocco: hinc nomen istud.

[g] Sueton. Vitell. [ed. Casaub. 1611. p. 630.]

[h] Diodorus Sicul. [Amstel. 1795. t. ii. p. 326.]

rotas Ixioneas, secures, gladios, furcas, funes, fustes, et semesas ærugine bombardas; ut satis constet istis, priusquam vel Europæis vel Chinensibus, machinæ hujus lethalis usum innotuisse. Mille hic fumant altaria, igne perenni: in quibus indies litatur Inferis et Duci: animis enim Furias, cadaveribus vero Tyranni ingluviem quotidianis hecatombis placare student: cruoris quod superest, arte quadam sua rarefactum ne tanto tempore congelascat, doliis quibusdam, instar vini Massici Falernive, Duci post multos annos propinandum, asservatur. Fons saniosus, Di Marza, per mediam currit Libitinam, alluitque fœdatum sanguine pavimentum.

Incolæ semper fere cursitant in via; semper anhelant, sudantque.

Duo hic miraberis, Lector. Neminem videbis, non aut mancum, aut mutilum: inter quos ille demum formæ palmam obtinet, cui facies maxime fuerit cicatricosa. Senem hic videbis neminem: vix enim cuiquam contigit horum ad mediam usque hominis ætatem superesse.

In media fere regione Palus est Coledochia[1]: non minor profecto illa Mæotide, nec ignobilior; cujus aqua colore flava est, sapore amarissima. Exundat ista sæpius; sed incertis temporibus: riparumque oblita, per magnam Orgiliæ partem furibunda vagatur: quantumque soli tangit undarum profluvio, quæ sulphurea illi natura est, non secus ac devius Phaëthontis currus comburit. Jam tum vasa sibi implent accolæ; credentes hoc liquore crebrius hausto acui sibi animum, et ad quidvis audendum concitari.

Sed cave fallaris, Lector. Hæc ego auditione accepi sola, non ausus intueri coram: memini quid Gallus ille olim toties mihi a nobilissimo, ingeniosissimo Baconio inculcatum, "Il faut menager la vie."

Aspera nimis erat hæc Moronia, quam ut me ferret hospitem. Mansi ego, salva et bene curata cute, Pazzivillæ; satius mihi ratus in hoc negotio, credere quam experiri.

Cap. VI.—*Moronia Fatua.*

Nulla Moroniæ pars tam antiqua vel tam numerosa est, quam hæc, quæ Fatua vulgo nuncupatur: cujus incolæ aborigines se Moronos venditant. Hæc itaque non aliter regionum mater audit, quam urbium Pazzivilla: ac proinde in medio, quasi tam

[1] Hoc nomen est vesiculæ bilis receptaculo.

lepidi corporis umbilicus, locum habet. Nam ab austro Aspera Moronia, ab oriente Mobilis, ab occidente Pia, a septentrione Felix, hanc mediam cingit quaquaversum.

Pars australior Scioccia, magis ignava est ac pituitosa: illa, quæ aquilonem respicit, multo et operosior et rerum agendarum peritior.

Ni testis oculatus fuissem morum factorumque stupidissimæ gentis, non credidissem, hercle, naturam tam brutis animalculis rationem, divinissimum munus, indulsisse. Omnes, enim, illa in parte, quæ Maninconicam Moroniam attingit, more quadrupedum incedunt proni; nec, quæ illis mira simplicitas, aliud genus ingressus cognoverunt.

Ne tuguriolum hic ullum cernes: partim, quod ipsi domunculas sibi parare nesciant; partim, vero, quod ab alio structas ingredi non ausint, ne tecti ruentis mole supprimantur.

Multi hic quotannis, præ mera inedia ac frigore, moriuntur; quippe qui nec cibum coquere, nec vestem concinnare, nec sternere lectum, imo ne congrue quidem eloqui norint. Nemo parentem suum novit, aut filium, aut uxorem: nemo redeundi viam qua prius egressus est, nemo ursum ab ove, leonem a catello distinguit. Imo sunt, qui ignorant qua tandem via cibum sibi paratum stomacho ingererent, per naresve an per aures, aut si quod aliud minus aptum foramen. Denique, nec enim hic libet immorari, finge tibi quodvis Arcadicum pecus humana donatum specie, habes germanum Sciocciæ indigenam.

Sect. 2.—*Baveria*[k].

Pars reliqua, Baveria, ingeniosior est; digniorque, et viatoris pedibus, et oculis fastidiosi lectoris.

Populus, enim, sagacissimus sibi visus, rerum omnium causas subtilius indagatur, nec nisi altius petitis rationum momentis acquiescit.

Ab incunabulis monoculi sunt omnes: quippe, statim a partu, oculus alter, velut superfluus, eruitur; quod, clausa semper altera palpebrarum, et distinctius cernamus et intentius.

Pars nuda incedit; ut induendi et exuendi parcant labori simul et tempori. Pars tecta sibi parat, sed absque septo vel parieto; ut ædes eo magis sint perspirabiles, ac proinde salubriores. Pars nidos sibi struunt, avicularum more, altissimos; ut cœlo sint viciniores.

[k] Terra Nugonum.

Omnes et opinionum et operum singularitatem quidam mire sectantur.

Horum quidam, auram captantes popularem, vix profecto credenda moliuntur. Nam quosdam videbis capite incedentes ac brachiis: alios, alis plumisque cera junctis instructos, audaci volatu, alites, Dædaleo more, imitaturos; ut Calain et Zethen, Argonautarum socios, ab inferis putares surrexisse: alios, ut Thessali quidam Veneti[l] solent, prodigia naturæ artisque, unguenti, aut aquæ, aut machinæ alicujus stupendos effectus, hianti popello gloriosius ostentantes: alios denique, arte pol bene lucrosa, e vilissimo metallorum, aurum educentes: rideres profecto horum operosam stultitiam, spem toties elusam, toties redintegratam.

Ex istis quosdam audio adiisse pridem oraculum, de tam dubio difficillimi negotii eventu sciscitaturos: quibus illico Pythius, "Travaillez[m]." Discedunt alacri animo consultores, sibique jam annuisse deum gloriantur: perduntque, iterum ac denuo, repetitam operam, et cum opera facultates; nec intelligunt se tempestive a præscio numine admonitos, ut, Vulcania hac fraude jam sero spreta, marræ insudarent ac ligoni.

Sect. 3.—*Urbes Moroniæ Fatuæ, scilicet Baveriæ: Metrop. Pazzivilla.*

Prima hic omnium occurrebat mihi Duricoria: urbs non contemnenda, quæ tamen nihil habet quod moretur viatorem.

Huic proxima Pratensis Villa[n]; senatorum prudentia nobilis: qui, non ita pridem, cœlo nimboso pluvioque, de arcendo imbre consilium inierunt. Alius pulsandas monet urbis totius campanulas. Alius, quod Italæ mulieres solent ut ingruentem avertant tempestatem, diri odoris pabula sub dio comburenda. Tandem, gravissimus hujus ordinis surrexit; suasitque, ut quicquid in se nubes complecterentur aquæ, destillare sinerent; nec dubitare se quin, hoc pacto, pluvia sit tandem, sua sponte, cessatura.

Sed urbium omnium domina Pazzivilla est.

Sita, quidem, partim in planitie uliginosa et palustri, partim

[l] Mountebanks.

[m] Recitat decantatum a plebe rhythmum Libavius, in hanc sententiam:—

Alchymia est ars sine arte;
Cujus scire est pars cum parte:
Medium est strenue mentiri;
Finis, mendicatum iri.

[n] Villa et Historia Italis bene nota. Moresin. de Orig. Relig. Pap.

vero in montis editioris latere; ita ut pars utraque aquilonari vicorum descensu continuetur, procul ab omni nemore ac fluvio.

Montosa pars valli nivem suppeditat, vallis monti aquam in puteis stagnisque diutius reservatam.

Portas habet sedecim: quas eo consilio struxisse aiunt fundatores, ut quadruplo ditiorem aliis haberent civitatem.

Forma non rotunda, non ovali; ut urbes aliæ. Sed media, inter cylindricam et inversam pyramidalem; plane ad effigiem humani corporis composita. Nemo hanc formam mirabitur ilicet, qui noverit Belgium leoni, Peloponnesum platani folio, Italiam tibiæ mortui hominis, corio bubulo Hispaniam, utramque peninsulam orbis Atlantici piscium pulmonibus, Asiam crocodili pelli assimilata: ut, simul ac istam videris, Colossum aliquem humi stratum, vel Prometheum Caucaso illigatum, te a longe putares conspicari.

In ipso montis vertice forum collocatur; quippe quod caput urbis est, sensumque et vitam reliquis administrat. Quæ res quantum laboris facessat bajulis, dum supellectilem quamcunque, præsertim dolia majuscula vino vel cerevisia plena, contra declive collis dorsum impellunt, conjectare, Lector, et ride. Videreris tibi centum videre Sisyphos, vano nisu saxum provolventes: qui, fortassis, ubi ad umbilicum usque montis, magno conatu, anheli sudantesque ascenderint, alterius dolii decurrentis impetuosissimo concursu, non sine periculo repelluntur.

Hic habitant gravissimi ac honoratissimi senatores: qui hinc, velut e specula, totam urbem commodissime possunt intueri.

Cervix huic adjuncta est viculus brevis et angustus, lictorum sedes et bedellorum.

Instar scapularum, brachiorum, ac manuum, sunt utrinque vici duo; quos occupant artifices pauci quidem illi, nec nimium periti.

Pro trunco hujus urbici corporis platea latior paulo et excelsior, hospitiis destinata, quæ ad lumbos usque porrigitur. Etiam ipsa pars qua sedemus, pulchre videtur referri depressiore montis loco, ubi cum planitie paulatim conjungitur. Lenones hic habitant, lupæque, et quotquot urbi mundandæ dant operam cloacarii.

Crura et pedes binos ad mediam vallem protensos bajuli sortiuntur ac viatores.

Ædes ad unam omnes carent fundamento; quippe aiunt se malle lapides effodere, quam sepelire.

Ædificia sibi struunt excelsissima senatores, ut quo cælum pro-

pius attigerint, eo magis incalescant, et inferiorem hanc terræ aerisque inclementiam effugiant.

Nullam non domum cernes probe pictam utrinque; et majorum omnium præsertim, imo et hospitum nominibus inscriptam[o].

Sect. 4.—*Senatus Pazzivillanus.*

Me illic agente, consilium ceperunt senatores, quibus potissimum modis ad urbis sive dignitatem, sive amœnitatem, seu denique securitatem, fieri posset accessio.

Alius aliud suasit, pro sua quisque facultate et prudentia.

Primus quidem mare illuc per multa milliaria, perque medios montes, civium industria, deducendum: cujus proximitate urbes alias, mirum in modum, ditatas ipse animadvertisset.

Surgit alter, ac moros a fronte renuit; neque fidendum ait tam fero voracique elemento: cujus perfidis fluctibus multæ præclaræ civitates absorptæ fuissent.

Alius ergo miros suadet aquæductus, ab ima valle per tubulos quosdam petendos: quod non dubitat facile posse fieri, cum aquam sæpius viderit sponte sua e puteis ebulliisse; seque, quod nihil habuerit quo in spatium angustius coarctaretur, per totam planitiem diffudisse: quodque, e contra, cum pluvialis aqua de summo monte descendat, unda undam propellere soleat et præcipitare; idem proculdubio factura sit ascendendo.

Alius monte novo aliquanto altiore cingi urbem mavult, civium manibus e subjacente valle eruendo. Cujus quidem consilii quadripartitam rationem attulit: primo, ne totum orbem testem haberent Pazzivillani, quid in urbe, præsertim a senatoribus, geratur: dein, urbis et muniendæ causa et augendæ: ac, denique, propulsandi frigoris. Quo facto, pontem vult e solida firmaque materia altissimum exstrui, qui a prioris montis cacumine ad alterum usque porrectus, et ambulationibus inserviret et vecturæ.

Exsurgit alius; ac, subridens, rogat quomodo tandem vallis montem possit parturire: ac, præterea, ut hoc posse fieri concederetur, pontes maxime omnium patere periculis; nam si tantillum laberetur jumentum vel viator, ne Salus ipsa servare illum possit, quin extemplo pereat necessum sit; plerunque etiam, quod pejus est, non sine brachio aut crure misere confracto. Malle se aliquid consulere, quod plurimum secum ferat dignitatis, nihil periculi, nec multum laboris. Quocirca, si benevoli cives sibi

[o] Muro bianco charta di matto.

monitori auscultarent, id sibi longe optimum videri: ut unaquæque domus, pro mole sua, pyramidem sibi altiorem erigeret; cujus apici summo gallus æneus argenteusve, aurea crista insignis, quavis aura versatilis insideret: in unaquaque pyramide horologium collocaret: singulis horologiis campanulam adjungeret. Nec dici posse, quam elegans ac jucundum spectaculum, tam frequens excelsarum pyramidum series adventantibus peregrinis videretur; quamque per horas aurem deliniret tot tintinnabulorum jugiter sonantium harmonia.

Acclamatum est, uno statim ore, tam commodæ, facili, gravi, petitæque altius sententiæ: ut jam deinceps hospes quisquis, mea secutus vestigia, illo fueris in posterum peregrinatus, urbem sis longe elegantiorem cultioremque invisurus.

Sect. 5.—*Spesius Tractus*[p].

Spesius Tractus huic adjacet, olim ditissimus: in quo nil celebre vidi, præter Saltum Actæonium, Cubæam, urbem octangularem, et Milanam.

Incolæ bonorum certe omnes profusissimi sunt; viasque excogitant, quicquid habent ingeniosius prodigendi: quidam enim cani venatico, alii vero accipitri aut milvo, alii cubo eburneo chartæve pictæ ampla insumunt patrimonia[q]: imo ubi sola vestis suppetit, hanc vel hastæ subjiciunt, vel deponunt collybistæ, ut habeant quo voluptatem suam instructius insequantur.

Sed regio hæc num ad Fatuam Moroniam, an Felicem pertineat, mihi quidem incertum est. Penes quoscunque fuerit olim, stat mihi ante hunc diem veteres migrasse colonos: et, si quos hæc regio jurisperitos aluerit vel fœneratores, jurarim terram sane pulchram et fœcundam, istos diu adhinc novos dominos salutasse.

Ubi nihil superest, vel quadris victitant alienis, vel de publico forsan aluntur.

Celebre hic est Azotium Promontorium, asylum miseris debitoribus; quo confugiunt quicunque foro infeliciter cesserint. Novimus, et ubi qui solvendo sunt satis illuserint istic mœstis creditoribus: qui si forte fugientem huc fuerint prosequuti, et ab ara retraxerint invitum, rei jam læsæ religionis, a summa quidem arce præcipitantur.

Hic parentes etiam superstites, nostris, ut videtur, indulgen-

[p] Terra Stult. Prodigorum.

[q] Tria præcipua prodigalitatis subjecta, Canis, Alea, Accipiter.

tiores, filiis vix dum adultis integrum demandant patrimonium; et, moribundi, uxoribus plerique rem totam familiarem, agros, supellectilem, neglecta prole, legare solent[r]: quod si illæ vitam priores excesserint, tantum insumunt funeri, quantum filiæ elocandæ inserviret.

Sect. 6.—*Lisonica Gens*[s].

Pro vestibulo Felicis Moroniæ sedet Gens Lisonica; omnium quas vidi prodigiosissima; bifrons, bilinguis: ex antica parte simiam, postica canem referens; ut ex homine, cane, simia tota composita videatur.

Hic fidem mihi faciet gravis author Munsterus; qui, ex altera saltem parte, Indos quosdam hac forma descripsit.

Nata quidem ad serviendum: pars maxima se generosioribus vicinæ gentis volentes vendunt aut emancipant.

Etsi vero tam stupidi sint, ut nihil ipsi possint laude dignum excogitare, optime tamen norunt quicquid usquam viderint imitari[t]: nec quid aut induunt, aut agunt, aut loquuntur, cujus exemplar sibi aliquod non proposuerint. Me illic agente, claudicabant altero pede omnes, et inter incedendum usque screabant; eo quod præfectus Lisoniæ Ciniflonius, crus sibi fregisset pridem, et catarrho diuturniore laborasset.

Horum plerique tonsores, sartores, pararii, vel denique lenones sunt. Sunt quidam, ut aiunt, inter hos et aulici, habitu non contemnendi: nec quis profecto Hispanorum mimus est, præ istis Lisonicis.

Alloquere et intuere quempiam, is, incurvato prius genu et exosculata dextra, ultimam clausulæ vocem reduplicat; vultuque renidens, quicquid tibi gratum fore retur, blande regerit, non tamen sine immensa titulorum congerie: osculo dein altero claudens sibi labia, pendet ab oculis tuis, anxius ut tibi responsum arriserit. Tu modo istis annue, et perge fari; quicquid dixeris, velut oraculum datum divinitus in tabellas refert, cœlum suspicit, teque pronus veneratur.

Deum non agnoscunt isti, præter illum, cui se addixerint in servitutem. Hunc aris, geniculationibus, precibus colunt supplices. Hæc omnia altero quidem ore fiunt: sed nullum unquam ex hoc ore verbum egreditur, quod non interea altero, canino scilicet, clanculum retractetur.

Hoc in tractu offert se prima omnium Loverium, urbs alta et

[r] Moresin. Sc. in lib. de Orig. Rel. Pap. hoc idem de Britannis.

[s] Terra Adulatorum.

[t] "O imitatores, servum pecus."

spectabilis; sed tam parum solide constructa, ut sperare nequeat diuturnitatem. Bugio flumine et ditata plerunque, et aliquando etiam submersa.

Et vicina huic Babillarda, villa stridula, cujus incolæ nunquam tacent.

Assurgunt hinc montes, seque ipsi exuperant usque ad Chatovillam; pagum sane inclytum, cujus incolæ nunquam non rident.

Conjungitur huic amœnissima Piacentiæ Planities; quæ demum in Pipuliam desinit Paludem: illa rursus in Verguensam infame Oppidum; quo exulant malefici omnes, et quos vocant Medrosi.

CAP. VII.—*Moronia Felix*[u].

Moronia vere Felix, sive amœnitatem sive opulentiam spectes, australiorum regionum facile principatum obtinet. Quod si quantum præ se fert divitiarum, tantum revera possideret, vereor ne huic Aquilonari etiam orbi palmam præriperet: sed istis mos est, et quæ non habent simulare, quæque habent ostentare gloriosius.

E longa et lata montium serie, planities continua fit per milliaria Germanica 60 protensa, quæ situm præbet Felici Moroniæ longe quidem jucundissimum: cujus imis pedibus oberrat Le-Sain flumen spectatissimum, et fere totam cingit.

In declivi fronte collis tam pulchre continui, facile concipiet lector, quanta cum amœnitate spargantur urbeculæ: ex altera parte vallem despicientes florentissimam, rivo certe perquam elegante pererratam: ex altera, æquabili pascuorum agrorumque tractu, satis ædepol spatioso, septæ commodissime.

Urbes hic non tam frequentes, quam altæ nitidæque: fabrica tamen valde tenui; et quicquid externo splendore pollicentur, intrinsecus nimium sordidæ.

Hic, qua parte Rodomontadii Colles inæquale dorsum viatoribus calcandum præbent, Vantarole Urbs est, quæ et Salacona dicta est; superba ædificiis, sed ad mendicitatem indiga.

Vicina huic Menosprecia[x], lutosa mehercle villa, cui nomen merito concesserit illa Parisiorum.

Ab hac non multum distat Rupes altissima et notissima Derrumbiada; non multum absimilis Peccanæ illi apud Anglos[y]: cujus pars summa solo æquabili continuatur; descensu tamen adeo recto ac præcipiti, ut si ab alto despicias, lævis saxorum superficies turris editissimæ humanaque opera politæ latus referre vi-

[u] Terra Thrasonum; vel, stultitiæ gloriosæ.

[x] Cic. Ep. ad M. Fab Gallum.

[y] The Torre.

deatur. Multis funeribus funesta rupes: ut non plures crediderim e saxo Tarpeio cecidisse.

Alteram orbiculi hujus Moronici partem occupat Antoia Urbs: incendiis ita nimis obnoxia, ut ne vetus Roma tam sæpe flagraverit; quod partim ex civium negligentia, partim ex ædium oleosa materia evenire credibile est.

Et vicina huic Putanium, quam alii Villam Vitiosam appellant; e silice cæmentoque durissimo structa.

Dein, prope ditionis Ucalegonicæ fines, offerunt se latissimi Sinobræ Campi[z]: ubi populus nunquam non feriatur, et in laborantes quosque severius animadvertit. Cujus præcipuæ urbes Jugaria et Risaglium: quarum ex orientali latere ubi Le-Sain cum Oisivio Flumine undas commiscet, Saltuares illas Insulas (olim, uti videtur, Plinio[a] cognitas) conspeximus; quæ in symphoniæ cantu, ad ictus modulantium pedum moveri perhibentur.

Sect. 2.—*Mores Populi.*

Nemo hic non se nobilem gloriatur; statuas atavorum, et insignia nec non immensam prosapiæ suæ seriem, etiam ab annis ante orbem conditum 10,000, cum illis apud Diodorum Siculum, derivatam ostentans. Vidi istic prælongas quorundam porticus, cognationis stirpisque suæ rectis, obliquis, transversis, lineolis depictas; quorum tamen avos vicinia sartores, carbonarios, equisones pridem agnoverit.

Nec quis nobilium est, quos Scogidos[b] appellant, quin prædia etiam habeat suburbana, colonis quibusdam, Vellacos vocant vulgo, elocata: servis vero plerique Lisonicis utuntur.

Victu et prætenui et vilissimo contenti sunt ipsi Sennaladii, nobilium generosissimi. Sunt tamen ex his, qui, semel in anno, sub finem forte Decembris, convivia quidem agitant splendidissima, magno cum apparatu, et hospitum numero, et ferculorum, ut uni huic festo reditus fere omnes insumere necesse sit: deinceps vero quod superest, ita genium defrudent, ut pene mera se fame enecent.

Sed pars maxima, ventrem contemnens eique quantumvis obstrepenti aurem obturans, quicquid uspiam succurrit vestium, pretio deterit; ita tamen ut pudeat esuriem fateri palam: quam ut honeste dissimulent, et saturitatem contra mentiantur, quoquo ambulant a prandio, mundare sibi fauces mantili, calamoque dentes exonerare carnis non visæ pridem reliquiis, assolent.

[z] Ἀέργοις αἰεν ἑορταί. Hesiod. [not in H.]

[a] Plin. l. ii. 95. [ut supra p. 37.]

[b] Vel "Escogidos." Hisp.

Horum cuivis non arca, non fundus tantum valet, quantum gladius et quod gerit amiculum. Non desunt ex istis, qui centum pluresve Mangeguadagnos[c] (ii servi sunt) alunt vestiuntque. Quicquid habent tamen, ut Plautinus ille, cum mutuo non possent, sumpserunt fœnore; vestesque suas a pararío conduxerunt in diem. Vidi et qui stabulum sibi struxerit vere regium e longe conquisitis lapidibus, columnis marmoreis multoque ebore concinnatum: ipse vero, interea, tuguriolum humile, angustum, cespititium habitarit.

Nomina sibi longissima fingunt; quibus gentis, loci, stirpis, cognationis gaudent aggerere: sed et titulos omnes non uno spiritu contentos, de compositione frequenti concumulant.

Plumæ hic præsertim longiores, quas Struzzolias vocant, non minoris fiunt quam pelles ab hodiernis Muscovitis. Aliqui, præterea, campanulas argenteas calcaneis appendunt; quæ, ad singula vestigia clare resonantes, oculos ad se vocant prætereuntium, auresque demulcent.

Pauci illi, qui generis ignobilitatem non possunt diffiteri, excelso tamen animo sunt, et altissima sapiunt. Memini in vestibulo cujusdam inscriptum legisse:

"Misero quello, chi di persona vile,
Nasce di cor magnanimo e gentile[d]."

Unum inter reliqua stupebam istic: nec immerito. Incolarum plerosque non pane, non cibo; sed fumo herbæ[e] non bene olentis, nec hercle salutaris, victitare; quem ore quidem excipiunt, naribus egerunt; ut ex istis tot interim caminos facere videantur. Morem hunc nescio, hercle, num ab Indis Moroni, an Indi ab istis didicerint. Fertur enim nobilem quendam ingeniosum, sed nequam, Topia Waralladorem, fumi pessimi originem ab Indico quodam Dæmone petiisse. Sunt tamen, qui Indos quosdam Torrida-Zonios authores fuisse putant tam clari suffitus, ut intus etiam nigrescerent: perplacuit his scilicet suus color; nec æquum videbatur, ut ejusdem corporis interior pars ab extima colore variaret. Id scio, dum nares implentur, exhauriri loculos: et plurima hinc generosiorum patrimonia in fumos exhalasse, et e domini sui naso turpiter evolasse: dumque fumant altius elevatæ nares, culinas planissime refrixisse.

In singulis urbibus, Antoia præsertim et Putanio, alternæ domus

[c] Sic Itali suos ingeniose: Angl. voce "Eatgains."

[d] In aditu montis Fesulani, in conclavi quodam, scriptum Politiani manu.

[e] Tobacco.

sive pueris sive fœminis[f] meritoriis destinantur, et annuum probatissimæ artis pretium profecto solvunt.

Cum his luditur honeste: nec quem pudet notissimum populo prostibulum vel in foro, imo ne uxore quidem conscia, salutare immodestius: sunt et qui miseras uxorculas officiocissime suis scortis famulari cogunt.

Sect. 3.—*Moroniæ Felicis Paradisus.*

Nihil habet ulla Moroniæ pars, fortasse nec noster orbis, tam nobile, tam pulchrum, quam Felicis Moroniæ Paradisum: mirandum, hercle, opus: et cujus unius aspectus tanti itineris et tædium satis levarit, et sumptus abunde compensarit.

Perstringit a longe oculos mons rutilus, totusque (sic enim vel est, vel, quod tantundem valet, videtur) aureus: aggestus olim opere, uti ferunt, chymistico. Qui tamen si lubet ferro metalli robur experiri, in pulverem illico evanescit; si flamma, in fumum.

Cujus in fastigio, castrum splendet crystallinum; arte non humana, sicut existimant accolæ, concretum: etenim ferunt Fortunam[g] e cælo quondam, deorumque numero exterminatam, hanc sibi sedem, terrei ad instar cœli posuisse: hic bonum numen beare mortales auxilio, præsentiaque; tamque larga manu profundere inexhaustas munificientiæ opes, ut quicquid demum credula saltem mente quis bonus petierit, satque diu expectarit, non possit non aliquando impetrare.

Convolant huc, ex omnibus terræ plagis, nullius non ætatis, sexus, conditionis homines; ex pia tamen Moronia frequentissimi: nec quis fere est in toto hoc orbe adeo vel impotens, vel eximius, quin aliquando montem hunc et conspexerit, et ubi licuit ascenderit[h]. Madonna Lauretta, et Divus Compostellius, et Parathalassia illa nostra Desideriî[i] frigent mehercle, præ hoc numine.

Strati jacent in valle innumeri clientes; non secus ac globuli candidiores obducunt semitas, ubi grandinaverit: nutum Bonæ Deæ religiose præstolati. Nec fas cuiquam audaci pede sacrum collem premere, donec, albo vexillo a Sacerdotibus Castellanis extenso, otium ac voluntatem suam Diva significaverit. Tum clamitant una omnes, rauco strîdore cœlum implentes, "Madonna

[f] Scorta Romæ Julium nummum solvunt Pontifici: exhinc census illius annuus excedit 40,000 Ducatos. Paul. iii. in Tabellis suis habuit Meretrices 45,000.

[g] Fortuna, stultorum dea, vetus illud, "Favet fatuis."

[h] "Semel insanivimus omnes."

[i] Erasm. Do. Walsingamia.

Scoopertak;" ruuntque universi, viæque ac portæ angustias frustra queritantur. Dumque nimium festinant, alter alteri viam obstruit: nec dici potest quantæ hinc rixæ sæpius oriantur, imo et pugnæ parum aliquando siccæ: nam præire volunt omnes, nemo cedere meliori. Premunt adstantes: præcedentibus invident; remotioribus illudunt.

Vidi istic laterum fortassis infirmiorum quosdam, qui in hac valle pene senuerint; quibus nec adhuc datur ingrediendi licentia.

Quid rei agant hi omnes rogitas, Lector, et miraris. Certe convocavit omnes habendi cupiditas: retinuit spes: nempe vota facturos quosque, ut, Divæ beneficio, exoptato tandem bono potiri liceat. Notavi hic alium negatos precaturum amores; alium, pacem modo domesticam; alium, honores; divitias, alium. Hic patrui nimis jam longævi, funus; ille, post tres olim vices, munus vacaturum, rogat. Sedebat hic prope portam superciliosus quidam rerum dominus, novissimæ proximam, uti ferunt, monarchiam petiturus: hic, deformes quædam virgunculæ, formæ gratiam; illic, anus rugosæ redivivam sperabant adolescentiam: hic, sterilis liberos; illic, serva libertatem: omnes aliquid, singuli aliud meditabantur.

Signo jam dato, qui possunt dant sese in viam; montem non, pedibus, (ilicet hoc piaculo est,) sed manibus genubusque conscensuri.

Medium jam montem magno cum labore assecutos blandius excipit unus e sacerdotibus, nomen sciscitatus et patriam; quod semel acceptum, te interim consistente, voce Stentorea pronunciat: partim, ut socios suos ipsumque adeo numen præmoneat, quos qualesque sint hospites habituri: partim, ut intelligat priusquam proprius accesseris, consulto prius numine, num sat tecum attuleris fidei et puritatis.

Nam si paulo impurior, ac depressior graviore mali sarcina istuc concesseris, conscia satis Diva rubeo te vexillo monet in cœnobiolum (loculis purgandis juxta positum) relegari: hic asservabere, donec leviore crumena, mundiore anima, fueris ad reliquum itineris conficiendum comparatior.

Quod si nomen forte placuerit, plumbeo te signo satis instructum dimittit auspicato: tribus tamen hisce tibi in aurem, solenni more, prius obmurmuratis, " Spera, Crede, Expecta."

Pergis læto alacrique animo: cumque ipsos fere palatii gradus attigeris, limen ferreum se offert: cui inscriptum:

[k] Sonus Italorum, quum D. Mariæ statua retegitur.

" Fortunam si avide vorare pergas,
Illam ut male concoquas necesse est[1]."

Hujus angustissimos aditus torvus janitor aliquandiu præcludit; qui tamen mercede facile mitescit, aperitque tibi non tam portam, quam foramen; cui ubi tu te pronus insinuaveris multo nisu, en tibi ædes fere cælestium æmulas, auro margaritisque quaquavorsum renidentes, quarum externa facies nihil infra felicitatem polliceri videtur.

Sacerdotum habitus, officia, ritus, templive formam, ne nimius sim, prudens omitto.

Tandem, vacat enim per aliquod tempus omnia contueri, accedit alter flaminum, manumque prehendit; et simul oculos faciemque totam linteo velamine revincit: per multas ambages occæcatum ducens hospitem, quoquo lubet; sed, uti creduli homines opinantur, in templum Bonæ Deæ: scilicet, profanis oculis non licet numinis majestatem conspicari.

Provolvi hic juberis in faciem, sacrumque pavimentum deosculari, nec movere manum pedemve, donec te Diva nominatim compellaverit: tum, quicquid volueris, audacter profari; quicquid illa jusserit, satagere absque vel mora vel diffidentia; factumque iri, quantumvis arduum, quod flagitaveris.

Sed quæ religionis tantæ merces est? inquis: aut quis cultus hujusce exitus?

Ridendus, hercle; quique splenem agitet vel non petulantem. Illusum est singulis probe, arte quidem multiplici: sed adhuc tam clancularia, ut licet inopes dimittantur singuli, malint tamen suam quisque sive inertiam, sive incredulitatem, quam fidem numinis criminari.

Facto semel voto (puta honorem postulari) illa benigne annuit. Et, in primis, jubet supplicem, post horas aliquot, Sacram, ut appellat, Potiunculam ebibere, qua sordes animæ ultra abluantur, ipseque dignior fiat, qui exoptatam felicitatem reportet. Deinceps etiam procumbat aliquandiu, donec ipsa denuo fuerit allocuta: tum vocem observet sedulo, ac jussa capessat alacer; nec dubitet quin voti compos illico sit evasurus. Tantum ubi omnia ex animi sententia successerint, credat eodem in statu æternum permansura, gratoque animo numinis beneficentiam recordetur.

Acceptum jam calicem absorbet hospes lubentissime; suavissimumque sacri liquoris gustum tacite sibi plaudit; nesciens, interea, poculum revera soporiferum sibi propinari, mulso, papavere, opio,

[1] Sannazarii carmen. [Epigr. i. 56. ad Marin. Caracc.]

lactucis, atque id genus herbis medicatum: cujus haustu consopitus illico, non secus ac cadaver aliquod, a vespillonibus hac illac in palatium asportatur. Denique, intuentium cachinnis exceptus diu, sistitur tandem in cubiculo, lectoque elegantissimo; ornato, more regio, eburneis quidem tabulatis, aurea contignatione, stragulis pretiocissimis,

Ut ne peristromata quidem æque picta sint Campanica,
Neque Alexandrina belluata conchyliata tapetia[l].

In limine ministri collocantur, ædepol cultissimi, torquibus annulisque, more aulico, insigniti; expectaturi donec Endymion iste novus, quod post triduum plerunque fit, evigilaverit. Qui demum expergefactus, circumspicit attonitus: loci et formam et pretium, habitusque ministrorum nunquam satis miratus; dum servi omnes, ordine suo, flexis genibus, experrectum salutant Regem, faustumque diem apprecantur: quodque mavelit hodie vestis genus officiose percontantur. Tandemque afferunt infiniti pene valoris vestimenta,

"Dant digitis gemmas, dant longa monilia collo[m];"

et obsitum margaritis diadema capiti imponunt. Indusiato denique ac patagiato[n], ubi prandendi tempus institerit, mensam dapalem ac munificam instruunt. Spectaculis, ludis, musicoque concentu, reliquum diei consumunt. Quin et cœnatur adhuc apparatu magis, si fieri potest, regio. Clauditur autem inscio cœna eodem ipso poculo, quo gravissimus ille sopor pridem inductus est: unde bonus ille rex ephemerus,

"Nam simul expletus dapibus, vinoque sepultus[o],"

per posticum effertur foras, habituque proprio, sed aliquantulum fœdatiore in trivio miser exponitur. Ubi cum ad se redierit, rursum stupet, quis et ubi sit fueritque pridem: ac, revolvens animo nuperam modoque amissam beatitudinem, ejulat misere; semet incusans sive inertiæ, quod Divæ tam præsentis vocem, prout in mandatis habuisse meminit, secundo non auscultaverit; vel ingratitudinis, quod, tam inopina dignitate nimis elatus, donantis munificentiam neglexerit. Cedit ergo lachrymans, quiritansque; et id unum in ore habet animoque, "Fuimus Troës." Hortatur reliquos, ut pergant, seque præbeant Divæ morigeros; omnium se mortalium fuisse pridem felicissimum, sua solius culpa excidisse: unde alii, auspicatiora sibi omnia pollicentes, magis adhuc proritantur.

[l] Plautus Pseud. A. i. sc. 2.
[m] Ovid. Metam. 10. [264.]
[n] Plaut. Epid. [Colon. 1577. p. 295.
[o] Virgil. Æn. 3. p. [630.]

Cap. VIII.—*Pia Moronia*[p].

Ab occidente, Moroniam Felicem ac Fatuam claudit Pia: regio quidem suopte ingenio satis ferax ac elegans; maxime tamen squallens incuria dominorum. Nam ubi duas in partes tribui solet, Credulium et Doxiam[q], priorem longeque ampliorem qui colunt, ita toti ritus quosdam putidos ac ridiculos sapiunt, ut suorum omnium curam abjicere, Deo dignum opus existiment.

Villæ hic et optimæ et frequentissimæ sunt: Lipsanium, Maravilla; nec dissitæ procul Crocetta, Rodillia, Bascia.

Ulterior pars fere sola, quæque vix novit colonum. Hujus pagi Ceniza, D'ayuno, Gymnopodilla, Fovetta, fortassis ob situm parum salubrem, fere derelicti sunt: nisi quod semel in anno, sancta quadam die Veneris, ab omnibus Moronis Piis invisantur.

Non tacendum hic est in Monte Bagnacavallino Ptochæum, in toto orbe maximum ac luculentissimum, "Hospidale di Pazzi Incurabili," impensis regionis totius, et extructum et sustentatum; cujus præfectus hodie Garzonius[r] est, vir sane integer ac solicitus, qui in classes quasdam pulchre distinxit hujus ordinis universos. Nulla Moroniæ pars est, quæ non colonias huc aliquot impotentiorum emiserit.

Sane, præter cœnobiola, quorum hic numerus est, nec plures villas esse crediderim, nil præter sordidissima tuguriola, quale Westphalum illud Lipsii hospitium, cernes.

Nemo hic lacertam terræ possidet: omnes, enim, se Cœnobitis Morosophis manciparent, agrosque paternos aris focisque divorum consecrarunt.

Verbo dicam, quatuor hic ædium genera conspexi: Templa, Cœnobia, Proseuchas vel πτωχοδοχεῖα, Tuguriola; nam, præter religiosos, vel mendicant omnes vel serviunt.

Religioni cuidam devotissimi omnes sunt: quid, tamen, cuive Deo credant, nescire profitentur; negligunt disquirere. Sat illis est, majorum vestigia sequi, et sanctorum olim sedes occupare.

Etiam incessu gaudent cruciplici: sic enim pedes promovent, ut alter alteri e transverso positus crucis formam referat. Eodemque more brachia, dolentium gestu, implicata gerunt.

Templa, quidem, habent cultissima: in agris, tamen, cuivis lapidi ac ligno supplices prosternuntur; globulosque ligneos et succineos agitant.

[p] Terra Stult. Superstitiosorum.

[q] Quotquot religiose insaniunt, vel superstitione laborant, vel nobis ac hæreticis opinionibus. Hinc Mor. pise duo comitatus.

[r] "Hospidale di Pazzi Incurabili." a Thoma Garzonio de Bagnacavallo scriptum parum feliciter.

Non tot istic capita, quot divi. Paucos, præ istis, annumeravit Varro veteribus Romanis: qui fere omnes lapidei, lignei, farinacei; non desunt, tamen, qui equos, sues, canes in hoc albo reponant. Novos indies creant sibi deos; aliquando etiam, uno die, in uno templo, ducentos.

Quod ab Ægyptiis olim factitatum legimus, hic ubique comperimus; superstitum ædes negligi, honestari funus ac monumenta mortuorum. Novimus 800 libras ceræ uni non maximo funeri insumptas[r].

Hic ego me sepultum volo: caveoque testamento istuc delatum curent hæredes; comitesque mihi adjungi cupio, quotquot peregrinationem hanc meam vel damnant, vel plus æquo mirantur, vel sibi posthac imitandam proposuerint.

Nam, præter tædas, incensationes[s] per circuitum, oscula, campanularum sonum, aspersiones, quæ animæ pridem exautoratæ non parum prodesse putantur; parafrenariis duobus illud ex lege loci incumbit, ut, duobus flabellis ex serico nigro, insignibus mortui depicto, muscas a cadavere arceant; etiamsi tempus hyemale sit[t], quando muscæ omnes non minus cadavere servato mortuæ jacent.

Nihil tractant non exorcizatum prius; aquam, oleum, salem, ceram, balsamum, gladium militarem. Rosæ aureæ[u], magna cum solennitate, benedicunt. Baptizant vexilla et campanulas.

Sed, quod quis magis stupeat, in Urbe Maravilla, certum est lapides audire, lachrymari, ridere, pedem porrigere ac retrahere, sanare morbos, sanguinem emittere, ac nihil non quotidie præstare, quod a quoquam vel hominum, vel Semonum, vel Dæmonum, fieri possit.

Sect. 2.—*Doxia: altera Moroniæ Piæ Provincia*[x].

Doxia, pars altera, varietatis plurimum ostentat, elegantiæ parum. Nulla hic villa, nulla domus, ad alterius formam construitur: singulæ novam, quamque fieri potest a reliquis discrepantem, adfectant.

Nusquam plura vidi, minusque obliterata vetustatis monumenta.

Chronia hic villa est; Septemque Pyramides, dirutæ aliquantulum, a Saturnianis olim erectæ, in memoriam Septem Ange-

[r] Tot solent insumi sepulturæ cujusque Cardinalis. Lib. Sacr. Cæremon. i.

[s] [Incensare — thure adolere. Dufresne.]

[t] Ipsa verba sunt Lib. primi Sacr. Cærem. in Exeq. Cardin.

[u] [An allusion to the Pope's blessing the Golden Rose on the first Sunday in Lent.]

[x] Terra Stultorum Hæreticorum.

lorum, quos, præter Dei conscientiam, mundum credebant fabricasse[u].

Dein Abraxia Urbs, Basilidianorum quondam sedes: quæ, veterum decreto, ex ædibus constabat 365, nec fas est vel unam prioribus adjicere, aut vero unam demoliri[x].

Nec abhinc multum Pagus Borboriticus[y] statuas ostentat triginta[z], ævo semesas, dextris quidem conjunctas: octo, tamen, reliquis majores; saxa Hebræis characteribus inscripta.

Quin et hic desertum paulo sylvosius est, in quo Elcesaitas vel Ebioneos[a] diu ferunt vixisse: rudera quædam aræ vetustæ adhuc remanent, in qua coacti sacra fecerunt diis ethnicorum. A sinistra tumuli cernuntur Heracleonitici, oleo balsamoque etiamnum madidi[b]. A dextra Vallis Ophitica, ubi sacri colubri spelunca, et altare quod toties incantationibus evocatus ascendisse fertur[c]. Etiam subterraneæ Caianorum domunculæ patent hic peregrinis; inferno, ut creditur, proximæ; in quibus Caini fustis Judæque capistrum sanctius asservantur.

Ad ripam Hygri Lacus, ferrea catena palo affigitur Severianorum Patera[d]; qua illi homines, quondam abstemii, aquam excipere solebant.

Ibidemque angustissima Tatianorum[e] cubilia, mensæ minores; sparsimque jacent Montanistarum funestæ placentæ[f], Valesiorum pumicei testiculi[g], Manichæorum agri longe spinosissimi[h], Psallia-

[u] Saturniani docebant septem Angelos fecisse cælum, præter Dei conscientiam. August. [ed. Ben. t. viii. p. 6.]

[x] Basilidiani cælos 365 esse: secundum numerum literarum nominis *ἀβραξας* [*αβρασαξ*, ibid. p. 6.]

[y] Gnostici sic dicti sunt, quasi cœnosi, ob insignem in suis mysteriis turpitudinem: [ibid.] Etiam Carpocratiani sic dicti; Iren. l. i. c. 24. [Oxon. 1702. p. 99.]

[z] Valentiniani Æones 30. *Βύθος, νοῦν*, &c. e quibus primogenita octonatio (verbis Irenæi) præcipua erat, et origo reliquarum. Hi voculis Hebræis in suis sacris plerunque utebantur. Ibidem Irenæus.

[a] Iidem Epiphanio. "Quibus cum Sampsæis et Elusæis aliqua ex parte convenit." Adv. Hær. lib. i. x. Hi (ut Eusebius) fidem in persecutione negandam, et in corde servandam docent.

[b] Novo modo morientes redimere videbantur oleo, balsamo, aqua, et invocationibus Hebræis. [Aug. ut supra t. viii. p. 8.]

[c] Ophitæ Christum colubrum deceptorem fuisse; nutriunt colubrum, qui, incantante sacerdote, egreditur, lambit oblationes, regreditur. [ibid.]

[d] Severiani non bibebant vinum, quod de Satana et terra germinasse dicunt. August. lib. de Hæresibus. [ibid. p. 9.]

[e] Tatiani nuptias damnabant æque ac fornicationes: ergo lectis non magnis utebantur; mensis vero minoribus, quod carnibus non vescebantur. Ibid.

[f] Illi de sanguine anniculi infantis, punctionum vulneribus extracto, conficiunt panem; sanguinem hunc farinæ miscentes. Ibid. [Cataphrygas, p. 10.]

[g] Vales. se castrabant et hospites, rem se Deo gratam fecisse sperantes. [p. 11.]

[h] Manich. inter alia absurdiss. plantas sentire et dolere putabant: agrum ergo spinis purgare nefas illis videbatur. [ibid. p. 13.]

norum cellulæ precatoriæ[i] Patricianorum cruces[k], utriculi Ascitarum[l], Pattalorinchitarum statuæ[m] Harpocraticæ, Aquariorum cyathi[n], et quotquot fuerunt veterum hæreseωn monumenta.

Nihil tamen ita splendidum vidit seculum illud prius, ac Rhetorianum Palatium[o], ad omnium plane ædium exemplar ita ædificatum, ut suam interea formam videatur sibi propriam retinere.

Manent denique adhuc casta Abelianorum mœnia[p], quæ prolem adoptatitiam ac alieni patris generosa insignia, sanctasque reliquias palam ostentant.

Hic non ita pridem fundamenta novæ urbis jecerunt parum auspicato fanatici errones, quos Erriconicolaitas et Georgo-Davidicos vocant[q].

Quin et exules quidam Virginenses[r] duraturam hic rempublicam perperam meditantur.

Liceat mihi monere orbis universi dominos, reges, imperatores, modo suæ paci ac ipsorum saluti probe consultum velint, hæreticos omnes pacis publicæ juratos hostes ac perturbatores huc relegent.

CAP. IX.— *Status Politiæ Moronicæ.*

Urbium quidem singularum regimen medium est inter aristocraticum et democraticum. Eligit sibi populus, quem mavult senatorum numerum: qui neque annuum gerunt, neque perpetuum magistratum; sed, pro eligentis plebeculæ arbitrio, præsunt præsidentque. Si quem habeant nimiæ fortassis prudentiæ

[i] Hi Euchitæ etiam dicti sunt: nunquam non orabant, ut his qui hoc de illis audiunt (inq. Aug.) incredibile videatur. [Massaliani, ibid. p. 19.]

[k] Patric. carnem suam non e Deo, sed Diabolo conditam putarunt; quam

[m] Dicti a { πάτταλος [vel πασσαλος / βίγχος] } per palum digitum significantes; qui labiis et naribus opponunt digitos, atque ita studuit ut, &c.] filios suos inopes ad spem hæreditatis alienæ libenter dantibus. August. loc. citato. [Abelonii vel Abeloitæ.] student silentio. Augustinus δακτυλοριγχίτας appellare mavult. [ibid.]

[n] Aquam offerebant in poculo sacramenti. [ibid.]

[o] Rhetorius, ut notat Philastr., quod tamen Augustino incredibile videtur, affirmabat omnes hæreticos recte ambulare et vera dicere. [ibid. p. 23.]

[p] Abeliani non miscebantur uxoribus; nec, tamen, sine uxoribus vivere illis licebat: adoptarunt, ergo, filios aliorum; generantibus circumquaque vicinis, et ergo sic oderunt, ut quidam sibi mortem intulerint. [ibid. p. 20.]

[l] Ascitæ utres se novos, vino novo repletos, dicebant: utrem circumibant bacchantes. [ibid.]

[q] Henricus Nicolaus et Georgius David, fundatores turpissimæ illius Anabaptistarum sectæ, quam alii Libertinam, nos "The Family of Love," indigitamus. [David or John George, born at Delft, 1501, author of the "Wonderboek," &c., Nicolas Meinertz—his disciple and son-in-law.]

[r] Brunistæ quidem Angli in Virginiam relegati.

suspectum, hunc statim ostracismo severiore e suis finibus ejiciunt.

Provinciæ autem omnes, nomine saltem tenus, unum agnoscunt principem, tunc temporis Il Buffonio Ottimo Massimo. Palatium illi in Felici Moronia, prope Piam, Papagallium[s]. Is, medius inter imperatorem et sacerdotem, mitra simul et diademate sedet insignis. Pro sceptro clavis illi præfertur, cum gladio; clarum emblema divitiarum et potestatis. Clavis enim docet omnes Moroniæ thesauros illi patescere: gladius, pro libito se aliena diripere, sua defensare posse. Adventanti cuique pollicem dextri pedis exosculandum porrigit; quem morem diu ferunt invaluisse: natum inde primitus, quod quidam ex antiquis regibus chiragra laboraverint. Non nascitur ille, quidem, sed eligitur: nec tamen ante decrepitam ætatem, ne nimis diuturno imperio populum, novitatis studiosissimum, oneraret. Sed et ante capellam S. Sapæ, sedes sunt duæ porphyreticæ, quibus insideat oportet eligendus, ut in stercoraria examen suæ virilitatis subiturus[t]. Humeris suorum effertur vulgo; non equo, aut mulo: ut significet se tantum aliis regibus præstare, quantum homines jumentis: semperque sub baldachino proficiscitur. Sed ejusmodi sunt ista, quæ possunt ab alio usurpari: quædam vendicat sibi propria, nec cui principum totius orbis communicanda. Nulla enim vectigalia unquam exigit a suis; sed quicquid ipsi sponte obtulerint, grata manu excipit, larga depromit. Nihil unquam decernit, cui vel unus aliquis procerum refragetur. Leges multas condit, nullas exequitur; nec quid sancit diu duraturum: si qua lex duas senserit hyemes, obsolescit. Vel suos vernas familiarius salutat, mensaque ipsa dignatur: etiam, ubi lubet, et ipsis magnatibus anteponit. Parasitis suis quidlibet potestatem facit audendi, vel legem quamlibet violandi, vel cudendi monetam, suaque effigie et nomine suo inscribendi. Plura hic æque facile observassem, ni ab aulica vita natura mihi semper abhorruisset.

[s] Camera Papagalli, locus in quo Pontifex eligitur. lib. Cæremon.

[t] Ipsissima verba authoris Sacrarum Cærem. in consecratione Pontif.

LIBER QUARTUS.

LAVERNIA.

Cap. I.—*Situs Laverniæ*[a].

Lavernia, ab occidente, Magellanico quidem Oceano; ab oriente, Pia Moronia, et Crapuliæ parte aliqua, terminatur.

Terra tam prorsus effœta et sterilis, si unicam provinciam exceperis, ut ex hac, potius quam Trinacria illa veteri, filia Cereris a Plutone rapta videretur.

Nec pastori hic locus, nec agricolæ: incolæ, tamen, ita rerum omnium copia diffluunt, ut nulla mihi in orbe toto ditior; et, quantum feritas illa naturæ fert, gens delicatior visa fuerit: quicquid enim ullibi terrarum splendidum habetur ac rariusculum, sive dolo seu vi rapiunt ad se: raptumque, pari violentia, tuentur.

Maxime, tamen, Piæ Felicisque Moroniæ spoliis orientalior pars; maritima, vero, partim Indorum gazis, partim communi quam exercent pyratica, se ditare solent.

Laverniæ partes duæ sunt; Larcinia, et Phenacia[b]. Hæc Moroniam et Crapuliæ angulum attingit: illa magis Occidentem spectat; et, contra vagæ gentis Larcinæ morem, suis se finibus contineri sinit: utraque valde immanis et inhospita.

Cap. II.—*Larcinorum Mores.*

Larciniam[c] ab utraque Moronia separat flumen Tryphonium[d]; cujus undæ flexuosissimæ non pauciores insulas, quam Ralcana Guianorum faciunt.

Tota regio ita sylvosa et montana est, ut deserti potius nomen mereatur; et, quod de urbe quadam Strabo, ad rebellandum quam ad habitandum aptior videatur.

In istorum sermone quædam Wallica vocabula notavi: quod ego ex ignotis nostratium peregrinationibus factum judicarim.

Larcinensium populus quidem satis numerosus est; respublica

[a] Terra Furum, quorum dea Laverna. "Da mihi fallere *falsaque dicere*, pulchra Laverna." Horat.*

[b] Prout artis hujusce duæ species sunt; Latrocinium, Impostura.

[c] Terra Latronum.

[d] Tryphon insignis latro apud Ægyptios.

* pulchra Laverna,
Da mihi fallere.—Hor. I. Ep. 16. 60.

nulla. Sibi quisque se natum putat: sibi soli vivit: sibi obtemperat: tantumque possidet, quantum diripere quovis modo possit raptumque custodire: quoque potentior quis factus est, eo magis timetur; eoque pluribus non tam subditis, quam *ἀνδραπόδοις* dominatur.

In certas familias distinguuntur incolæ; quæ singulæ stirpis suæ potentissimo volentes obaudiunt. Contribulibus suis parcit quisque et adhæret: reliquos omnes liberrime spoliat. Abhinc diu exhausta fuisset horum incursionibus utraque Moronia, ni sagaciores præfecti cum libertate salutem ab omnibus familiarum ducibus, magna auri vi, quotannis redemissent.

Forma corporis nihil fere a nostris discrepant; nisi quod omnes, exceptis insularibus, aduncis[e] unguibus sint, et quasi accipitrinis: id quod Laverniis omnibus commune est.

Montanam partem occupat Gens Sbanditica: cui umbram quidem commodam ac salutarem largitur Butinia Sylva; præ qua illa Germanorum Hercynia, decem latronum millibus stipata, pomariolum angustius, aut mera quasi sepes videtur.

Castra hic passim cernes: non, hercle, nimium splendida; sed et multa et munitissima: in quibus tuto sedent familiæ cujusque duces, prædamque a vicinorum periculo sartam tectam conservant. Dum plebecula novum sibi quotidie sub quavis arbore lectum sternit, more Tartarorum, et assiduas viatoribus insidias struit; quos illico bonis omnibus expoliatos non letho dedunt, quod Itali et Germani insidiatores solent, nec enim quicquam verentur ne cui pœnas dent commissi latrocinii; sed vinctum ad sui Ducis aulam deducunt, obstringuntque juramento se illi in perpetuum fideliter serviturum: qui, ubi vel fidem violaverit, vel per menses aliquot nihil cuiquam surripuerit, vel non vacuum viatorem lubens præterierit insalutatum, laqueo damnatur. Ita crescit indies istorum potestas, et ex quo lata Phenacibus lex est de filiis natu minoribus prorsus exhæredandis, evehendisque primigeniis, auxit non parum spontanea pubis etiam nobilioris accessione.

Pii Moronii non tam cruces colunt, quam isti oderunt. Quanquam, ergo, illi, ex initi cum Laverniis fœderis tenore, incolumes se domi continere possint; si, tamen, huc fuerint evagati hoc uno nomine suspendio plerique pereunt, quod hoc signo istud supplicii genus ipsis exprobrare videantur.

Nunquam non intestina bella, inter tribuum capita oriuntur,

[e] Οὗτος [Οὗτως] ὀξύχειρ ἐστί: de Mercurio Luciano. [Dial. Apoll. et Vulc. Opp. Paris. 1615. p. 72.]

dum peculium quisque suum repetit, detinetque alienum: quod commode quidem cedit orbi universo; verendum enim foret, ne tot tamque perditorum hominum conjuncta vis, aucta quotidie, in perniciem reliquarum gentium conspiraret: quam ob causam prudentiores Phenacii et serunt inter illos, et alunt lites.

Non minima laus est etiam parvulis, quod olim Cæsar de veteribus Germanis[f], artificiose furari; quos a tenerrimis, et præceptis quæ vocant Hermeticis imbuunt, et exemplis. Videbis infantulos, etiam dum ab uberibus matrum pendent, aciculam subducere vel nummum: quod si hallucinati fuerint tantillum; et, vel non satis audaci vel sat lenta manu, rem aggressi fuerint, ita ut ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ facile deprehendantur; vapulant illico. Tandem ubi adoleverint, aut anatem, aut anserem, aut quid grandius indies oportet suffurentur: nec impune diem transigunt, in quo rem domesticam nihilo auxerint. Quod si satis constiterit operam ab ipsis navatam strenue, non æque successisse, aut glebam ex agro vicino, aut ramusculum surripiant necesse est, ne forte desuescendo fierent ineptiores.

Sed hæc in ipsis Phenaciæ finibus præcipue cernuntur: inter quos et Larcinos latissima Vallis Bugietta se diffundit; de qua, suo loco, pluribus, posteaquam Larcinos Litorales ordine descripserimus.

Cap. III.—*Litorales et Insulares Larciniæ.*

Hi, sive in Litore Magellanico, sive in ripa et Insulis Tryphonicis late sparsi, amphibii sunt; eo ditiores reliquis, quo sunt reliquis occupatiores.

Quibus etiam non parum favent notissimi freti angustiæ. Cognito enim semel, propter præcipitem maris decursum, nullam dari nautis retrocedendi viam, scaphis catenisque obstipant iter, et ita navim spoliant et vectores: ex quo factum putem, quod fretum istud regressum plane nullum patiatur; non tam undarum impetu, quam numero ac ferocitate pyratarum.

Nemo nautarum Europæorum magis callet istis fluxuum tempestates, et situs opportunitatesque portuum, ventos, syrtes, scopulos: neque pisces ipsi, aut melius natant, aut facilius.

Primas hic obtinet Portus Dunius: villa, non sane magna, nec adeo munita; sed audax admodum, et omnium fere regionum spoliis ad miraculum usque dives: sita in ipso angulo Larciniæ, quo terra hæc, interventu Tryphonii Fluminis, a Crapulia diri-

[f] Cæs. de Bello Gall. lib. vi. [g] Regio Pyratarum.

mitur. Hujus littus magnetibus ac pulvere magnetico stratum ferunt; quorum virtus navem ad se quamlibet remotiorem allicit, retinetque. Sed neque minus proficiunt illi Duniorum, qui maria quæque pererrant, ac naves longe suis munitiores adoriuntur. Mirum est, hercle, quoties istos, vel post imparem sæpe congressum, audacia victores reduxerit: quod tamen alii baptizatis incantatisque vexillis Moronicis acceptum referre malunt[h]. Insigne urbis vultur est, vel inter volandum pascens, cum verbo "Fruor nec quiesco."

Statim a Tryphonis Fluvii vestibulo, Portus Bercius est; insularum istarum omnium, et undarum dominus: nam a prætereuntibus quibusque etiam suis, non minimum vectigal exigit, pretium viæ: et, hamis quibusdam majoribus magnete tinctis, non aliter navibus alienis, quam nos piscibus, insidiatur; tactasque semel impactis ad se uncis quantumvis contranitentes, ducit.

In totidem paludinosissimis insulis, et tam lato flumine, vix domunculam cernes, aut cymbam[i]: partim, quod, in mediis arundinetis (nempe crescunt hic arundines Indicis illis quas sæpe vidimus altiores, nec minus robustæ) nidum quisque sibi ac suis malit concinnare; partim, quod ob proximitatem loci gens ista cum Moronis plerunque misceatur, quorum sane nemo non natare mavult quam navigare: unde fit, ut brachiorum remigia tam dædale tractare norint, dimidiam ut vitæ partem, quod de crocodilo dici solet, in aquis degant; motusque velocitate cum celerrimis quidem remis ausint contendere.

Hi nautis formidabiliores sunt, quam nautici quivis pyratæ. Improviso, enim, navim assequuntur; remoraque firmius adhærentes retinent; et, vel retentæ dorsum perferant ut aqua submergatur, vel impetu subvertunt, vel denique scopulis allidunt.

Cap. IV.—*Quis mihi aditus. Harpyiæ.*

Sed quis mihi huc aditus patuerit, aut quæ tandem commorandi licentia fuerit concessa, mirabitur lector: nec credet, aut quenquam sanæ mentis committere semet ausum tam immani populo, aut incolumem demum rediisse.

Intelligat ergo lector, communem istis cum Piis Moronis jubilæum, de more solenni, anno quoque quinquagesimo celebrari: in quo, cum omnibus orbis totius nationibus ac populis induciæ pactæ sunt; quo durante, religio est furacissimo ganeoni, pacem

[h] Papa baptizabat vexillum Italorum et Hispanorum in Flandria, vocavitque Margaretam, quæ postea vicit Diabolum. Moresin. de Orig. Rel. Pap.

[i] Ut pyratæ Ægyptii apud Heliodorum, l. i. [Paris. 1619. pp. 10, 11.]

vel publicam vel privatam violare. Jam tum convolant huc hospites: qui, tamen, quicquid secum attulerint, incolis gratis largiuntur; ut pacem hanc vel unius anni liberam, quadrienni lite lucrosiorem existimem. Incidi ego in sacrum hunc annum, peropportune; et, cum quibusdam aliis itineris nostri sociis, regionem lustravi.

Inter eundem maximum nobis ab Harpyiis imminebat periculum; quibuscum profecto fœdus pacis nullum nobis ferire licuit. Hæ, nec scio volucres ne dicerem an dæmones, ex quo a Boreæ filiis pulsæ fuerunt, hic, ut fama est, sedem sibi posuerunt. Ex transversis trabibus, in medio quercus robustissimæ, nidos sibi sternunt. Ore, bubonem referunt; dorso et corporis mole, struthiocamelum; pennis, hystricem; rostro ac unguibus, aquilam. Recurrebat mihi in mentem istas cernenti quod de *ἀνωνύμοις* alitibus scripserat olim supposititius Aristoteles[k], qui in Diomedea Insula circulatim semper volitantes Græcis tantum adulabantur, alios omnes infestabant. Pariter nobiscum ac peregrinis omnibus egerunt rapacissimæ Harpyiæ: incolas ipsos, quasi probe cognitos, familiariter exceperunt, semperque dimiserunt illæsos: in nos magno impetu involarunt. Quisquis per Sylvæ istius Butiniæ deserta solus ambulat, harum unguibus rapitur illico, ac dilaniatur. Imo, vix tutum ab his iter est decuriæ peregrinorum, absque conductitio Larcinorum præsidio.

Cap. V.—*Vallis Bugietta*[l]. *Phenacum Mores. Urbs Furtofrancheça Bolsecium.*

Redeo jam ad Vallem Bugiettam, ultimam Larciniæ metam; communem tamen utrique provinciæ terram.

Suam cuique partem ex æquo tribuit Mnemon Fluvius, per mediam planitiem decurrens; qui et oppidis Phenacum præsidiariis situm præbet commodissimum.

Fallor nisi hic viderim Herodoti ac Plinii historici quædam, sed vix jam percipienda oculis, monumenta.

Struxit sibi hic ædes profecto elegantes Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus; nec abhinc procul Cardinalis quidam historicus amplissima jecit castelli augustissimi fundamenta. Nam ex quo Hispanus vicinam huic Indiam occupavit, licuit etiam Jesuitis bona cum Phenacum venia oras hasce, ut *πολυπραγματικώτατοι* sunt mortalium, invisere; et, ab aliis relictam, propter creberrimos Larcinorum incursus, terram incolere.

[k] Lib. de Mirabilibus. Contra quam canis ille, cujus Epitaphium videre est in villa suburbana Bononiæ: "Latrai à ladri, et à gli amanti tacqui, &c."

[l] Terra Impostorum.

Astrologorum gymnasiola hic multa sunt; quibus, hercle, poetas excipe et juridicos, præ aliis omnibus favere solent Phenaces.

Quin et in hac ipsa valle (nam quid dissimulem?) ego quidem conduxi domum; ubi præscius rerum hariolus audacter scripsi verissimum hujus temporis vaticinium.

Longe humaniores sunt Larciniis Phenaces; aut saltem crudelitatem exercent magis secretam: nam quod illi palam et sub dio, hi sine testibus agunt domi.

Hi et legibus sese, et Aurei Principis (nam sic suum regem appellant) imperio subjiciunt. Furtofraucheça, pars Bugiettæ proximior, ex omnibus Laverniæ partibus aut optima est, aut minime profecto mala.

Hic interdiu quiescunt: noctu, vero, semper negotiantur. Solem, ergo, velut mortalibus noxium lumen, abominantur. Lunam colunt, ut cælicolarum omnium benignissimam.

Arbores sic sua natura viscidæ sunt, ut volucrum quotquot ramulis insident, illico adhæreant; prædæque sint viatoribus.

Maximum hujus provinciæ emporium et longe frequentissimum Bolsecium[m] dicitur: cujus tamen vici duo, Palatium et Fripperia, omnes quas vidi urbium plateas numero excedunt. Palatium quidem causidicorum litibus, Fripperia parariorum nundinationibus destinatur.

Et, sane, causidicorum nulla sub cœlo tam ferax regio est: qui, ut Plautinus ille[n], si nihil est litium, lites scrunt. Horum non minor hic numerus est, quam in Westmonasteriolo nostro capitum. Quamquam, vero, indies creentur novi, fieri tamen non potest, ut illi putant qui in rebus politicis lyncei sibi videntur, quin istorum numerus in posterum decrescat; nam ubi litigando totam inter se provinciam, quod jam fere fit, partiti fuerint, clientibus deinceps indigeant necesse est: quo fiet, ut in se involent mutuo, et alter alteri commissus male parta dissipet in vulgus; futurisque alterius ævi nepotibus, locum exercendæ huic arti magis lucrosum paret. Horum servis usitata semper est vestis δίχροος; ut hinc innuant inservire se dominis ad utramvis causæ partem suscipiendam paratissimis. Lites istis suppeditat, et fœneratorum copia, et Ruzius impetuosissimus fluviorum: qui, dum præcipiti cursu inter Insulas Strophadas labitur, nunc magnam solutioris terræ partem ab una devolvit in alteram, tandem et in tertiam impellit; nunc, vero, priore sede fastidita

[m] Urbs crumenisecarum.

[n] Plaut. Pœnul. [Act. iii. Sc. 2.]

novum sibi quærit canalem, avidissimis dominis nunc patrios fundos adimens, nunc largiens novos.

Incolarum plerique, Alpinorum more, struma laborant: Argyranchen[o] vocant medici. Qui morbus ita vulgaris est, ut nemo locum affectum vel sanatum velit, vel occultatum.

Nec scio quæ secreta virtus istorum cuti indita sit; ut non minus argentum attrahat ad se, quam magnes ferrum; nec minus attractum retineat.

Fripperia omnibus et artificum generibus instruitur; et mercium officina tamen hic nulla: quisque continuis clamoribus artem suam et merces exponit transeunti populo; et emptorem nactus, secedit laudatam prius supellectilem ostensurus. Hic cuprium producit torquem, aureis laminis obductum[p]; juratque, nec Tagum, nec Indorum fodinas, quid magis aureum protulisse. Alter testiculum ostendit muscatum, suavissimis odoribus plenum. Alius uniones profert limpidissimos; quos quidem neque candore, nec lævore, nec magnitudine, nec orbe, nec pondere, (in his enim Plinio dos omnis unionum,) a veris ac nativis dignoscere: conchasque ipsas exhibet, in quibus solidiores illæ guttæ pridem concreverint.

Nec desunt e scarpellinis: qui lapides propinent specie tenus ex omni genere pretiosissimos; Adamantem Cyprium, Hephestitem Corinthium, Siculum Achaten, Niliachum Galactiten, Asbeston Arabicum, Pæaniten Macedonium, Asiaticam Alabandinam, Beryllum Indicum, Gagaten Britannicum, Persicum Æëtiten, Chalcedonium Africanum, Smaragdum Scythicum, Corneolum Germanicum, Chrysolithum Æthiopicum, Carbunculum Libycum.

Sed pharmacopolarum profecto hic plus satis est: quorum fraus omnis, in mutandis miscendisque pyxidiculis, vix justo volumine posset comprehendi. Id vero unum adhuc nequeo satis mirari, illisque invidere; quod cum falsas fucatasque merces obtrudant omnes, nullo tamen id sensu possit deprehendi, nec quod examen istorum quis præter igneum reformidet. Dolus malus sicubi occurrat palam, satis quidem severe plectitur: id, vero, ne fiat cavet quisque sedulo; nam et faciem, et vestem, et vocem, et artem mutat indies, ut frustra sit, qui hodie hesternam quæratur imposturam.

Schola hic publica in suburbiis aperitur; non, hercle, incelebris: in qua sua ars, hoc est Spagyrica (ignoscant mihi chymici, aut succenseant sibi, qui artis inhonestæ nomen laudatissimæ indiderint) juventuti quotidie prælegitur.

[o] Morbus Demosthenis: Latinis, Argentangina.
[p] Claveus lib. i. Chrysopœiæ, &c.

His scilicet Alcorani locum obtinet antiquissima Mercurii Historia; orbi nostro penitus ignota: quæ docet quam feliciter Cyllenius, adhuc infans, a Neptuno tridentem, a Marte gladium, ab Apolline arcum pharetramque, a Vulcano forcipem, a Venere cingulum suffuratus sit; quamque fere *καθάπερ ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ ἐκμελετήσας τὴν κλεπτικὴν*[q], ab Jove fulmen surripuisset: ac, deinde, subdit omnigena defraudandi furandique documenta; tyronem plurimis docens excutere seram, pessulum reserare, lente movere pedem, arcæ jam clausæ filum viscosum immittere, intacta crumena nummum elicere, quod feceris strenue pejerare nec interim erubescere, ac mille istiusmodi technas, quarum ego arcana Caballistica disquirere contempsi.

Caupones ad unum omnes ita male fidi sunt, ut non ausint hospites, vel suis dormientium pulvillis aurum submittere, vel sacculis arcisve confidere quamlibet ferratis; sed, quod obsessos olim Judæos fecisse comperimus[r], in suis ipsorum ilibus dormituri recondunt crastino mane repetendum.

In villis vix quenquam videbis, præter molitores, sartores, et paucos fortasse vates Chiromanticos.

Cap. VI.—*Plagiana Provincia.*

Plagianus dein Tractus ab occidente cernitur spatiosissimus: in qua, Rigattieræ Urbi, non novæ quidem sed renovatæ, Collis Scapulius[s] imminet.

Non pauca hic canæ antiquitatis monumenta reperiet solicitus quis criticorum, præsertim vero poëtica. Ego, certe, saxum vidi, versibus inscriptum Homericis[t], alieno tamen authori, quo indignius nihil videbatur, adscriptis. Inter hæc:

Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Δημήτερος ἀγλαοκάρπου. Ὀρφ.

et statim:

Ὡς οὐ κύντερον ἦν καὶ ῥίγιον ἄλλο γυναικός. Ὀρφ.
Ὡς ἀνδρῶν γενεὴ, ἡ μὲν φύει ἡ δ' ἀπολήγει. Μούσαιος.
Οἷον δὲ τρέφει ἔρνος ἀνὴρ ἐριθηλὲς ἐλαίης. (Ὀρφ.)
Χώρῳ ἐν οἰοπόλῳ. &c. Hom. Il. xiii. 473.

[q] Lucian. [*Θεῶν διάλ. Ἀπόλλ. κ. Ἡφαίστου.*]

[r] Jos. Bello Judaico. [l. v. (Rufin. Lat. l. vi.) l. 13. § 4.]

[s] A Stephano Lexicon suum furatus Scapula canit: "Ast [Hoc] ego contendo Lexicon esse novum."

[t] Homer. immutat hoc Orphei carmen, ut Justin. Martyr in Protreptico ad Gentes. Hom. *Ὡς οὐκ αἰνότερον καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο γυναικός.* [Od. XI. 421.] De interitu Dionysii. Hæc inter Homeri furta numerat Theod. Canterus var. lect. p. 2. c. 3. Injuste, imitatur Homerus Orph. et Musæum, non spoliat.

Maronis autem plurimos inveni versiculos, pari modo Homero ac Hesiodo suppositos: et nescio quot paginas vernaculi cujusdam poëtæ Toscano Petrarchæ adscitos.

Hanc dein, ab austro, excipit Arrebatia; deformata planities, et ruderibus plena. Ibi olim fuisse Trojam, diruta saxorum mole docens: quæ ideo ferunt avos ipsorum demolitos, ut ex multis urbeculis, quarum vestigia pyramidesque remanent, urbes duas pol magnificas, Patronillam et Hierosulen, ædificarent: ubi ergo quondam templa plateaeque, jam campos videas et stabula. Nec ipsi quidem fundo parcit Ruzii violentus æstus; sed, iniquis undis avellens, aut Plagianis impertit, aut Codiciensibus.

CAP. VII.—*Codicia*[u].

Codiciensem Provinciam prodigiosi homines incolunt; quos, porcina facie, Munsterus ac Mandevillanus depinxerunt. Quadrupedum more, prona semper facie incedunt, ne quid inter eundum surreptione dignum prætermittant; neque cœlum unquam suspiciunt. Quod ad vocem, grunniunt illi quidem; non loquuntur. Nemini hic, præterquam senibus, commorandi locus est. Florem ætatis cuique, vel Sylva Butinia, si fortiore animo sit; vel, si studioso, Gymnasium Bolsecianum deterit. Soli hic metallurgi, agricolæ, mercatores. Hi fere semper, quod de lupo dicitur pugnaturo ac vulpe famelica, terra vescuntur: quanquam sunt inter hos, qui solo metalli intuitu vivunt, valentque. Nunquam pene dormiunt: illud unum istis leoninum est. Superstitiose admodum numini suo, hoc est, Chrysio Deo[x] addicuntur: nec unquam aut quiescunt aut discumbunt, donec ipsum viderint et adorarint.

Urbes hic vidi Scrofiolam: villam sane fœdam; et, Catonis verbo[y], "cloacalem, coglieram, serraram, caxam;" quam tamen lustrare volenti mihi non licuit. Unusquisque civium clavem secum gestat, ne quis peregrinus ingrederetur.

Reliqui omnes, per Villas Porciglias dispersi, non tam casis, quam cubilibus contenti sunt.

Hos ego homines, hos mores, has urbes vidi, stupui, risi: annoque demum tricesimo, itineris tanti laboribus fractus, in patriam redii.

Peregrinus quondam Academicus.

[u] Terra Avaritiæ. [x] χρύσιος θεός. [y] Festus.

INDEX NOMINUM PROPRIORUM.

ACTÆONIUS, saltus: ab Actæone magno venatore, quem, uti solent, exedebant canes.

Amazonia: notum nomen, olim regio Americana, nunc ob viriles incolarum animos nostra.

Antoia villa: Hispan. Libido: urbs semper ardens. Urit amor: Virg.

Anylos, sylva. Gr. Anglice, Woodless.

Aphrodisia, Gr. ab Ἀφροδίτη. Venus. illa vero a spuma. Orta salo. Hic Amantina urbs: cujus nomen nos a tractu Danub. petimus.

Arrebatia, provinc. Hisp. ab Arrebatar, vi rapere.

Artopolis Artocreopolis, Græc. decomp. ἄρτος, κρέας, πόλις, panis, caro, urbs.

Assadora, urbs. Hisp. veru, ab assando dicta.

Assagion, fl. vide marg.

Auffzeichner. Germ. Registrarius.

Beachera urbs. Germ. Poculum. unde nos Angl. a Beaker.

Baldachinum. sic Itali vocant Umbellam, sub qua Papa equitat (ut barbaris utar verbis sacrarum cærem.) verbum sacrarum cærem. "octo hastis sustentatam." Lib. Sacr. Cærem. primo.

Bascia urbs, osculatoria. Ital. a baiser, Gal.

Batillum. u. a Batillo, Latin.

Baveria. prov. Gall. nugas significat.

Bercius port. Flandris notum nomen, &c.

בת-לחם. Domus panis: nomen carceris nostratis celeberrimi.

Bolsecium, urbs composita a Bolsa Hisp. crumena, vel Bursa. r. mutato in l. et seco. Latin. Gratuletur mihi nunc Bolsecus mendax ille nebulo, nominis sui originem.

Bubonia. syl. Latin. a Bubonum frequentia.

Bugius. fl. Ital. Mendax.—Bugietta vallis. Hæc vallis Mnemone fluvio rigatur. Oportet mendacem esse memorem.

Buscadores, Hisp. Inquisitores, a Buscar, inquirere.

Butina. syl. Gall. butin, prædam signif. hinc Angl. Booty.

Cadilla. u. Latin. diminut. a Cado.

Calaverinus mons a Calaverna Hisp. cranio, a calvo dict.

Candosoccia. Columel. l. v. c. 4. palmites prolixos in vineis, quos Megros appellamus. Galli, Candosoccos.

S. Carniceria. Hisp. Laniena; nec aliud domus Inquisitor.

Caxa. u. Hisp. arca. Hinc Angl. Cask.

Ceniza. u. Hisp. cinis.

Chagrin, Gall. mœstus, melanchol.

Charbona. u. a Gall. Charbon. villa subterranea.

Chatouilla. u. Gallic. chatouiller, titillare.

Cheminea. tur. Gall. quær. Marg.

Chytræa. u. χύτρα, Græc. poculum.

Cibinium. u. in tractu Danubii: Lat. a cibo.

Ciniflonius, Lat. Horat. ciniflones Hair-curlers.

Cogliera. u. Ital. cogliere, colligere: quasi Gatherington.

Coledochia. pal. a χολὴν δέχεσθαι. Gr. quære Marg.

Kotzunga. u. Germ. fofen, vomere. hinc vomitio, kotzunga.

D. de Courroux. Gall. iratus, furibundus.

Crapulia, vide Marg. Latin.

Creatium. u. Græc. κρέας, caro.

Crocetta. u. Ital. crux.

Krugtopolis, a German. frugt, Amphora.

Cubæa. u. Græca, Alea.

Cucina. u. Ital. vide Marg.

Cuillera. u. Gall. cochlear, inde petita vox.

D'ayuno. Hisp. urbs. Jejuna.

Derrumbiada, Hisp. præcipitium.

Desuergona. u. ab. Ital. voce, quæ impudentiam sig.

Devoracum. u. Lat. a devorando.

Di-Marza, Ital. sanguinis corrupti, saniei.

Dienta. ab Hisp. Dens.

Doxia, Græc. a Δόξη, opinio.

Dudosa. Acad. Hisp. Dubia, b mutat. in d.
Dunius port. Dunkerk.
Duricoria. u. Lat. Ficus duricoriæ. Plin. l. xv. c. 18. q. durum habent corticem.
Erotium. u. Græc. quæ et Amantina.
Eugynia. reg. Græc. Terra bonarum Fœminarum.
Farfellia. u. Ital. Farfello; papilionem sig.
Faessera. u. Germ. Doliaris urbs.
Favillia. Lat. a favilla.
T. del. Fogo. c. Latin. mutato in g.
Fourmagium. u. a Gallic. fourmage, caseo.
Fouetta. u. Gall. Flagellatoria.
Fripperia vicus quidam Lutet. Parisiorum.
Frivianda, pr. vid. Marg. p. 144.
Frugionia. Lat. Margin. ibid.
Furto-Francheça. u. compos. a Latino. Furto, et Gall. Franchise, libertas.
Garilla. u. Lat. a garriendo.
Gesundheitś. Germ. quod nos Angl. Healths.
Gola. u. Ital. Gula.
Golosin. tract. Hisp. q. marg. p. 145.
Gorga. Ital. guttur.
Gorganta. u. Hisp. Fauces.
Gutiges aves, Germ. Benignæ; inde Good. Angl.
Gruessa fossa. Hisp. pinguis. nam a Crasso Lat. Grasso Ital. hinc Hisp. Gesso.
Gynæcopolis. Græc. *γυναίκων πόλις.*
Gymnopodilla. u. Græc. *γυμνοὶ πόδες.*
Hambria insul. Hisp. Famelica, q. marg.
Hierosule. u. Gr. *ἱερῶν σύλη* sacrorum depeculatio.
Houbelonia. pr. a Gallico Houbelon, lupulus.
Jugaria. u. ab Hispan. Jugar. jocari.
Labriana. u. Lat. a Labris.
Lardana. u. Lat. a Larido.
Larcinia. pr. Gall. Larrecin, latronem sig.
Larmium. fl. Gall. Larme, Lachryma, abbrev.
Lavernia. ter. Latin. vid. marg.
Lecanica. Planit. Græc. vid. marg.
Lecho. u. Hisp. Lectus.
Licoris. fl. Hisp. Licor, pro liquor, Lat.
Linguadocia. pr. Lat. a lingua: quod fœminæ sint plerunque linguaciores: ad imitationem prov. Gall. Languedoc.
Lingastrum. u. Lat. a lingendo.
Lipsanium. u. Græce. *λείψανα*, reliquiæ.
Lirona. u. Hispan. Glirem sig.
Lisonia. pr. Hisp. Adulatio.
Livenza. fl. liquor.
Liviana. vall. Hisp. Levis.
Loçania. pr. Hisp. Luxuria. Loçania, Hisp.
Loverium. u. Gallic. Laudatoria.
Lupulania pr. Lat. a Lupulis.
Lyperia. pr. Græc. *λυπηρὸς*, tristis, tristitia.
Mange-guadagnos. Ital. servos joco appellant. Marg. vide.
Maninconica terra Ital. n. posito pro l. melancholica.
Antrum Maninconicum.
Manteca. u. Hisp. Butyrum.
Marravilla. u. Hisp. miraculum ab Esmerveiller. Gall. Hinc Ang. marvel.
Marmitta. u. Hispan. Lebes.
Marza-pane. u. Ital. March-pane.
Medrosi. Hisp. Timidi.
Meionium. fl. Lat. a meiendo. Cyprus hoc olim nomine gaudebat. Stephan.
Menosprecia. u. Hisp. Contemptus.
Menturnea, olim urbs Samnitum; nos a Mento vocem petitam volumus.
Methius Lacus. Græc. a *μεθύειν.*
Milana. u. Gall. quasi milvina; urbs milvorum et accipitrum.
Mnemon. fl. Græc. memor.
Μωρονία, a *μῶρος* stultus:
Mortadella. u. Ital. Saucages.
Muerius ager. a Muer Gall. mutare.
Novizza. u. Ital. novitia.
Nuchtermagen: Germ. stomachus jejunus.
Ochietto mons Ital. diminutiv. ab Ochio, oculus.
Œnotria. pr. Gr. ab *οἶνος.*
Offulia. u. Lat. ab Offula.
Oglium. fl. Ital. Oleum: nos g. resoluimus in y. Oyle.
Olmii Colles, Ital. Hisp. ulmei. Frondosa vitis in ulmo. Virg.
Omasius gigas. Lat. ab Omaso intestino.
Orgilia. pr. Gall. ab orgueil. sig. superbiam.
Oysivium. fl. Gall. otiosum.
Padronilla. u. Ital. At nos pro villa patronorum.
Pampinola. Lat. Ampelona Græc. eadem urbs. ad imitationem nominis Hispanicæ urbis Pampelonæ.

Pazzivilla. Ital. urbs stultorum.
Phenacia. pr. Græc. φενάκες, impostores.
Piacentia. Ital. Placentia.
Pipulia. palus: Lat. Plaut. pro convitio, Pipulo te differam ante ædes.
Pythonos-come. Gr. quær. marg.
Ploravia. pr. Lat. a plorando.
Ponfinia. pr. vide textum. cap.
Porcestria. u. a Lat. porcis.
Porciglia vill. a vocab. quod Haram sig. Hisp.
Putanium. u. scortorum urbs. Ital.
Pyrænia. pr. Græc. a πυρὶ et οἰνῷ.
Risia major, minor. pr. Latin. a Risu: ab Ital.
Risaglium. u. ab Ital. risaglia. risu.
Rodomantadii coll. discursus (si bene memini) nugatorios, Rotomantades appellant Galli citeriores, forsan a Romance Hisp.
Rodillia. u. a voce Hisp. genu. signif.
Roncara. u. vid. Marg. a ῥέγχειν.
Ruzius fl. a Gall. ruse, fraus, astutia.
Le Sain. fl. Gallic. sanus.
Sans-eau. fl. Gallic. Waterless.
Sarcoboscum. u. Græc. a σαρκὸς βόσκειν et carne vesci.
Sbanditica gens, Italis nimium nota. exleges.
Scrofiola. u. Lat. a scrofa. sus animal est avaro simillimum. terram semper intuetur, nihil quicquam prodest ante extremum diem.
Scarpellino. Ital. Lapicida, l. Lat. mutat. in r.
Scioccia. pr. ab Ital. Sciocco, fatuus.
Schlauchberga. u. a Germ. Schlauch, utre. dempto e.
Scogido. Hisp. nobilis. Escogido, electus.
Schaum. fl. Germ. spuma.
Sennaladii. Hisp. Generosi.
Seplasium. u. Lat. a Seplasia foro Capuæ unguentario; cujus deliciis Pœni fracti sunt.
Serrara. u. a Latin. serrando.
Sialos. fl. Græc. Saliva.
Spesius Tract. ab Ital. spesa. q. Impensas signif. Hinc. Ang. spend.
Spagyrica ars. Græc. a trahendo dicta.
Strophades ins. Gr. a στρέφειν. Eædem etiam et Plotæ dictæ.
Struzzoliæ pluviæ, Ital. a struzzolo, struthiocamelo.
Tarochium. u. vide marg.
Tenaille. Gall. Forceps.
Topia-Warallador. Hisp. et Indic. Hallador Hisp. inventor.
Topia-Wari, rex olim Guianæ.
Torcolia val. ab Ital. Torcolo Latin. Torculari.
Traubena, a Germ. Trauben, uva, racemus.
Traurigi montes, a Germ. Traurig.
Trouerense. coll. a Gall. Trouver, invenire.
Tryphonia pal. a Tryphone latrone. vid. marg.
Ucalegonium. Græc. urbs otiosa.
Uscebatius, tract. a Potu Hibernico.
Vale-dolium. Lat. ad imitationem nominis Hisp. valedolio.
Vautarole. a Vautar Ital. et vauter, Gall.
Vellacos. Hisp. servos vocant.
Verulanium Lat.
Verguença. Hisp. opprobrium, pudor.
Vinicella. Latin.
Viraginia Lat.
Vortunius. Lat. a vertendo.
Zornus, fl. Germ. Iratus, furiosus.
Zouffenberga, a Germ. Zauffen. quod sig. Gall. carouser.
Zuckerii coll. Germ. pro saccharo, Zucker.

MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS AND PAPERS

FROM THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE,

AND OTHER SOURCES.

The greater part not before printed.

COMMENDATORY PREFACE

TO BRINSLEY'S LUDUS LITERARIUS[a].

[1612.]

ARTS are the only helps towards human perfection. Those therefore which are the helps towards the easiness, maturity, perfection of arts, deserve best of mankind. Whence it is that God would not suffer the first devisers so much as of shepherds' tents, of musical instruments, of iron works, to be unknown to the world; the last whereof[b] even heathen antiquity hath in common judgment continued, without much difference of name, till this day; although I cannot believe that any of the heathen gods were so ancient. Yea, hence it is that the Holy Ghost challengeth the faculty even of manuary skill to his own gift, as being too good for nature, and too meritorious of men. That Bezaleel and Aholiab can work curiously in silver and gold for the material tabernacle is from God's Spirit, and not theirs. How much more is this true in those sciences which are so

[a] This little piece (now first introduced among the Works of Bishop Hall,) stands prefixed to a volume entitled "Ludus Literarius, or the Grammar Schoole; shewing how to proceede from the first entrance into learning to the highest perfection required, with ease, certainty, and delight, both to Masters and Schollars," &c. (by John Brinsley; dedicated to Henry Prince of Wales, and Charles Duke of York.) Lond. 1612. 4to. The author was the Bishop's nephew, and, besides several volumes on sacred subjects, published a succession of elementary books for the use of schools.—PETER HALL.

[b] Tubal-Cain.

essential to the spiritual house of God! As arts are to perfection of knowledge, so is Grammar to all arts. Man differs but in speech and reason (that is, Grammar and Logic,) from beasts; whereof reason is of nature, speech (in respect of the present variation) is of human institution. Neither is it unsafe to say that this latter is the more necessary of the two. For we both have and can use our reason alone: our speech we cannot without a guide. I subscribe therefore to the judgment of them that think God was the first author of letters, (which are the simples of this art,) whether by the hand of Moses, as Clement of Alexandria reports from Eupolemus, or rather of the ancienter progeny of Seth in the first world, as Josephus. He that gave man the faculty of speech, gave him this means to teach his speech. And if he were so careful to give man this help, while all the world was of one lip, (as the Hebrews speak,) how much more after that miserable confusion of tongues, wherein every man was a grammar to himself, and needed a new grammar to be understood of others! It is not therefore unworthy of observation that God, (knowing languages to be the carriage of knowledge,) as in his judgment he divided the tongues of those presumptuous builders, so contrarily he sent his Spirit in cloven tongues upon the heads of those master builders of his church. What they were suddenly taught of God, we with much leisure and industry learn of men, knowing the tongues so necessary for all knowledge, that it is well if but our younger years be spent in this study.

How serviceable therefore is this labour which is here undertaken, and how beneficial to make the way unto all learning both short and fair! Our grandfathers were so long under the ferule, till their beards were grown as long as their pens: this age hath descried a nearer way, yet not without much difficulty both to the scholars and teacher. Now time, experience, and painfulness, (which are the means to bring all things to their height,) have taught this author yet further, how to spare both time and pains this way unto others; and (that which is most to be approved) without any change of the received grounds. It is the common envy of men, by how much richer treasure they have found, so much more carefully to conceal it. How commendable is the ingenuity of those spirits which cannot engross good experiments to their private advantage! which had rather do than have good! who can be content to cast at once into the common bank of the

world what the studious observation, inquisition, reading, practice of many years have enriched them withal! that which this author hath so freely done; as one that fears not lest knowledge should be made too easy or too vulgar.

The Jesuits have won much of their reputation, and stolen many hearts, with their diligence in this kind. How happy shall it be for the church and us, if we excite ourselves at least to imitate this their forwardness! We may outstrip them if we want not to ourselves. Behold here, not feet, but wings, offered to us! Neither are these directions of mere speculation, whose promises are commonly as large as the performance defective; but such as (for the most part), to the knowledge of myself and many abler judges, have been and are daily answered in his experience and practice with more than usual success. What remains therefore, but that the thankful acceptation of men and his effectual labours should mutually reflect upon each other? that he may be encouraged by the one, and they by the other benefited? that what hath been undertaken and furthered by the grave counsel of many and wise, and performed by the studious endeavours of one so well deserving, may be both used and perfected to the common good of all, and to the glory of Him which giveth and blesseth all?

Jos. Hall,

Dr. of Divin.

A Letter from the Bishop to Bishop Bedell. The former being then Incumbent of Waltham, the latter of Horningsherth, in Suffolk. Printed in Bp. Bedell's Life, Lond. 1675.

Good Master Bedell,

What a sorry crab hath Mr. Waddesworth at last sent us from Seville! I pity the impotent malice of the man: sure that hot region and sulphurous religion are guilty of this his choler. For aught I see he is not only turned Papist, but Spaniard too. *Ibi vivitur ambitiosa paupertate;* the great man would not foil his fingers (for that is his word) with such an adversary as myself: he should have found this conflict his foiling indeed, but he scorns the match; and what wonder, if he that hath all this while sat on father Creswel's stairs scorn the unworthiness of him whom an English university scorned not to set in the chair

of divinity? But whence is this my contempt? I see but two vices to clear myself of, poetry and railing; of the latter you shall acquit me, if you will but read that my poor epistle[a] which he slights thus: let your eyes judge whether ever anything could be written more mildly, more modestly, more lovingly. Of the former I must acquit myself; *cujus unum est sed magnum vitium, poësis:* what were I the worse if I were still a lover of these studies? If he could have had leisure to tend upon anything besides that father's packets, he might have seen most of the renowned and holy fathers of the church eminent in that profession for which I am scorned. Amongst many others, Tertullian, Lactantius, Nazianzen, Prudentius, Fulgentius, Apollinarius, Nonnus, Hilarius, Prosper, and now in the upshot devout Bernard; and why should their honour be my disgrace? But the truth is, these were the recreations of my minority; *nunc oblita mihi.* And if poetry were of the deadly sin of their casuists, I could smart for it in my ἀκμῇ. Is this a fit scandal to rake up from so far? What my proficiency hath been in serious studies, if the university and church hath pleased to testify, what need I stand at the mercy of a fugitive? But if any of his masters should undertake me in the cause of God, he should find that I had studied prose. As for these vain flourishes of mine, if he had not taken a veny[b] in them, and found it smart, he had not struck again so churlishly. Was it my letter that is accused of poetry? There is neither number nor rhyme nor fiction in it. Would the great schoolman have had me to have packed up a letter of syllogisms? Which of the fathers (whose high steps I have desired to tread in) have given that example? What were to be expected of a monitory epistle, which intended only the occasion, if he had pleased, of a future discourse? We islanders list not learn to write letters from beyond the Pyrenees. Howsoever I am not sorry that his scorn hath cast upon him an adversary more able to convince him; I am allowed only a looker-on, therefore I will neither ward nor strike; his hands are too full of you: my only wish is that you could beat him sound again, whereof I fear there is little hope. There was never adversary that gave more advantage: he might have served in these coleworts nearer home. I profess I do heartily pity him; and so, if it please you, let him

[a] [See Epistles, vol. vi. p. 128.]

[b] [*A thrust or push in fencing.*—BAILEY.]

know from me. What apostasy (which is the only hard word I can be charged with) I impute to the Roman church, I have professed to the world in the first chapter of my *Roma Irreconciliabilis*[c]. If I offend not in too much charity there is no fear: say what you will for me; I have done, and will only pray for him that answers me with contempt. Farewell, and commend me to Mr. Sotheby and your other loving and reverend society, and know me ever,

Your truly loving friend
and fellow labourer,

Jos. Hall.

Waltham, Jan. 10, 1615.

Good Mr. Bedell, this letter hath lain thus long by me for want of carriage. I now hear you are settled at Horningsherth, whereof I wish you much joy. I am appointed to attend the ambassador into France, whither I pray you follow me with your prayers.—May 15.

[From Tanner's MSS. in the Bodleian, lxxiv. 113.

To my right worshipful and dear friend Mr. Doctor Ward, one of the English divines at Dort, these.

Good Mr. Dr. Ward,

How much am I beholden to you that among all that throng of business you could find time to send me so full and so welcome a letter. I am glad yet to hear that you look towards an end of those affairs which are now tedious, but had like to have been infinite. We heard news of differences betwixt you; belike the end is peace. I shall long for your return, that I may be sated with a full relation. I was gone a day's journey towards Worcester, when my weak body turned me back, as not yet abiding any motion. The last week was not without much fear and grief here for his majesty's dangerous unhealth; our God be praised, the worst is passed over, and his recovery proceeds with happy expedition; yet is he still at Royston, and will be for more days than I think he would. The rumours of the Spanish fleet had so possessed our people, that the beacons on Sussex side were

[c] [P. 294 of this volume.]

(as I hear) on a fire upon a view of some number of Hollanders. Dover was wiser, and stayed the false alarm. My lord of Warwick is dead. My lord of Doncaster will shortly see you in his way to Germany, whither he goes ambassador[c]. Dr. Dun goes his chaplain. The queen's solemn funeral is appointed April 29. All our court is turned black. Mr. Jeffry is so well approved here, that here he settles with my lord.

That which you write of 12li., received after my departure, needs your further comment. That there should be a proportionate deduction for those public rooms is good reason, whereof yet I have (you know) too little use. Remember my service to my lord B. and to Sir John Berck, with my true love to all the rest of your worthy colleagues, to whom I wish a speedy, safe, and successful return. With all this curious tendance and length of time I can hardly yet recollect myself; so deep rooted was my Hollandish distemper. Let me charge you also to remember me in all kind respects to our worthy president, to the assessors and scribes, to Mr. Dr. Mac Gregor, to Mr. Simon Schott, of Middleburgh, to Mr. Dan Heinsius. My prayers shall be for a comfortable and happy dismission of your so reverend and famous an assembly. Farewell.

From your loving brother and colleague,

Jos. Hall.]

Waltham, March 30, styl. vet. 1618.

[From Tanner's MSS.

Printed in Fuller's Church Hist. vol. v. p. 459. Brewer's ed.

To my right worshipful and loving friend Mr. Dr. Ward, at Dort, in Sir John Berck's house, these.

Good Brother Ward,

Ever since my return my health hath come on so slowly that I could not so much as write till now. You have heard of our passage, partly troublesome, and partly also successful. I could not till within these two days present myself to the king, of whom I was received exceeding graciously. All the last Sunday's dinner he spent in discourse with me about our synodal affairs.

[c] [See Wilson's Hist. of Great Britain, p. 132.]

Some busy information hath moved him against the president as undiscreetly hot and rigid in the dismission of the Remonstrants. I have fully satisfied him. I perceive his majesty much distasted with the displacing of the apocrypha: it did a little pacify him to learn that we had publicly required it should be inserted in the Act, that this sentence was without rather [than] against the allowance of the foreign divines; which you must take care may be answerably done when the Act shall be intended to light.

The particular letters which Mr. Balcanquall writes give satisfaction to his majesty when either your common are silent or come late. I was yesterday with my lord's grace, who rejoices in the report of the approbation of our British divines.

Remember my service to my lord of Llandaff; my thanks to Sir John Berck; my love to my other brethren; and let us strive mutually in our prayers for each other. For me, I shall not fail to be

Ever your truly loving brother and double colleague,

JOS. HALL.

Waltham, Candlemas Day (1619–20.)

I pray you give these enclosed to the president.

[FROM THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

1619, Waltham, Apr. 25°.

To my right honourable good lord Sir Dudley Carleton, knight, lord ambassador from his majesty to the States General at the Hague.

Right Honourable,

It were an idle presumption to write you any news while you have so many living packets: and besides that, what have I to write but the remembrance of my duteous thankfulness to your lordship and my good lady; that alone will not be unpleasing to so honourable a friend, which I shall sooner die than forget.

I retract that which my last letter, following partial rumour, reported of Macollo, a man whom oddness will make more spoken of than merit.

Despotine went away with an hundred years and much reputation: though indeed the supreme physician did all almost with-

out these. I never saw the king look better than some hours since I saw him; only his legs are not yet returned to their use and strength.

Since my return I have been twice dead in general rumour, and my dignity is sued for: yet still I rub out; and hope for as much health as I have lost. I long to hear of my pew-fellows of the synod, whose return I wish happy and speedy. If my duty and thanks may be presented to my good lady, I have done, who shall never cease to be your lordship's truly devoted,

JOS. HALL.]

[FROM THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

(1619.)

Waltham, Sep. 22, styl. vet.

To my right honourable good lord Sir Dudley Carleton, lord ambassador from his majesty to the States, at the Hague, these.

Right honourable my singular good Lord,

Upon the opportunity of this worthy friend, Sir Francis Nethersole, I cannot but return to your lordship my humble thanks for all your favours, which I shall never forget whilst I remember myself. Himself is more able to report to your lordship our whole condition. The great Spaniard[d] is now daily expected. The bishop of Ely's house is commanded for him *mal-grè*. The frier, his factor, went away yesterday from the court without audience; we hope well; neither can see how two buckets should go down into the well at once. I was so forward in praying for the king of Bohemia, that my zeal was accused and censured[e]; *nec pœnitet*. The world did never so stand upon tiptoes.

My humble service and thanks to my good lady, whose honourable and favourable respects to me I do not lay up, but express as I ought upon all occasions. My prayers are for you both, as one that shall gladly approve myself ever your lordship's truly devoted in all thankful observance.

JOS. HALL.]

[d] [Gondomar, "he lived at Elye House in Holborn."—Wilson's Hist. of Great Britain, p. 146.]

[e] [See a passage in Howell's Letters, Lond. 1737, p. 83. "For whereas Dr. Hall gave the prince Palsgrave the title of K. of Bohemia, in his public prayer, he had a check for his pains."]

[From Tanner's MSS.

To my right worshipful and loving friend Mr. Dr. Ward, master of Sidney college.

Good Mr. Dr. Ward,

Your hand was so happy in our late provision of Mr. Jeffry, that upon his recalling I cannot but sue to you for an answerable supply: though you match him not, come as near it as you can. You shall merit much, both of the party and us: I know your love, and you need no importunity. There is newly come forth a very spiteful and tedious answer by a catholic priest[a] to a little Apology that I wrote for the marriage of ecclesiastical persons: if you have by you any notes to this purpose, you shall oblige me much to impart them.

But onwards: I remember Chemnitius upon this point, speaking of the sixth council of Constantinople, which we call the Trullan, whose 138th canon is so clear for us, says there that this canon is by papists expunged out of the councils: I have none by me but Binius. I pray you do me the favour speedily to search the copy you have, and let me know upon what grounds Chemnitius thus reports.

If you have your globe by you (I have none), send me word how many degrees there are betwixt the utmost parts of the East Indies and Terra Florida; or that and Mexico.

It is the confidence of your love that makes me thus bold. Command me ever,

Your truly loving colleague,

Jos. Hall.

Waltham, July 14° (1620.)

Remember me to Mr. Dr. Chaderton and Mr. Dr. Davenant.]

[From the Public Record Office.

To the right honourable Sir Edward Conway, knight, secretary to his majesty, and one of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

Right honourable, with my best services.

How much I suffer in this loss I should in vain strive to ex-

[a] [Edmund Coffin, who adopted the initials C. E. See vol. viii. p. 480.]

press. Blessed be God, that hath yet left such a friend to the distressed as your honour, whose noble motions of this kind I do most willingly meet; promising that whatever may be done out of those means wherein I have power shall be done *cum effectu;* I shall wait upon your honour (God willing) at Theobald's; till when, and ever, I leave your honour to the gracious protection of that God whose works are ever holy and good in themselves, though sometimes harsh to our weakness.

Vowing myself your honour's
humbly at command,
Jos. Hall.

Waltham, Dec. 21. (1623.)

Endorsed:—Concerning Doctor Archbold.]

[From the Public Record Office.

[To the right worshipful my much honoured lady, the lady Huncks, these.

Good madam, with my best services.

I see and hear so much of these businesses of Bromsgrove and Stoke, that it will be the best way (as things have been carried) to obtain of Mr. Secretary that he will engage my lord bishop (if these livings shall be cast upon his hand) that he will both speedily and fully give way to your desires and designs. It was Mr. Secretary's first motion in his letters to me, that I should either myself dispose of these places to the benefit of that charge which I love and tender, or put them over to the bishop for that purpose. I dare compare with any man living in my zeal to Dr. Archbold and his; and would hate myself if any friend of his should go beyond me: but my conscience and the fear of scandal must overrule me.

I have said enough to so wise a friend; the rest to your ladyship's care; and myself to your good opinion; who shall ever strive to approve myself

Your ladyship's unfeignedly devoted,
Jos. Hall.

Waltham, May 3, 1624.

Endorsed.—Concerning Mrs. Archbold.]

[From the Public Record Office.

(1627.)

Waltham, Mar. 29.

To the right honourable my singular good lord, the lord Conway, baron of Ragley, principal secretary to his majesty, and one of his most honourable privy council, these.

Right honourable and my much honoured lord,

I received a letter from your lordship directed to myself and the chapter in the behalf of Mr. Thomas Archbold, to whom your lordship pleases to desire way to be given into the rectory of Brodwas. I shall accordingly acquaint the chapter therewith, and not anticipate their answer; but in the meantime I beseech your lordship to be fully persuaded of my zealous readiness to obey your lordship's commands herein, were it not that my promise and engagement to one of our own company hath so forelaid me, that I know not how with honesty to extricate myself: neither may I hide from your lordship that divers of our chapter, whereof I am but one, have in their letters to me already cried down that pretended advowson as merely personal to one Francis Archbold, deceased. I well hope that I have given your lordship good demonstration that I could not be wanting to the good of any of that family where it is *res integra*; and where it is not, your honour knows to pardon and excuse him who is vowed in all things wholly at your lordship's service and command.

Jos. Hall.]

[From the Public Record Office.

(1628.)

Exon.º Oct. 4.

To my much honoured friend Sir Richard Bulwer, knight, at Shillington, these.

Sir, with my respective remembrance.

I could not but thus suddenly express my zeal for the common safety and care of your indemnity in an occurrent related to me this hour by my chaplain, Mr. Nansogge. It should seem

he lately acquainted you with certain dangerous speeches uttered by no mean recusant, in the presence of very able witnesses, importing no less than the utter and speedy ruin of this whole state and church, the particulars whereof I have here enclosed. I hope well that you were so sensible of the peril hereof, that you have already seized upon the party, one Mr. Trevillian, and diligently examined the matter unto the bottom; as knowing how unsafe it is for any commissioner for the peace to sleep under the notice of so seditious language: if not, let me advise you without all delay to do it *cum effectu*. The gentleman is known to be such, as that if there were not some great confidence in him of the issue, he neither would nor durst let fall such speeches; the sifting whereof may be the prevention of more mischief than we can apprehend. Contenting myself to have laid this earnest charge upon you (since myself am not as yet in the commission, at least not sworn in it), I take my leave, and will think long to know the success of your present and careful inquisition, who am,

Your much devoted friend,

Jos. Exon.

If the speeches are justified you know best what to do; it is not for me to advise you; but I should think you could do no less than send to the council-table about it.]

[From the Public Record Office.

To my much-honoured friend, Mr. Mewtis, clerk of the council, these.

Worthy and much-honoured Mr. Mewtis.

With my thankful remembrance I send back to you according to the order from that honourable board, this injured party, Mr. Street, whose case I beseech you take to heart, as such the like whereof I think you shall not live to know. It is plain that he hath paid fourteen score pound and upward above the principal wrongfully to that cruel oppressor, whose son now stands out in denial of just satisfaction; and instead thereof is ready to sue the execution in all extremity upon the complainant. If the credit of the witnesses

be called in question, I assure you they were and are credible persons, and tendered to Sir Edward Odes[a] and me their oaths in every particular. Ill counsel persuades the young man to stand out in so foul a cause, and heartens him with the assurance of being turned over to the shelter of the law. If it please their lordships not to lay their weight upon so refractory a person, I doubt not but they will find reason to commend his case to the chancery with effect. I leave it to your charity and loving care, not doubting but the party concerned will be respectively thankful to so worthy a friend. With my best love I take leave, and am your much devoted and obliged friend,

Jos. Exon.]

Exon. Jan. 28.]
(1629-30.

[From the Public Record Office.

To Archbishop Laud (*then Bishop of London*).

May 8, 1630.

Right honourable and reverend my singular good lord, with many gratulations of that late accession of honour to your lordship.

I am informed that it hath pleased his majesty to make a reference to the lord keeper and your lordship of a complaint exhibited to his majesty against me by a late chaplain of mine, one Mr. Nansogge. I am sorry that the bold man should be so troublesome by his unjust suggestions; only, I beseech your lordship, give me leave to inform you of the true state of the business, and then I shall gladly leave it to your noble wisdom and justice.

This man was, before I was Bishop of Exeter, packing for the archdeaconry of Cornwall; and putting himself into my attendance moved me for it; which suit of his was seconded by a message reported to be sent to me from my lord duke of Buckingham. I promised and intended it to him when it should fall void. The old incumbent (Mr. Parker) lives still; and, for aught I know, long may. This busy man, weary of expecting, would needs hoise the old man out before his time; and therefore solicits me that I would collate it upon him, under pretence that the place was void by a private resignation made long since by

[a An ecclesiastical commissioner.]

the said Mr. Parker to another man, though never legally published or exhibited. I dissuaded him, and told him how invalid that act would be, and how grievous to the old present possessor; he importuned me still, *de bene esse*, to do it; professing that he doubted not to satisfy Mr. Parker, and to win him to be content with the act. His importunity prevailed with my too much indulgence towards him; I did it *de facto; reclamante Decano et Capitulo;* who would not give way to his installation. Now the friends of Mr. Parker began to stir, and found themselves sensible of his prejudice; getting an inhibition from my lord's grace of Canterbury for any further proceedings; and now I received information of the invalidity, indeed nullity, of this act; withal in this seasonable interim, while the act remained thus unperfect, there came letters to me (being then in London,) out of my diocese, from persons of credit, (which were backed by personal relations of some which professed friendship to us both,) of certain foul miscarriages of Mr. Nansogge's tongue towards my person and family, upon which he had cast shameful aspersions to my great blemish and grief; assuring me how much I was wounded in my reputation by his unthankful tongue. I expostulated the matter with him; he denied it. I examined it to the bottom. God knows how loath I was to believe it; his accusers were brought to his face; and with tender of solemn oaths justified those his scandalous words against him. Finding him convicted, partly by his own confession, partly by the undeniable evidence of witnesses, I told him, all the revenge I would take of him should be this, that I would henceforth take off my hand from him, and be a stranger to him. Soon after he writes me the most insolent letter that I think hath been written by a chaplain to his pretended lord. Hereupon I revoked that my unperfect and ill-made grant by a solemn act, and now he thus clamours. As I shall answer it before the highest tribunal of heaven, this is the true state of this business. He pretends the leaving of his fellowship for my service: God knows I knew not that he left it; your lordship well knows he needed not to have left it upon that cause; neither was his one year's companionship (rather than service) unrecompensed on my part. He pleads my displeasure was causeless, when himself hath before witnesses professed, in part, his guiltiness and sorrow. And yet now this bold man dares complain of him whom he hath wronged. My lord, I have not flattered my cause to your lordship. If your lordship can think that a favour really meant

cannot be forfeited by the unworthiness and ill deserving of an unthankful subject, I am cast; else I am (and I hope shall ever be) free. It is enough that I have informed your lordship of this troublesome business; and now I leave myself in those your just hands; who I doubt not have already seen which of us is worthy of your lordship's censure. With my best prayers I take my humble leave, and sign myself your lordship's unfeignedly devoted in all observance,

Jos. Exon.]

Exon. May 8.

[From the Public Record Office.

To the right honourable and right reverend my very good lord, William lord bishop of London, one of the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and chancellor of the University of Oxford.

Right honourable and right reverend my singular good Lord.

I received this day a letter from your lordship, (together with Mr. Nansog's petition and reference,) wherein it hath pleased your lordship with my lord keeper to appoint me a day for the hearing and examining of the difference betwixt me and the said Mr. Nansog, my late chaplain; which time I shall willingly (if God permit) attend in person, however the journey be long and my body weak; it being a business wherein I perceive my reputation deeply engaged upon the missuggestions of an unworthy complainant. Upon the mere rumour of this reference to your lordship, I was bold to give your lordship a just account of the whole carriage of that cause; in any clause whereof if I be disproved in your presence, let me suffer shame and censure. Now whereas it pleaseth your lordship to advise me to forbear in the meantime the collating of the said archdeaconry upon any other, I shall therein willingly obey; but withal I must crave leave to signify to your lordship (that which I told Mr. Nansog upon the first reading of these inhibitory lines), that before ever I received any letter from your lordship, or could expect any charge to the contrary, I had given an advowson of the said archdeaconry to one more worthy than himself.

With the tender of my best service and hearty prayers, I take

leave of your lordship, and sign myself your lordship's unfeignedly devoted in all observance,

Jos. Exon.

Exon. May 14, (1630.)

Endorsed by Abp. Laud:—Maii 14, 1630. My lord of Exeter's second letter about Nansocke.]

CHARACTER OF THE REV. JOHN DOWNE, B.D.

IN A LETTER TO DR. HAKEWILL[a].

[1631.]

Worthy Mr. Dr. Hakewill,

I do heartily congratulate to my dead friend and collegian this your so just and noble a commemoration. It is much that you have said; but in this subject no whit more than enough. I can second every word of your praises, and can hardly restrain my hand from an additional repetition. How much ingenuity, how much learning and worth, how much sweetness of conversation, how much elegance of expression, how much integrity and holiness, have we lost in that man! No man ever knew him but must needs say that one of the brightest stars in our west is now set: the excellent parts that were in him were a fit instance for that your learnedly-defended position, of the vigour of this last age; whereunto he gave his accurate and witty astipulation. I do much rejoice yet, to hear that we shall be beholden to you for some mitigation of the sorrow of his loss, by preserving alive some of the posthume issue of that gracious and exquisite brain, which when the world shall see, they will marvel that such excellencies could lie so close, and shall confess them as much past value as recovery. Besides those skilful and rare pieces of divinity, tracts and sermons, I hope (for my old love to those stu-

[a] From "Certain Treatises of the late Reverend and Learned Divine, Mr. John Downe, B. D. Rector of the Church of Instow, in Devonshire, and some time Fellow of Emanuel College, in Cambridge. Published at the instance of his Friends." Oxford, 1633, 4to. To the sermon is appended the following note: "This sermon being presented to the view of the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of Exeter, together with the Author's purpose of publishing these ensuing Works of his deceased friend, it pleased his Lordship to return this following answer; which, together with the sermon, may serve in part to let the world know his great worth, though in a manner buried in obscurity."

dies) we shall see abroad some excellent monuments of his Latin poesy; in which faculty I dare boldly say few if any in our age exceeded him. In his polemical discourses, (some whereof I have by me,) how easy is it for any judicious reader to observe the true genius of his renowned uncle, Bishop Jewell! Such smoothness of style, such sharpness of wit, such interspersions of well-applied reading, such grave and holy urbanity! Shortly (for I well foresaw how apt my pen would be to run after you in this pleasing track of so well deserved praise,) these works shall be as the cloak, which our prophet left behind him in his rapture into heaven. What remains but that we should look up after him, in a care and endeavour of readiness for our day, and earnestly pray to our God, that as he hath pleased to fetch him away in the chariot of death, so that he will double his Spirit on those he hath thought good to leave yet below? In the meantime, I thank you for the favour of this your grave, seasonable, and worthy sermon, which I desire may be prefixed as a meet preface to the published labours of this happy author.

Farewell, from your loving friend and fellow labourer,

Jos. Exon.

Exon. Palace, Mar. 22, 1631.

[From the Public Record Office.

To the right reverend and honourable my very good lord William lord bishop of London, one of the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and chancellor of the University of Oxford.

Right reverend and honourable, with my best services.

I was bold the last week to give your lordship information of a busy and ignorant schismatic lurking in London. Since which time I hear to my grief that there are eleven several congregations (as they call them) of separatists about the city, furnished with their idly-pretended pastors, who meet together in brewhouses and such other meet places of resort every Sunday. I do well know your lordship's zealous and careful vigilance over that populous world of men, so as I am assured your lordship finds enough to move both your sorrow and holy fervency in the cause of God's church; neither do I write this as to inform your lordship of what you know not, but to condole the misery of the time. *Deus meliora.* Withal I have taken the boldness to inform your lord-

ship that whereas his majesty hath been pleased at the suit of my noble lord of Carlisle to grant his gracious mandatory letters in the behalf of Mr. Ro. Peterson, his majesty's chaplain, brother to Mr. Dean, for the next place of residence which shall fall void here; which are also attended with letters of my lord of Carlisle to me for a careful oversight of the business, and an account of the answers given thereunto; I find some secret reluctation of some of the canons who are disaffected to the dean upon the late occasions of variance, and am informed that they intend their address to your lordship in this case: I have therefore made bold to give your lordship some taste of the man, if he be not already well known to your lordship (his honoured diocesan). Certainly, my lord, he is a worthy (I may say) eminent preacher, an approved scholar, a grave, well governed, mortified, honest, peaceable man: faction hath no greater enemy, nor goodness an heartier friend; his parts are well allowed both in the court and city; and his conversation inoffensive and exemplary. The only exception which is pretended to be taken against him is, that he is brother to the dean; and that therefore, because I have a son already of the chapter, there may be some combination to sway matters on the part of Mr. Dean; which will appear a poor cavil to your lordship when your lordship shall understand that there are already two brothers of the Cottons, besides their cousins, in this small number of canons. There are nine canons; if three should conspire, what can they do? or if they should combine to do aught amiss and unjustifiable, as if we did not live under laws and government? The truth is, my lord, it is nothing but a secret heart-burning to the dean; for which they would fain keep out this well deserving brother, whom, for his mere worth and likelihood of excellent service to this church, I do sincerely affect, without all relations of whatsoever affinity. It is enough (if not too much) that I have presumed to give your lordship this intimation; the rest to your grave wisdom and incorrupt judgment; with pardon craved for this boldness, and the vow of my best prayers for your lordship's happy proceedings in that busy station, I take leave, and am

Your lordship's heartily devoted in all observance,

Jos. Exon.

Exon. Palace, June 11°.

Endorsed in Abp. Laud's handwriting:—June the 11th, 1631. The Bp. of Exeter's letters about sectaries in London, and about Mr. Dean's brother.]

[From the Public Record Office.

To the most reverend Father in God and my ever most worthily honoured lord my lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, chancellor of Oxford, and one of the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, present these.

Most reverend Father in God, and my ever most honoured Lord.

The news which your grace heard concerning Withycomb, in my diocese, is not more lamentable than true. Some four days after this fearful blow, the minister of the place, with the churchwardens and some other of the parish, came to me to bemoan themselves, and to sue for some course to be taken for their redress. I charged them to set down all the particulars of that woful accident, with intent to transmit it speedily to your grace, the expectation whereof hath been the cause of thus long delaying my information; but since it is come to your grace's ears by other means, and your grace is pleased to require of me an account of this business, I shall so far prevent the full narration (which I daily look for) as to acquaint your grace with such a general report of it as I then received from the mouth of the vicar and those other parishioners.

The church of Withycomb stands high and bleak in the Moor (as they call it): it is a fair, well built church and steeple of strong Moor stone. On Sunday, October 21st, in the afternoon, whilst the people were assembled for evening prayer, there arose a very black cloud; and when they were singing the psalm in the midst of divine service, there brake out a very fearful thunder-clap and lightning, which came with such terrible vehemence into the church as that all the people were astonished, and for the most part stricken down with the swing of it; insomuch as they compared it (in their relation to me) to the fire and wind that come out of the mouth of a discharged cannon, which bears down before it those that are within the air of it. This blow of lightning killed three outright: one Mr. Hill, an honest man and very well reputed, sitting above in the church in a safe place (as might have been thought) next to the wall, had his head divided in the midst so as one side of it fell down upon his shoulder and his brain sprinkled upon the wall: instantly it flew to the other side of the church, and killed one that sat quite opposite, and

grazed upon the wall close by him: one it killed in the way. Besides which three, none were slain; only a dog that was in the passage was cast against the wall and killed. Withal in the same instant it struck down a pinnacle of the steeple, and beat it down into the church, although not (it seems) in a direct line: it shattered the church, so as both stones and timber (good store) fell down amongst the people, who (as must needs be conceived) what with the thunder, what with the fall of these things about their ears, were for the time in a most woful confusion. Besides these that were killed, there were many hurt; some eighteen (as they guessed) dangerously: one woman having the flesh of one arm stripped down, and her hand so strucken off that it held but by a little film: but of those which were scorched (and as it were) blasted with the lightning, they then supposed there were about fourscore. The minister either fell or was stricken down (as the rest were) in his pew: there fell a great piece of timber close by him, and missed his body, so as he had no harm at all. A kinswoman of his, who sat in a seat not far from his, was pitifully scorched; her gown, two waistcoats, and her other garments, burned upon her back. There was a very strong scent of sulphur in the church and churchyard this while. Those which were able to stir ran forth of the church, leaving hats and cloaks behind them, but profess they knew not (through their amazedness) how they came forth; and being a little recollected, began to bethink themselves, one of his wife, another of his child, whom they gave for dead in that dreadful clap; whom they returned to fetch, finding them all amazed, some hurt.

But this both the vicar and parishioners professed to me, that there was not so great cause of wonder at the fearfulness of that accident, as at God's marvellous goodness in their preservation; for there being (as they conjectured) no fewer than three hundred people at the church, they conceived it could not be without a miracle that so many stones and pieces of timber should fall amongst them, and (as it were) touch their clothes, and hurt no one of them. This was the sum of that report which the vicar and parishioners, scarce then recovered from their affright, made unto me; not then being able to give me a full account of the number of those (in their scattered parish) who were hurt at that time; forasmuch as divers of them (as they said) who felt no cause of complaint at the instant but their fear, did afterwards find their pain. There were divers strange circumstances (espe-

cially in the fall of the pinnacle and other stones and timber), which your grace may be pleased to receive from the relation of one Mr. Dove, brother-in-law to my Lord of Ely, who was lately an eyewitness thereof, and is now above, not without some cause (I suppose) of attendance upon your grace. I have (the same hour I received your grace's letter) taken order to send to the vicar for that perfect relation which I required of him; which your grace shall have sent at the first opportunity. With my best services and prayers I take leave, and am your grace's truly devoted in all faithful observance,

Exon. Pal. Nov. 10, 1638. Jos. Exon.

Endorsed:—Recep. Nov. 13, 1638. From my Lord Bp. of Exon. concerning the accident at Withycumbe, &c.]

[From the Public Record Office.

To the most reverend and most honourable my lord Archbishop of Canterbury his grace, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, chancellor of Oxford, and one of the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, present these.

May it please your grace,

We begin already to find the effects of the Scottish schism. I am grieved to say that one of my clergy, Mr. Benjamin Coxe of Sandford in my diocese, hath lately in his chapel, rather than church, vented doctrine foully prejudicial to the divine institution of episcopal government. Upon intelligence I convented him, and drew from him the copy of his sermon, written with his own hand, and so before me acknowledged, although (when he saw what I intended) he refused to subscribe his name to it; I pressed him with particulars: he stands peremptorily upon his points. I do therefore humbly await your grace's pleasure by the hands of my chancellor, to whom I have sent the sermon originally written. I took it the more heinously from him, for that the man had been all this while strictly comformable, and was one of the first in my diocese who removed his table voluntarily to an altarly situation. *Quo percitus œstro* he hath done this I know not. I doubt more will follow this peevish humour; my zealous endeavour shall not want both for prevention and remedy. With my

best services and prayers I take my humble leave, and am your grace's on all faithful service to command,

Exon. Palace, Oct. 8. Jos. Exon.

Endorsed by Abp. Laud :—Received Oct. 13, 1639. Concerning one Coxe, and a factious sermon of his against episcopacy being juris divini. He submitted and recanted.]

[From the Public Record Office.

To my much honoured friend Sir Dudley Carleton, knight, one of the clerks of the council, or to any other that attends that honourable service, present these.

Much honoured Sir,

I received an order from that most honourable board to convent one of my clergy, Mr. Blake, vicar of Barnstaple, and to receive his answer concerning his refusal of the payment of the shipping money, which I have accordingly done; and now here inclosed sent you his answer too full and prolix. You may be pleased to cut off the latter part, which is too personal, and to take notice of the real satisfaction he hath given to this point. The man is peaceable, comformable, and of more than ordinary desert. Let him speak the rest for himself in his large answer, whereto referring I take leave, and am,

Your much devoted friend,

Exon. Palace, Oct. 8. (1639.) Jos. Exon.]

[From Tanner's MSS.

Not addressed.

Worthy Sir, with my best services,

I have read your third work, and approved it as a solid and unanswerable piece: I could wish it abroad for the common good. I have made in the margin some few crosses where I desire your review; though perhaps you will resolve every of those words justifiable enough.

With my prayers for better times, and hearty thanks for the communicating of these your excellent labours with me, I take leave, and am your much devoted friend in all loving observance,

Jos. Norvic.

Palace at Norwich, Jan. 28°. 1646, before 1647, when he was driven out of the palace.]

LETTERS FROM BISHOP HALL[a] TO ARCHBISHOP USHER.

[1647.]

EPISCOPUS NORVIC. ARCHIEPISCOPO ARMACH.

Gratulor vero ex animo te, Antistitum decus, Sancto Ignatio tuo. Gratulor tibi, immo, universo orbi Christiano, Ignatium, meritissimo tuum; sed quidem et tuo beneficio nostrum. Gratiorem profecto operam navare Dei Ecclesiæ nullus unquam potuisset, quam tantum, tam antiquum sanctumque, Apostolicæ προστασίας patronum, ac tam egregium primævæ pietatis exemplar, ab injuria temporis vindicando. Inciderat nempe bonus iste viator Hierosolymitanus in latrones quosdam Hierochuntinos, qui illum non spoliarant modo, sed misere etiam peneque ad mortem vulnerarant. Præterierant saucium, ac fere moribundum, nescio quot Parkeri, Coci, Salmasii, aliique nuperæ sectæ coryphæi. Vestra vero (molliora uti sunt) viscera tam dura hominis ἀξιοθέου sorte misericorditer commota sunt; vestra unius pietatis (optimi instar Samaritæ) vinum oleumque infudit tam patentibus vulneribus, abstersit saniem, fœdeque hiulca plagarum ora manu tenera fasciavit; fereque exanimem vestro typorum jumento imposuit; ac communi denique Ecclesiæ hospitio, non sine maximis impensis, commendavit. Profecto hoc uno nomine assurgent Amplitudini tuæ boni (quotquot sunt) omnes; manusque tam salutares piis labiis exosculabuntur. Intelligent jam novitiæ paritatis assertores, quid illud sit, quod tanto molimine usque machinantur; sentientque quam probe illis cum sanctissimo Martyre, ac celeberrimo Apostolorum Discipulo, conveniat. Illud vero, inter doctissimas annotationes vestras saliente et corde et oculo legisse me fateor, quo egregium illud σφάλμα Salmasianum de tempore supposititii Ignatii, leni illa quidem, sed castigatrice, manu corripueris. Fierine potuit ut tantus author, in re tanti momenti Chronologica, tam fœde laberetur; aut num forte, hoc pacto, (quandoquidem hæc causæ disciplinariæ arx merito habe-

[a] Of the six letters which follow, the five first are gathered from the Collection annexed to the Life of Archbishop Usher, by Dr. R. Parr; Lond. 1686, fol. The last is taken from a miscellaneous assortment of materials, appended to Archbishop Usher's Judgment on Three Points of Divinity, published by Dr. N. Bernard, Lond. 1657, 12mo.—H.

atur,) dominis suis palpum obtrudere maluit? Quicquid sit, bis Martyrium passus Ignatius noster, tua demum opera, Præsul honoratissime, reviviscit; causamque iniquissime jam abdicatæ Ἐπισκόπης in Ecclesiæ totius foro tam cate agit, ut non pudere non possit hesternæ disciplinæ astipulatores, tam male suscepti litis injustæ patrocinii. Quod si nullum aliud foret nostræ sententiæ propugnaculum, nobis quidem abunde sufficeret habuisse (σὺν Θεῷ) nostræ veritatis patronos, te et Ignatium. Vale, Primatum ἀξιονόμαστε, et Ecclesiæ laboranti, et precibus, et operis (quod facis) subvenire perge; et fave

Cultori tuo, ac malorum tuorum

Socio, et præconi meritorum,

E Tuguriolo nostro Highamensi, May 25°, 1647. Jos. Norvicensi.

EPISCOPUS NORVIC. ARCHIEPISCOPO ARMACH.

[1647–8.]

SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.

Grata admodum et manu et mente accepi heri, Primatum Reverendissime, a manibus Honorandi plurimum Episcopi Dunelmensis, literas tuas, sed et donaria longe pretiosissima, libros tuos: Deus bone! quam elaboratos, quam reconditiore literatura refertos! quos stupebunt exteri, gratulabunturque authori felicitatem hanc et otii et eruditionis. Nostri vero quo tandem non possunt non erubescere, tantum virum neglectui habuisse? At, O te omni et invidia et tyrannide superiorem! quem divinior mens supra terrena quæque ita longe extulit, ut ingratissimi ævi sive incuriam sive contemptum nihil quicquam ad te pertinere sentias. Illud tibi unum curæ est, ut bene merearis. Ilicet hoc animo resides in obscuro Lincolniensis Hospitii angulo[b], qui totius Occidentis Patriarchatu dignissimum te præstitisti.

Mihi vero, homini pauperculo, quid tandem suppetit, quod munificentiæ tuæ retribuam? Exciderat mihi pridem opella quædam, ita quidem minutula, ut me plane puduerit ejusmodi strenulam tanto Præsuli obtulisse. Tandem tamen eo prorupi

[b] [About the beginning of this year (1647) he was chosen by the honourable Society of Lincoln's-Inn to be their Preacher. The treasurer and benchers of that House——— ordered him handsome lodgings ready furnished. See Parr's Life of Usher, Lond. 1687, p. 64.]

audaciæ, ut id facerem. Tu, pro singulari candore tuo, ignosces erroribus quibusque sive scriptiunculæ, sive authoris; qui se

Reverendissimæ Paternitatis vestræ
Clientem profitetur devotissimum,

E Tugurio meo Highamensi,
Feb. 26, 1647–8.

Jos. Norvic.

EPISCOPUS NORVIC. ARCHIEPISCOPO ARMACH.

Accepi a te pridem, Honorandissime Præsul, munus egregium, teque uno dignum, Annales Sacros Veteris Testamenti, accuratissime digestos. Non enim mihi traditum est volumen, quam oculi mei in tam gratum diuque expetitum opus irruerint illico; neque se exinde avelli patiuntur.

Obstupui sane indefessos labores, industriam incredibilem, reconditissimæ eruditionis monumenta, quæ se istic passim vel supino lectori ultro objiciunt. Præcipue vero subit animum, mirari felicitatem otii tui, quo, inter tam continuam concionum doctissimarum seriem, studiis hisce paulo asperioribus, et abstrusissimarum quarumcunque (utpote ex imæ antiquitatis caligine erutarum) historiarum indagini vacare potueris. Hoc fieri non potuisset ilicet, sine Numine mirum in modum et tibi propitio, et Ecclesiæ: in cujus unius gratiam hæc tibi singularia et artium et linguarum charismata tam ubertim collata fuisse, facile persentisces. Perge porro, decus Presulum, ita et nos beare, et adornare tibi coronam gloriæ sempiternæ: et faxis mirentur posteri tale lumen tam infelici seculo indultum. Expectare nos jubes Chronologicum opus, toti Christiano orbi exoptatissimum, sed et Annales insuper alios. Quid non a tanto authore speremus? Deus modo protrahat tibi dies, ut ævi maturus hinc tandem demigres, seroque in cælum redeas.

Misit mihi librum nuper a se editum Christophorus Elderfeldius noster, non, uti fatetur, injussu tuo; sane doctum, ac probe elaboratum, et, nisi in deploratum incidissemus ævum, non inutilem. Quantum debeo et authori et patrono! Habeat suas a me uterque gratias. Ego, quod superest, Paternitati vestræ Reverendissimæ preces meas animitus voveo, quin et meipsum,

Jos. Norvicens.

E Tuguriolo nostro Highamensi,
In Festo Sancti Jacobi,
Anno MDCL.

LETTER TO DR. THOMAS FULLER[c].

[*In refutation of a charge made against the divines at the Synod of Dort in a work by John Goodwin, entitled "Redemption Redeemed."*]

Whereas you desire from me a just relation of the carriage of the business at the synod of Dort, and the conditions required of our divines there, at or before their admission to that grave and learned assembly; I, whom God was pleased to employ as an unworthy agent in that great work, and to reserve still upon earth after all my reverend and worthy associates, do, as in the presence of that God to whom I am now daily expecting to yield up my account, testify to you and (if you will) to the world, that I cannot without just indignation read that slanderous imputation which Mr. Goodwin, in his Redemption Redeemed, reports to have been raised and cast upon those divines, eminent both for learning and piety, that they suffered themselves to be bound with an oath, at or before their admission into that synod, to vote down the Remonstrants howsoever; so as they came deeply pre-engaged to the decision of those unhappy differences.

Truly, sir, as I hope to be saved, all the oath that was required of us was this. After that the moderator, assistants, and scribes were chosen, and the synod formed, and the several members allowed, there was a solemn oath required to be taken by every one of that assembly, which was publicly done in a grave manner, by every person in their order standing up, and laying his hand upon his heart, calling the great God of heaven to witness, that he would unpartially proceed in the judgment of these controversies, which should be laid before him, only out of and according to the written word of God, and no otherwise; so determining of them, as he should find in his conscience most agreeable to the holy scriptures: which oath was punctually agreed to be thus taken by the articles of the States, concerning the indiction and ordering of the synod, as appears plainly in their tenth article; and this was all the oath that was either taken or required. And far was it from those holy souls, which are now glorious in heaven, or mine (who still for some short time survive to give this just witness of our sincere integrity), to entertain the

[c] From Fuller's Church History of Britain, book x. v. 5. p. 478.

least thought of any so foul corruption, as by any overruling power to be swayed to a prejudgment in the points controverted.

It grieves my soul therefore to see that any learned divine should raise imaginary conjectures to himself of an interest and obligation of a fancied oath (working upon them, and drawing them contrary to the dictation of their own conscience, as it did Herod's in the case of John Baptist's beheading), merely out of his own comparative construction of the different forms of expressing themselves in managing those controversies. Wherein, if at any time they seemed to speak nearer to the tenet of the Remonstrants, it must be imputed to their holy ingenuity and gracious disposition to peace, and to no other sinister respect.

Sir, since I have lived to see so foul an aspersion cast upon the memory of those worthy and eminent divines, I bless God that I yet live to vindicate them, by this my knowing, clear, and assured attestation; which I am ready to second with the solemnest oath, if I shall be thereto required[d].

Your much devoted friend, precessor,
and fellow labourer,

Higham, August 30, 1651. Jos. Hall, B. N.

[From Fulman's Collection of MSS. in C. C. C. Library.

Viro clarissimo mihique plurimum colendo, Doctori Henrico Hammond, Sacræ Theologiæ Professori Doctissimo tradantur.

Dici non potest, vir mihi multis nominibus colendissime, quanta cum voluptate perlegerim a te nuperrime missas dissertationes[e] tuas de episcopatus juribus, disertissimas quidem illas et longe doctissimas; quibus, me quidem arbitro, viris clarissimis Salmasio et Blondello in re tam gravi satis superque fuisti.

[d] Assertions were frequently made, even in those days, that the divines of Dort had deserted the tenets of the church of England. In allusion to such reports Bishop Hall addresses Bishop Davenant: "I will live and die in the suffrage of that synod of Dort; and I do confidently avow that those other opinions (of Arminius) cannot stand with the doctrine of the church of England." And Bishop Davenant answers Bishop Hall: "I know that no man can embrace Arminianism in the doctrines of *predestination* and *grace*, but he must desert the Articles agreed upon by the church of England; nor in the point of *perseverance*, but he must vary from the received opinions of our best approved doctors in the English church." See Jones's Memoirs of Bishop Hall, pp. 91, 92.—H.

[e] Dissertationes quatuor. [quibus episcopatus jura, &c. adstruuntur contra sententiam D. Blondelli, &c. Lond. 1651.]

Male profecto et intempestive sed et satis invidiose ingesserunt se in dicam nostram viri illi eruditi, etiam tum cum notis schismaticis rem se gratam præstituros et oneratis onera superimposituros nescire non potuerunt: faxit Deus ne quid Amalekiticum iis in hoc tam tristi negotio imputetur. Sentient interim magni illi antagonistæ esse ex presbyteris Anglicanis cui se herbam porrigere non est quod dispudeat.

Felicem vero te quem Deus jam sero causæ suæ tot tantisque adversariorum telis crudeliter impetitæ, peneque exanimi ὑπερασπίστην excitaverit felicem, te patrocinante, despectam ab exteris et plane inhumaniter a suis conculcatam ecclesiam Anglicanam; muta quidem consedit quasique desperabunda τάξις nostra ἱερατικὴ viribus hostium utriusque generis oppressa, vix profecto respirare ausa, et quasi animam efflare parata. Tu frigidam offudisti ac bonus Samarita vinum oleumque vulneribus tam late hiantibus infundere non detrectasti. Deus, Deus ille noster, justus ac misericors qui animum hunc tibi indidit causæ suæ fere quidem deploratæ a sævis hominum manibus vindicandæ, dotibusque tantæ rei præstandæ idoneis cumulatissime instruxit, dona in te sua munificentissime coronet, teque quem tam egregium opus celebrem fecit, præstet beatum.

Interea non opus est ut te moneam quantum tibi pulveris moturum sit illud tuum singulare de antichristo dogma, novum quidem sed non usque adeo improbabile: dissimulare equidem nequeo animo mihi semper insedisse, Paulinum illud τὸν ἄνομον non tamdiu quam vulgaris ferebat opinio dilatum iri, nec tamen conjectari licuit cui demum hominum sæculo illo ecclesiæ primo, tantæ hujus malitiæ ac superbiæ stylus proprie competere potuit. Jam vero ex ultimæ antiquitatis scriniis ac primævorum authorum monumentis a te sedulo consarcinatis nequeo non concedere posse hæc omnia maximo post homines natos ac audacissimo Impostori Simoni Samaritico commode satis applicari: an vero hæc mens Paulina fuerit post tot sententiarum litigia, usque dubitabitur. Certe inter plures istos Joannis antichristos fuisse impuros illos et fastuosos primi ævi gnosticos satis liquide patet. Sed quis sit ille B. Pauli ὁ ἀντικείμενος καὶ ὑπεραιρούμενος, &c. ego inter illa B. Petri δυσνοήτα semper reponendum censui.

Ex hisce scriptis, te mysteriis apocalypticis feliciter insudasse persentisco quorum nonnullis video te obiter lucem dedisse satis luculentam: pervalde velim scire quid de bestiis illis apocalypticis sentias ut inde intelligam qua tandem ratione constare possit

Joannem cum Paulo in re antichristi contesserasse. Gratissimum mihi feceris si post aliorum mihi sat bene notas hac de re conjecturas pauculis, ubi vacaverit, lineis sententiam tuam impertiri volueris.

Ego patrem tuum virum spectatissimum, doctissimumque optimo principi Henrico ab intimo cubiculo et consiliis optime ac familiariter novi, ejusque Manibus talem filium ex animo gratulor. Vale, vir vere ornatissime, et perge porro non me modo sed totam insuper Dei ecclesiam scriptis tuis longe accuratissimis sibi devincire. Ego me interim tibi ex animo deditissimum merito profiteor.

Jos. Hallus,
Norvicens.

Dat. e tugurio nro Highamensi Julii 1°. 1651, eo ipso die ac fere horæ momento quo annum ætatis septuagesimum octavum σὺν θεῷ ingredior.

Ex Autogr. xxviii. August. Sequ.]

FROM BISHOP HALL TO ARCHBISHOP USHER.

Most Reverend, and Honourable,

With never enow thanks for this precious gift which I receive from your grace's hand, I have with no small eagerness and delight turned over these your learned and accurate *Annals*, wondering not a little at that your indefatigable labour, which you have bestowed upon a work fetched together out of such a world of monuments of antiquity; whereby your grace hath better merited the title of χαλκέντερος and φιλόπονος than those on whom it was formerly imposed. But in looking over this admirable pile of history, my curiosity cast me upon the search of two over famous persons, *Simon Magus*, and *Apollonius Tyanæus*, the particularities of whose story seem so much to be concerned in the disquisition of that antichrist lately set on foot by Grotius and Dr. Hammond. I had hoped to have found a just account, both of their times, and their actions and events, in this your complete collection: which missing of, I have taken the boldness to give this touch of it to your grace, as being desirous to know whether you thought good to omit it upon the opinion of the invalidity of those records which mention the acts and issue of those two great jugglers; or whether you have pleased

to reserve them for some further opportunity of relation. Howsoever, certainly, my Lord, it would give great satisfaction to many, and amongst them to myself, if by your accurate search I might understand whether the chronology of *Simon Magus*, his prodigies and affectation of deity, may well stand with *St. Paul's* prediction of an ὁ ἀντικείμενος, as following it in time after the writing of that second epistle to the Thessalonians. I must confess, if the times may accord, there may seem to be some probability in casting antichrist upon an age not so far remote from the apostolic as hath been commonly reputed; since the apostle speaks of it as a thing so near at hand that the ordinary Christians of Thessalonica were well acquainted with the bar of his revelation.

I beseech your grace to pardon this bold importunity of him, who out of the consciousness of his deep devotion to you, and his dependence upon your oracular sentence in doubts of this nature, have presumed thus to interrupt your higher thoughts. In the desire and hope whereof I humbly take leave, and profess myself,

Your Grace's, in all Christian
observance and fervent devotion,

Higham, May 1, 1654. Jos. Norvic.

FROM BISHOP HALL TO ARCHBISHOP USHER[f].

To the Most Reverend Father in God, and my most honoured lord, the Lord Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland.

Most Reverend, and my most worthily honoured Lord,

That which fell from me yesterday suddenly and transcursively hath since taken up my after-midnight thoughts; and I must crave leave, what I then moved, to importune, that your grace would be pleased to bestow one sheet of paper upon these dis-

[f] [From "The Judgment of the late Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, by Nicholas Bernard, D. D. Lond, 1657." The following Memorandum is appended to the work, and prefixed to the above letter. "A book entitled Confessions and Proofs of Protestant Divines, of Reformed Churches for Episcopacy, &c. though it be a very learned one, yet it is not his (Archbishop Usher's); only that of *the Original of Bishops and Metropolitans* frequently bound up with the former is owned by him, unto which he was earnestly moved by a letter from Dr. Hall, the late reverend and learned Bishop of Norwich, then Bishop of Exeter, which, shewing the great esteem he had of him, is annexed as followeth."]

tracted times in the subject of Episcopacy; showing the apostolical original of it, and the grounds of it from scripture and the immediately succeeding antiquity. Every line of it coming from your grace's hand would be '*super rotas suas:*' as Solomon's expression is, "very apples of gold with pictures of silver," and more worth than volumes from us. Think that I stand before you like the man of Macedon, and that you hear me say "Come and help us;" and as your grace is wholly given up to the common good of the church, say whether you can deny it. And if it please your grace to take your rise from my humble motion to express yourself in this question, wherein I am publicly interested, or otherwise to profess your voluntary resolutions for the settling of many, either misled or doubting, souls, it will be the most acceptable, and (I hope) the most successful work that your grace hath ever undertaken. It was my earnest motion long ago to μέγας τις[g], to intreat this labour from your grace, which now comes from my meanness: your gracious humility will not even from so low hands disregard it. With my zealous suit, and hopeful expectation of a yielding answer, I humbly take leave, and am

Your Grace's humbly and heartily devoted,

Jos. Exon.

[From a Collection of Pamphlets in the Bodleian.

A brief Letter of Apology sent by the Rev. Dr. Hall, B. N. to a private friend.

(1654.)

Worthy Sir,

In that strange pamphlet which I received from you yesterday, you cannot marvel if I startled to meet so inexpectedly with the name of Bishop Hall disgracefully ranked with priests and Jesuits, and the man that was executed[h] the other day (for so it hath pleased my unknown accuser in his great charity to range my unworthiness). If my pale and wrinkled cheeks could be any

[g] Who was *the great one* here alluded to, and whether his name was suppressed by the writer, receiver, or editor of the letter, can now be only matter of conjecture.—H.

[h] [June 28. 1654. A Romish priest, who was formerly condemned, and pardoned, and banished, and now returned again, was hanged, drawn, and quartered.—Whitelock's Memorials of English Affairs.]

whit capable of the tincture of shame, you may well think what change of countenance these words must needs have wrought in me. Lord! thought I, what so heinous crime is this for which I am thus shamefully arraigned before all the world now on the brink of my grave! Forsooth, Bishop Hall, as the rest of those meet complices, saith the church of Rome is a true church (*grave crimen Caie* [sic] *Cæsar*). What an impotent malice is this, to single out my name thus ignominiously from all the rest of my profession for an odious paradox, when I say no more, no other herein than all the orthodox divines of Christendom. How must the reader now needs think—Sure this Bishop Hall is a man of corrupt principles, singular for his dangerous misopinions, a greater friend to Rome than all his fellows; whereas the world knows that I have already, about twenty-eight years ago, vindicated myself from this gross misconstruction, and showed that in my sense there is no knowing protestant divine that agrees not fully with me. You remember that about the time mentioned, when, upon some passages of the *Old Religion*[1] then published by me, Mr. Burton and some others boggled at that expression, namely, that the church of Rome is yet a true visible church, though extremely corrupted; and that the quarrel began to wax warm, and the press to complain of being pestered with opposite tractates: in a due care to lay this ill-raised spirit, besides my own full and satisfactory Apology then set forth, I appealed to other unquestionable divines, the oracles of our church; writing my public letters to two famously learned bishops, Bishop Morton and Bishop Davenant, and to two eminent and approvedly orthodox doctors, Doctor Prideaux and Doctor Primrose, pastor of the French church; earnestly desiring them to declare their judgments freely and fully concerning this point. All which have not only in their published answers declared this to be an undoubted truth in the sense proposed, proving it by sound and convincing reasons, and asserting it not as their own private opinion, but as conceived by them to be the just and common tenet of all orthodox divines and churches; but withal affirming that those men little know what prejudice they do to the protestant cause that hold the contrary. The instances whereof it were easy for me to give, were it not that I fear and hate to furnish the adversary with weapons to wound ourselves. I wis those our enemies are quick eyed enough to espy their own advantages and our ex-

[1] [See vol. viii. p. 631.]

posedness to the danger of self-wronging consequences, without our intimation. The grave and solid determination of those godly and judicious divines is still extant in a thousand hands: upon the publication whereof the world then rested satisfied, myself acquitted, the adversary silenced, and the controversy quieted, which is now thus uncharitably and unadvisedly raked up from under the ashes of a wise and just silence. The truth is, nothing but a gross and inconsiderate mistake is guilty of this quarrel. The homonymy of the word *true* (as Master Blake in his answer to Master Tombes), besides the forenamed authors, hath truly observed, makes all this seeming difference. If we take a true church for a true believing church, so the church of Rome is far from a true church: if we take a true church for a church truly existing in a visible profession of Christianity, so it cannot be denied to be a true visible church. A thief is no true man, yet he is truly a man: so the church of Rome, though false in too many of her doctrines, yet hath a true visible being. Her clients vainly flatter her with the title of Catholic or Universal: we expect no thanks from her to say she is universally corrupted, yet a church visible still. Those gross errors wherewith she abounds have marred her first purity, but do not forfeit her outward churchship. It were a strange uncharitableness to say that a Romanist is no Christian, though too many of their tenets are justly branded for antichristian. And where there is a society of Christians not directly and obstinately destroying the foundation (though otherwise foul and erroneous in opinion), there cannot be denied a visible appearance of a church. Let the church of Rome then go for as erroneous, impure, false in matter of opinion and practice as she is, she cannot be denied the face of a church, however rotten at the heart. All which hath been so judiciously and amply declared by those learned and worthy contests, whom I formerly mentioned, in their public discourses of this point, that I am confident if Mr. Sadler had had leisure to have considered, he would rather have distinguished than denied; and the questionist, whoever he was, would upon second thoughts have thought good to suffer my innocent name to rest in peace; whereas now he hath wronged me, and himself more, in drawing upon himself an opinion of either ignorance or uncharitableness, or both. God forgive him; I do. Thus we too well see how apt nature is, even in those who profess an eminence in holiness, to raise and maintain animosities against those whose calling or person they pre-

tend to find cause to dislike; and perhaps also to brand with the black note of unjust infamy those who concentre not with them in some lighter opinions (although indivisibly theirs in the brotherhood of the same most holy faith, and meekly affecting to hold with them the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace).

Truly, sir, to open myself freely to you, nothing hath more wounded my soul, nor drawn deeper sighs for me in secret, than to see that whereas our dear and blessed Saviour hath so vehemently encharged all his true disciples with the duty of mutual love; and his chosen vessel with so zealous importunity cries down strife and contention as arguing mere carnality, and utterly inconsistent with the truth of Christian disposition and practice,—yet no grace is such a stranger to us for the most part as charity; nor no employment so universally rife amongst us on all hands as quarrels and brawlings, both verbal and real, arising commonly from false surmises and misconstructions, and proceeding too often, not to the scratching of faces, but to the ripping of bowels and to the stabbing of hearts, to the infinite scandal of the gospel of peace, and to the sport and triumph of Gath and Askelon. Now the God of peace whom we all profess to serve be pleased for his great mercy's sake to pull out of our bosoms all these roots of bitterness, and to compose our misalienated hearts to perfect love and concord, to the glory of his great name, and to the comfort of all those that are faithful in his Sion.

Sir, you will pardon me if I have thus passionately enough unloaded myself (into the bosom of so faithful a friend) of my justly conceived grief, to be thus scandalously and causelessly traduced. Your love will both put the best construction upon these sudden lines, and, where you meet with this blur undeservedly cast upon my name, wipe it off with a just and friendly vindication: wherein you shall do an office worthy of the thankful acknowledgment of your unfeignedly devoted, in all Christian affection,

Jos. Hall, B. N.

Higham, Nov. 5, 1654.]

The following six Letters are extracted from Prynne's "Compleat History of the Tryall and Condemnation of William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury."

To the most reverend and most honourable my singular good lord, my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his grace, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of Oxford, and one of the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, present these.

Most reverend Father in God, and my most honourable Lord,

I have received your grace's answer in one to my three last, humbly thanking your grace for your noble favours to that well-deserving petitioner, Master Edgcombe, whom I recommended to your grace's notice. For Ashbrenton, I gave order for a speedy satisfaction, and make account to receive it ere the closure of this letter.

Yesternight I had the view of the Acts of the late Scottish Assembly, which I could not read without much indignation, in seeing the only true and ancient government of the church so despitefully trod upon by ignorant factionists. Upon the perusal whereof I begin to think it were pity and shame they should carry it away so, and that so public an insolence could admit of none but a more public remedy: and may I be bold to impart unto your grace what my thoughts were for some ease of this wrong, and mitigation of the scandal? Under the hope of your grace's pardon, I shall not stick to discover them in this secret and fearless paper, humbly leaving them to your grace's favourable censure, although indeed I should have needed a larger preface to so bold an attempt. Since then for his majesty to right the church by the sword, as the case now stands, is neither fit for our hopes nor our wishes, (which were no other in so desperate a schism than to reconquer his own with much charge, danger, and blood,) we thought it might be seasonable, safe, and happy, to employ the spiritual sword, (the remedy which the church hath ever wont to make use of in such occasions, with blessed success,) I thought therefore if through your grace's mediation it might

please his sacred majesty to cause a general synod of the whole three kingdoms to be indicted, wherein all the reverend bishops, and chief of the learned and dignified clergy, and the professors, and some other eminent doctors of all the universities in all the said kingdoms, may be assembled, to pass their judgment (after free and full expectation) of these schismatical points, determined thus proudly and rashly by our northern neighbours, it could not but sort to excellent effect; for so they might be convinced of their absurd errors, or at least publicly before all the world censured and condemned for what they are: and if they have any remainders of shame, they shall be made to blush at their own miserable transportation. This would be some comfort to those exiled bishops, who put Holy Island (as I hear) to the same use whereto it was employed at the first plantation of the gospel, (to be a receptacle of persecuted prelates,) that they should see their cause taken to heart by the whole church under his majesty's dominions. And why should we not think that the presence and authority of your grace, with that eminent and learned primate of Armagh, and so many other grave and renowned prelates, seconded by so irresistible powers of the learning and judgment of so many assistant divines (of great note and worth), cannot choose but certainly confound these heady and ignorant opposers of government and good order, and give great satisfaction to the world, who, seeing the errors and groundless proceedings of these men, shall hiss them out of countenance; neither can they shelter themselves under the examples of other churches in France and Netherlands, &c. Since necessity hath long ago cast them into that condition which these men (after establishment in the right form) have wilfully drawn upon themselves, with an impetuous exclusion of a settled government. And certainly my lord, methinks there should be a kind of necessity in this course, since not some few, but the whole church of Scotland, hath thus broken out into schism, and shamed both itself and the gospel; and without some timely prevention the mischief may yet grow farther; whereas this way it may be (at the least) chokingly convinced and seasonably checked. Neither need the charge hereof be great to his majesty's coffers, since the burthen of the commissioners may be laid upon the several dioceses from whence they are sent. Your grace sees whither my zeal hath carried me. If I have been too bold and forward in thus presuming, I humbly crave the pardon of your grace, which hath been extended to greater errors: I hope

a good heart will excuse all: the best wishes whereof are truly vowed and duly paid to your grace,

By your Grace's, in all faithful observance to command,

Exon. Pal. Sept. 28. Jos. Exon.

Endorsed by the Archbishop's own hand:—Dat. Sept. 28. Received Octob. 1629. B. of Exon. Dr. Hall, To move for a general council of all his majesty's dominions, to settle the Scottish schism.

To the most reverend Father in God, my ever most honoured lord, my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his grace, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of Oxford, and one of the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, present these.

May it please your Grace,

I was not only glad, but almost proud, of your grace's acceptance of my poor but bold motion, which that it found favour in his majesty's eyes, upon your grace's recommendation, was as much above my hope as above the possibility of my thankfulness. I do most humbly rest in the grounds of his majesty's most wise and just resolution, although that which I propounded was not in any aim at the reclamation of those stiff spirits, but at their conviction and shaming, together with the satisfaction and settling of any distempered or wavering minds of any contentious person at home or abroad. But since it hath pleased his majesty to lay aside that thought, I am most submissively silent. As for that motion (which coming from your grace's hand is not less in my construction than a command) of my undertaking this great task, of writing a satisfactory discourse in this subject, I beseech your grace to give me leave to say, it doth too much overvalue me. If your grace did but know my great weakness so well as I know my little strength, your grace would not have singled me out for so high and noble an undertaking. I confess in an holy zeal to the cause no man shall outstrip me; in abilities too many: yet since it hath pleased your grace to honour me so far as to think me capable and worthy of such an employment, I shall most gladly (without prejudice to any more able pains) endeavour my best this way. But would your grace be pleased to give me leave to suggest another motion, I think I should intimate that which would not a little advance the success of this great service. Single

labours will be easily passed over with neglect: what will the vulgar be more apt to say than This is but one doctor's judgment? *Vis unita fortior.* Might it therefore please your grace to single out and empannel a whole jury of learned bishops and divines to join together in this subject, it could not choose but sway much with the world.

And since I have taken the boldness to move so far, will your grace give me leave (out of the zealous intention of my thoughts upon the speed of this notable service) to propound some further specialty? If therefore in Ireland, the lord primate, the bishop of Kilmore, the bishop of Downe and Conner, (men as your grace best knows,) of singular note in the church; here at home, my lord bishop of Durham, and bishop of Salisbury, and if your grace shall think me worthy to come in the arrear of these great and famous prelates, I shall not fail of my best. With them the professors and some other eminent doctors in the name of both universities, and three or four of the bishops and doctors of Scotland, shall be enjoined by your grace to express their judgments fully concerning these two heads, of Episcopacy and Lay Prebytery, and to print them together. It will be a work that will carry in it such authority and satisfaction as will give great contentment to the world, and carry in it a strong rebuke of the adversaries: and if your grace's reason and resolution should so lead you as to be seen in the head of this learned squadron, the work would bear not much less sway than if it were a synodical act. Neither would I wish that each of these should write a volume of this matter, but succinctly (though fully and clearly) declare themselves in these particulars, with such evidence of scripture, antiquity, and reason, as may most convince. But whether these be done in thesi or hypothesi; whether in way of parænesis, or apology, or reproof, I humbly submit to your grace's judgment and direction. I beseech your grace pardon this well meant presumption, and make account of the daily devotions of

Your Grace's in all faithful
observance to command,
Jos Exon.

Exon. Pal. Oct. 12, 1639.

Endorsed with the Archbishop's own hand:—Rec. Oct. 16. 1639. The Bishop of Exeter. That more than one should write in defence of Episcopacy against the Scots.

Most reverend and my most honourable good Lord,

Notwithstanding the importunity of your grace's manifold occasions, I received (two days since) two letters from your grace at once, whereof the one signified his majesty's pleasure for the provision of a benefice within my gift for one of our poor exiled neighbours; which I do most willingly embrace, as out of my own true commiseration, so much more out of my obedience to my gracious master; but for the time as your grace knows, *θεοῦ δ' ἐπὶ γούνασι κεῖται.* In the other, I do first meet with your grace's merciful and fatherly proceedings with one of my strayed charge, Master Cox. I was in some hope of his relenting ere I left him; if (as I perceive) the work be perfected by your grace's effectual counsels, it will be happy for him, and great contentment to his friends, in regard both of his former conformity and great charge. He is not yet come down: an hearty recantation will redeem all. In the next place, I find your grace's zealous care of the success of this work, which upon your grace's motion I have heartily undertaken; wherein for the not applying of so many hands I do humbly rest in his majesty's most wise determination, although the danger of variance might have received a prevention, since the whole work must have had one rule, and have come under one rule and censure; but this course is both more sure and no less effectual.

For that which here concerns myself; I acknowledge myself much bound to your grace for your good opinion of my ability for so great a shock, which I shall defer to improve to the utmost; and whereas it is thought requisite that I should set down those simple propositions, which I shall undertake to make good in this work, I do most willingly entertain it; and therefore shall make bold to acquaint your grace with the whole plot of my intendment in this service, humbly yielding it up to your grace's censure, or better advice.

And first my purpose is, (wherein I do somewhat please myself, if your grace be so pleased,) to take my rise from the eighth section of their last synod of Edinburgh, wherein Master George Graham is said to come in and condemn episcopacy, and to profess his repentance, which is there appointed to be recorded.

Hereupon I mean to take this Mr. George to task, and somewhat warmly to expostulate the matter with him; and when I shall after a fervent preface have driven him from the refuge of

conforming herein to other, (which I think I shall do to purpose,) I shall then deal with him alone, and address myself to argue the case with him, and the faction (whom I shall make my adversary—the faction, and not the church of Scotland), and shall undertake to make good these two points, as I conceive, both full and proper for the occasion.

First, that episcopacy is a lawful, most ancient, holy, and divine institution, (I mean that which is joined with imparity and superiority of jurisdiction,) and therefore where it hath through God's providence obtained, cannot by any human power be abdicated without a manifest violation of God's ordinance.

Secondly, that the presbyterian government, however vindicated under the glorious names of Christ's kingdom and ordinance, hath no true footing, either in scripture or the practice of the church in all ages, from Christ's time till the present, and that, howsoever it may be of use in some such cities or territories as wherein episcopal government through iniquity of times cannot be had; yet to obtrude it upon a church otherwise settled under an acknowledged monarchy is utterly uncongruous and unjustifiable. Before the proof of which two heads, I purpose to lay down certain clear and undeniable postulata, some fifteen or sixteen in number, as the grounds of my following ark, such as these: 1. That government which was of apostolical institution, cannot be denied to be of divine institution. 2. Not only that government which was directly commanded and enacted, but also that which was practised and recommended by the apostles to the church, must justly pass for our apostolical institution. 3. That which the apostles by divine inspiration instituted was not for the present time, but for continuance. 4. The universal practice of the church immediately succeeding the apostles, is the best and surest commentary upon the practice of the apostles, or of their expressions. 5. We may not entertain so irreverent an opinion of the saints and fathers of the primitive church, that they who were the immediate successors of the apostles would or durst set up a government, either faulty or of their own heads. 6. If they would have been so presumptuous, yet they could not have diffused one uniform order of government through the whole world in so short a space. 7. The ancient histories of the church and writings of the eldest fathers are rather to be believed, in the report of the primitive of the church government, than those of this last age. 8. Those whom the ancient church of God and the

holy and orthodox fathers condemned for errors or heresies, are not fit to be followed as authors of our opinion or practice for church government. 9. The accession of honourable titles or privileges makes no difference in the substance of the calling. 10. Those scriptures wherein any new form of government is grounded, had need to be very clear, and unquestionable, and more evident than those whereon the former rejected polity is raised. 11. If that order which they say Christ set for the government of his church (which they call the kingdom and ordinance of Christ) be but one and undoubted, then it would and should have been ere this agreed upon against them what and which it is. 12. If this (which they pretend) be the kingdom and ordinance of Christ, then if any essential part of it be wanting, Christ's kingdom is not in that church erected. 13. Christian policy requires no impossible or absurd thing. 14. Those truths which are new, and unheard of in all ages of the church (in many and essential points), are well worthy to be suspected. 15. To depart from the practice of the universal church of Christ (ever from the apostles' times), and to betake ourselves voluntarily to a new form lately taken up, cannot but be odious and highly scandalous. Upon these grounds laid, I shall come to subsume; and shall both convince the faction in aberration from them, and fully prove the two points intended. After which, with some observations and queries, I shall shut up in a vehement exhortation both to them and to our own; if it may be for the reducing of the one, if not, yet to the settling of the other. If your grace shall approve of this platform, I shall accordingly prosecute it; if your grace shall think fit to alter or detract, or add aught, I am as ready to submit. With pardon craved for this length, and the unfeigned vows of my hearty prayers, I take leave, and am,

Your Grace's in all officious
observance to command,

Exon. Pal. Oct. 28. Jos. Exon.

Endorsed with the Archbishop's own hand:—Received November 1. 1639. The Bishop of Exeter his account of the heads of his book intended for Episcopacy against the Scots.

My most reverend and most honourable good Lord,

I should be unthankful if I did not acknowledge every one of these lines of so long a letter, written with your grace's own hand, a new obligation to me who know the price of your time; yet the matter of them binds me more. Those animadversions were so just, that I had amended those passages (divers of them) voluntarily, ere I received this gracious admonition; for I did only send your grace the rude draught of what I meant to polish in the expression. Your grace observes truly some mitigation in stating the cause, which I confess to have purposely used out of a desire to hold as good terms with our neighbour churches abroad as I safely might. Your grace knows well how Dr. Field and Dr. Downam have handled that point: if we may make the case sure for us, with the least aspersion cast upon them, (who honour our government and cannot obtain it,) I conceived it the better, especially since the Scottish case so palpably differs: yet I would so determine it as that nothing but necessity can either excuse them or hold up the truth of their being. In the presbytery I must fall foul with them howsoever: that clause of abdication was inserted with respect to the present occasion; I shall willingly abdicate it. Those many scruples which may arise, and must be met with in this cause, will be avoided, if we do plainly and shortly state the question thus; Whether the majority of bishops above presbyters be by divine institution? which if we make good, I suppose is as much as can be reasonably desired: for what Christian can think it safe or lawful to depart from that which Christ and his apostles have set in his church with an intent of perpetual continuance? I have noted in my discourse those two sorts of adversaries, and with respect to them put in these two words, *Lawful* against the first; and against the second, *Divine;* though the latter in the tractation comprehendeth both.

We shall not much need, I hope, in this way to come within the ken of that Roman rock of *jus Divinum mediatum*, although it must fall into our mention. Shortly, I shall take careful heed to those points which your grace adviseth; and when I have laid my last hand upon the first part, whereof each clause must *bis ad*

limam, semel ad linguam, I shall transcribe and send it to your grace for your full and free censure. In the meantime, with my best prayers, I take leave, and vow myself,

Your Grace's in all faithful
observance to command,
Jos. Exon.

Exon. Pal. Nov. 16.

Endorsed by the Archbishop with his own hand:—Received Nov. 18, 1639. L. Exon. his answer to those animadversions I made upon the heads of his intended Book for Episcopacy[a].

To the most reverend and most honourable my singular good lord, my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his grace, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of Oxford, and one of the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, present these.

Most reverend and my ever most honourable good Lord.

I have received your grace's speedy and full answer to my last. And now, according to my promise, I present to your grace's hands this work of mine, the bulk whereof swelled under my hand beyond my purpose; while I could think no passage of it unnecessary. I humbly submit it to your grace's free censure, not personal, (for I could not be so weak as to think your grace could lose so much time in perusal of it,) but deputative. The more and the more judicious eyes pass upon it, the better. Whether for haste or delay, for impression or suppression, I am altogether indifferent: for my own judgment I do not think it worthy or capable of the attestation of others, especially my betters, for that I do both take my rise from a particular occasion, and do often intersperse polemical dissertations, as with M. Parker, Anti-Tilenus, Vedelius, and others, without which methought I could not satisfactorily clear those points; which passages I have no reason to think others should take upon them either to own or justify. It was my second bold motion to your grace, that divers select bishops and divines should shortly and fully express their judgments in this subject. Your grace thought fitter (to which

[a] [See vol. ix. p. 142. sqq.]

I subscribed) that it should be done by one or two, and allowed and seconded by more; such a discourse should be only positive and short. As for this, I suppose the judicious perusers will think it may be of good use to settle and prepare the minds of men towards an unanimity of judgment in this point, which perhaps may be otherwise varying. And if I may have leave to shoot my bolt, I should conceive (if an attestation to our just tenet be thought requisite from many and the best hands,) it would sort best that the substance of it should be drawn up into some short and full propositions, (such as these which I have taken the boldness to enclose,) and sent or tendered to them for their subscription: wherein I should hold a generality of expression the safest. I beseech your grace pardon this presumption of mine; and for this my labour, if it be found that it may be of any profitable use in these wayward times, let it fly; otherwise may this festival be employed *in thuris piperisve cucullos.* I shall be well content with either the light or the fire. Your grace will soon find that I have been plain enough with our Genevians: for the foreign churches I have taken the same course with our learned Bishop Andrews, as pitying their alleging necessity, not approving their form: in the meantime not thinking it best to make enemies where we may have friends. I do find and show the Scottish case utterly unlike theirs for our greater advantage: I have driven the point farther than some worthy divines before me; and especially have laboured in that part where the cause bears most, viz. in matter of scripture, and the next following antiquity. What it is, is wholly and absolutely at your grace's disposing, to whatever purpose your grace will think fit. And so with the apprecation of an happy new year to your grace, and to this whole church, I take my humble leave, and am

Your Grace's in all faithful
observance to command,

Jos. Exon.

Exon. Pal. S. Tho. Day.

Endorsed by the Archbishop's own hand:—Received Jan. 30. 1640. L. Exon. concerning his book, and the submission of it to my judgment.

To the most reverend and most honourable my singular good lord, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his grace, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of Oxford, and one of the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, present these.

Most reverend, and my ever most honourable Lord,

I do first humbly thank your grace for those hours and pains you have been pleased to bestow both upon my papers and me, and yet more for that noble freedom your grace hath been pleased according to my earnest request to use, in making known your grace's judgment in those few animadversions, which I have now received, and the gracious respect showed to me, that after so full power put into your grace's hands to dispose of those papers at your own pleasure, yet your grace hath been pleased to take my unworthiness along with you in the altering of my passages therein, wherein I hope I have satisfied your grace's expectation accordingly. As for my favourableness to foreign authors and churches, I foretold your grace that I held it best not to be sparing of good words, though in the reality of the tenet I have gone farther than the most others. Those authors whom I mention with so fair respect are in those things (for which I cite them) our friends; but if your grace find any phrase too high or unseasonable, it is but a dash of your chaplain's pen, to whom I beseech your grace to give an absolute freedom in this behalf. For that of the sabbatarians, I have put a drop or two of vinegar more into my ink in two several places. For that passage concerning antichrist, I have turned it upon themselves, without a declaration of my own judgment; however I find our learned pattern, Bishop Andrewes, more than once punctual this way. For that point of the degree or order of episcopacy, although I well knew the weight of it, yet I did purposely intend to waive it here, because both it fetcheth a great and learned part of the school upon us, and because I found it to be out of my way, since these factions with whom we deal deny both a several order and a several degree, allowing only a priority of order in the same degree; but our tenet is doubtless most defensible; and I have accordingly so stated it in this review, which together with all

my best services I do humbly recommend to your grace's acceptation, vowing my hearty prayers for your grace's happy proceedings, as duly merited from

Your Grace's most humble and faithfully
devoted in all observance,

Jos. Exon.

Exon. Pal. Jan. 18.

Endorsed with the Archbishop's own hand:—Rec. Jan. 22. 1639. L. B. Exon. concerning some amendments in his book for Episcopacy.

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GENERAL INDEX.

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